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THE

FLOWERS OF HISTORY,

ESPECIALLY SUCH AS RELATE TO

THE AFFAIRS OF BRITAIN.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE WORLD TO THE YEAR 1307.

COLLECTED BY

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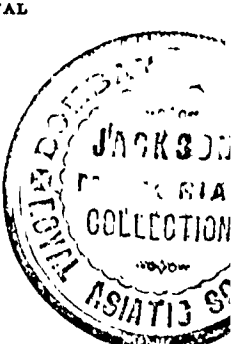
MATTHEW OF WESTMINSTER.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL

BY

C. D. YONGE, B.A.



IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

FROM A.D. 1066 TO A.D. 1307.

LONDON:
HENRY G. BOHN, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.
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Ch. I.—From A.D. 1066 to A.D. 1087.

William marches to London for his coronation—He distributes the lands of the English nobles among his principal followers—The English nobles fly to Scotland—Edgar Atheling takes refuge in Hungary—The princess Margaret marries Malcolm—The sons of Sweyn invade England—William becomes tyrannical—The oppression of the English by the Normans—William invades Scotland; receives the homage of Malcolm—Great abuses in the Church—Quarrel between William and his eldest son—An earthquake in England——Henry, emperor of Germany, is excommunicated—The family of William—He founds and endows monasteries—Dies, and is succeeded by William Rufus.

Coronation of king William the First, the Conqueror.

A.D. 1067.[1] William, duke of Normandy, proceeded to the city of London, was received with great exultation by both clergy and people, and was proclaimed king by universal acclamation,

[1] It is not clear when our chronicler makes this year begin. For he speaks here of the year 1067 commencing before Christmas Day, 1066. Perhaps he dates the beginning of the year from Advent Sunday.

and on the day of the birth of our Lord he received the crown of the kingdom of England from Ældred, archbishop of York. For he refused to accept the office of consecration from Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, although of ancient right that solemn office is known to belong to that see, because he had no legal right to occupy that pre-eminent dignity. Then, having received homage and the oath of fealty, and hostages likewise, from the nobles, and being confirmed in his kingdom, he became the terror of all those who had aspired to the kingdom. And having arranged his affairs in the different cities and castles, and having placed his own servants in them, he sailed back to Normandy with the English hostages, and with inestimable treasures. And, when he put the hostages in prison, and committed them to the custody of safe keepers, he returned again to England, where he distributed with a liberal hand the estates and possessions of the English among his Norman comrades who had helped him to subdue the country in the battle of Hastings; expelling all the legitimate owners successively, and becoming a tyrant rather than a king, he burdened the little that remained to them with the yoke of perpetual slavery. And when he saw himself now raised to such a lofty dignity, and confirmed in his proud kingdom, he became rapidly changed into another man; and, alas! alas! trampled under foot the nobles of the land, whom their hereditary blood had elevated from the times of old. And the nobles of the kingdom being indignant at this, fled, some of them to Malcolm, king of Scotland, others, preferring to end their unhappy lives rather than to endure a shameful slavery, sought the desert places and woods, and there living the life of wild beasts, and repenting of having made submission to the Normans, and being weighed down as to their inmost hearts with violent grief, though it was now too late, had recourse to the only hope left them, and prepared secret plots and intrigues. But the noble counts, the brothers Edwin and Morcar, and many other nobles, and many also of the bishops and clergy and many others, whom it would take too long to enumerate by name, when they saw that theirs was the weaker side, and as they disdained to become slaves, abandoned England altogether.

And as they all fled to Malcolm, king of Scotland, they were all honorably received by him. Then also, Edgar Atheling, the legitimate heir of the kingdom of England, seeing his

country plundered and disturbed on all sides, embarked on board ship with his mother Agatha, and his sisters Margaret and Christina, and endeavoured to return into Hungary, where he had been born; but, a tempest arising, he was compelled to land on the coast of Scotland. And, in consequence of the occasion thus offered, it came to pass that Margaret was given as a bride to king Malcolm, whose exemplary life and virtuous death are plainly set forth in a book specially composed on that subject. But his sister Christina became a nun, and deserves our benediction as one who was married for ever to a heavenly bridegroom.

Queen Margaret had six sons and two daughters, three of whom, namely, Edgar, Alexander, and David, became kings, as they were entitled to by the nobility of their family, and through them the noble blood of the kings of England, who were expelled from their own proper territories by the Normans, devolved upon the kings of Scotland.

Why king William the First was not crowned by the archbishop of Canterbury.

William was consecrated king, and crowned on the day of the Nativity of our Lord, on the second day of the week, by Ælfred, archbishop of York, as I have said before, because Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, had been suspended by pope Alexander as a schismatic. At that time there was a very powerful officer, Eadric, surnamed Silvaticus, the son of Ælfric, the son of Edric Streona; and the chatelains of Hereford, and Richard, the son of Scrob, frequently laid waste his territories, because he disdained to submit to the king, but, as often as they attacked him, they lost a great number of their soldiers and men-at-arms. Therefore Edric invited Bleothwin and Riwathe, kings of Wales, to come to his assistance; and, about the day of the Assumption of the blessed Virgin, he laid waste the province of Hereford, as far as the bridge over the river Wye, and carried off a large booty.

The abbey of Battle is built.

King William, exulting in his victory, gave praise to God. The same year also, the king built an abbey, which, in reference to the battle that had been fought there, he called Battle, in order that glory, and praise, and thanks, might be offered up in it to God for ever for the victory which he had given him, and also that offices for the souls of the dead who were slain

there might be performed by the monks who were established in it, with the offering of salutary victims; and he endowed and enriched the church with estates and privileges, and committed it to the patronage and protection of the kings who should reign in England after him.

William's duchess is consecrated queen.

A.D. 1068. Matilda, the wife of king William, was consecrated queen on the day of Pentecost, by Ældred, archbishop of York, on the twenty-second of March.[1] This year also, William had a son born in England, who was called Henry. For his first-born, William Rufus, and also Robert, were born in Normandy, before their father had conquered England.

Two sons of Sweyn came into England to subdue it.

A.D. 1069. Between the time of the two festivals of the blessed Virgin Mary, in the autumn, the two sons of Sweyn came with three hundred ships from Denmark into England, in order to subdue it in a hostile manner, and to take king William prisoner, or else expel him from England. But when their arrival was noised abroad, the counts, and barons, and nobles of the land went forth to meet them, being oppressed by the intolerable arrogance of the Normans; and they made a treaty with them, and so joined the army of the Danes, in order to overthrow king William. But William, that most prudent king, when he saw the danger that threatened him, humbled himself to them, and checked the insolence of the Normans; and having in this way recalled many of the English nobles to their allegiance, and having sagaciously made a treaty with them all, he took the city of York by storm, which was a great rendezvous of the Danes, and made himself master of every thing in it, and slew many thousand men there.

How king William, feeling secure, at length becomes a tyrant instead of a king.

A.D. 1070. On the fourth day of April, king William, being now become more secure on his throne, violated his promises in many respects; and he caused the monasteries to be searched throughout the whole of England, and commanded the money found in them, and the charters, in the privileges granted by which the nobles of England placed their trust, and which the

[1] There must, of course, be some mistake here. In all probability, he either means Easter, not Pentecost; or May, not March.

king, when in a position of difficulty, had sworn to observe himself, to be carried off by force from the churches where they had been deposited, and where they had hitherto lain in security, and to be taken to his own treasury.

Moreover, the whole Anglican Church held a great council in Easter week, at Winchester, by the management of the king, where many of the things which concerned the kingdom were changed. At that council too, Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, was ignominiously degraded, and his brother, Aylmer, bishop of East Anglia, and many other bishops and abbots were deposed at the same time. Ægelwin, bishop of Durham, alone, of all the prelates of England, seeing the unjust oppression of his brethren, and sympathizing with them, and feeling zeal for God, went of his own accord into banishment from England, wishing to entangle the oppressors in the knot of excommunication. Stigand was succeeded by Lanfranc, a monk, a man of elegant learning, and adorned with many and various polite accomplishments, who, among other magnificent works, composed a treatise on the Sacrament of the Altar, confirming the Catholic Faith. Aylmer was succeeded by Arfast, the king's chaplain; and he transferred the seat of his diocese to Thetford.

The English being expelled by the Normans, are injuriously and wickedly treated.

A.D. 1071. Lanfranc, abbot of Caen, was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, on the twenty-fourth of April. And this Lanfranc, when archbishop, established the order of monks according to the rule of Saint Benedict in many of the convents of England. And he did so, first of all, in the church of Canterbury; after that, in the church of Saint Alban, the protomartyr of the English, where also, when the abbot Frederic died, he appointed his nephew Paul as his successor; who, relying on the support of his uncle, restored the church, and reformed the brotherhood, which had fallen into some irregularities.

This year also, the English being very injuriously treated by the Normans, fled to the fens of Ely, and to the island of Thorney, where they made themselves a camp of refuge, and elected Hereward, a warrior of great energy and bravery, as their general. But king William, alluring some by promises and terrifying others by threats, and corrupting others again by bribes, at last surrounded all the fugitives with a numerous

army, and compelled them to return and to submit unto his authority.

King William received homage from the king of Scotland.

A.D. 1072. A general council of the kingdom of England was held, to discuss the question of the primacy of the church of Canterbury, as superior to the church of York, on the eighth of April. And at last it was decreed that the archbishop of Canterbury had the preeminence, and that the arch bishop of York was subordinate to him in everything.

Moreover, king William went to Scotland, and invaded it in a hostile manner, thinking that some of his indomitable enemies, and some of the refugees were there at the king's court, and that some of his own subjects were sheltered there. But as he found no such persons there, when he had received the homage of the king of Scotland, he returned to his own country.

In the same year, king William invaded Scotland with a great army, and Malcolm, king of Scotland, came peaceably to Berwick to meet him, and became his subject. At this time, count Ranulph of Micenis governed the earldom of Carlisle, who had given efficacious assistance to king William in his conquest of England. He began to build the city of Carlisle, and to strengthen the citizens with many privileges. But when king William was returning from Scotland through Cumberland, seeing so royal a city, he took it from count Ranulph, and gave him instead of it the earldom of Chester, which was endowed with many honours and privileges. And king William commanded Carlisle to be fortified with very strong towers and ramparts. Moreover, king William the Conqueror, on his return from Scotland, built a new castle at Durham, to serve as a protection against the irruptions of the Scots.

King William subdued Normandy, which had rebelled against him.

A.D. 1073. Pope Alexander died on the last day of March, and was succeeded by Hildebrand, who took the name of Gregory. The same year, the monks of Saint Ouen came with a band of armed men, and attacked John, archbishop of Rouen, as he was celebrating mass, on the festival of the above-named saint. On which account it was decided in a council which was assembled in that city, over which William, king of England,

presided, that the monks who were guilty of this crime, should be thrown into prison by the abbot.

Moreover the same year, king William, supported by the assistance of the English, reduced Normandy, which had rebelled against him, to submit to his authority by force of arms. After that, having established peace everywhere, and arranged everything well, and having received the English with the fulness of his affection, he returned to England.

Some Priests who had been guilty of Simony, and who had taken wives, are excommunicated by pope Gregory. Wolstan is restored to his bishopric.

A.D. 1074. Gregory, who is also called Hildebrand, held a synod, and anathematized those guilty of simony. Some priests who had taken wives he removed from their holy office, by a new example, and as it seemed to many an inconsiderate prejudice, in contradiction to the opinions of the ancient fathers. The blessed Wolstan, who had been unjustly deposed by archbishop Lanfranc, was restored to his diocese, in consequence of a miracle. After he had fixed his pastoral staff on the tomb of the blessed Edward, no one except himself could draw it out again.

But the pope, to punish those priests who had married wives more rigorously, and by punishing them to recall them from those illicit embraces, forbade the laity to hear mass from them, and ordered also the tithes which were due to such priests to be burnt in the fire.

The same year, Canute, son of Sweyn, and count Haco, came from Denmark, with a powerful and hostile army, and with two hundred large ships; but their enterprise was frustrated, by the circumspection and prudence of the most invincible king William.

Edith, queen of England, died. The king cursed his son Robert, surnamed Cortehose.

A.D. 1075. Queen Edith died on the fifth of April. The same year, king William gave the daughter of William, the son of Osbert, to earl Radolph, as his wife, and gave him also the government of Northfolk and Sutfolk. This Radolph was of British extraction, on his mother's side, and his father was an Englishman. He was born in Norfolk, and there he celebrated his marriage, which was the cause of destruction to many persons. At that wedding there were present earl

Roger and earl Waltheof, and many bishops and abbots; and they took counsel how to expel king William from his kingdom. And this speedily became known to the king, who was in Normandy, and immediately the king returned to England, and took Waltheof, and Roger, who was his own kinsman, and threw them into prison. As to the rest who were present at the wedding, he deferred his determination.

The same year, on Easter day, the above-named king William gave his daughter Cecilia to be dedicated to the service of God with devout solemnity in the church at Feschamp. Also king William cursed his son Robert, because he had often provoked him to anger, and in the bitterness of his soul he drove him from his sight and presence. And Robert at the end of his life found out undeniably how great was the effect of the paternal malediction, when having become blind, he was exposed to the hatred and persecution of his brothers, and so died miserably in prison.

A general Earthquake in England.

A.D. 1076. On the twenty-seventh day of March the earth trembled, and a general earthquake took place all over England, and a heavy frost and great abundance of ice continued from the beginning of November to the middle of April. This year, duke Waltheof was beheaded.

This is the thirteenth year of the first cycle of nineteen years, after the repetition of the great year of Dionysius, two of which have now elapsed since the passion of our Lord.

The monastic orders revived in England, owing to the example and doctrine of archbishop Lanfranc.

A.D. 1077. On Palm Sunday, which fell on the sixteenth of April, a star appeared about six o'clock, while the sky was quite clear. This year, Lauzo, the prior of Saint Pancras, came into England, and Paul, a monk of Cadomum, a nephew of archbishop Lanfranc, was created abbot of Saint Alban's. And by his means, with the assistance of Lanfranc, the whole monastic order in England was again brought into a flourishing state. Likewise the abbot Paul himself enriched his church with ample possessions and many privileges.

The emperor is excommunicated for disobedience.

A.D. 1078. A violent quarrel arose between pope Gregory and the emperor Henry. At last the emperor was excom-

municated.[1] After that, he ravaged the province of Swabia. King William held his court at Gloucester, and conferred bishoprics on those of his chaplains, giving the diocese of London to Maurice, of Norwich to William, and of Chichester to Robert. The same year, Guiscard, the noble duke of Apulia, died, and was succeeded by his two sons, Roger and Beaumont. This year also, a naval war of deadly animosity broke out between the states of Venice and Baris, for the sake of the body of Saint Nicholas. The same year, count William de Warenne, who had come into England with William the Bastard, founded the abbey of Saint Pancras of Lewes.

Wales is subdued by the English, and Antioch is taken by the Pagans.

A.D. 1079. John, archbishop of Rouen, died, and was succeeded by William, who had been abbot of Cadomum. The restoration of the church of the bishopric of Winchester was commenced. On the night of the nativity of our Lord a violent storm of wind shook several solid buildings.

This year also, king William led a powerful army into Wales, and subjugated it; and received homage and hostages for their fidelity from the petty kings of the viscounty. The same year, Antioch was taken by the pagans, together with the adjacent province, which had been a Christian land ever since the time of Saint Peter, without any disturbances. The same year, Malcolm, king of Scotland, became furious a second time after the Assumption of the blessed Virgin Mary, and ravaged the whole of Northumberland, as far as the river Tyne. But when he heard of this, the king of England sent his son Robert with an army into Scotland, who returned without having succeeded in his objects, and built a new castle in the river Tyne, and then returned to his father. The same year also, the king sent his brother Odo, bishop of Bayeux, with a large army, to lay waste Northumberland, the people of which district had risen in insurrection against the king, and had murdered Walcher, bishop of Durham, a man of exemplary character, at Gateshead.

A false King is slain by the Emperor.

A.D. 1080. Pope Hildebrand, who is also called Gregory, predicted, as if he had been informed of it by divine revelation, that a false king would die this year. His prediction,

[1] This was the origin of the wars between the Guelfs and Ghibelins.

indeed, was true; but he was deceived in his opinion and conjecture as to who the false king was, for he interpreted the prophecy according to his own wish, as if it concerned the emperor Henry. But that emperor fought a severe battle against the Saxons, in which he slew the false king of Saxony, whose name was Radulf, with many other princes of Saxony. The same year, the town of Newcastle on the Tyne was founded by king William.

William, archbishop of Rouen, held a council at Lisseber. An earthquake, accompanied with terrible noise, took place in England.

A.D. 1081. William, archbishop of Rouen, held a council at Lisseber, at which king William was present, with many bishops and princes. The same year, a great earthquake, accompanied with a terrible subterraneous noise, took place all over England, in a manner contrary to the usual course of nature; and it is believed that it happened as a sad omen of the changes of decrees, and laws, and regulations which took place in the before-mentioned council.

Martian, the historiographer, a man, forsooth, of great authority, has written chronicles extending from the nativity of Christ to this time.

A.D. 1082. Marian, a Scot, a lineal descendant of the holy Bede, examined all the books of that venerable saint, and many others, and endeavoured to resemble him in purity of life and learning. This Marian, beginning his chronicles with the nativity of Christ, carried them on, giving a true and full account of everything to this year, taking especial pains to correct the errors in chronology as to the years that had elapsed during the lifetime of our Lord. For the diversity of opinions on this subject had created suspense in the minds of the elect.

Queen Matilda died, and King William became more tyrannical.

A.D. 1083. Queen Matilda died on the thirteenth of April. She was rather old, and the wife of king William, and the daughter of Baldwin, count of Flanders, and she was buried at Cadomum, in the monastery of the holy Virgin Mary; which she herself had built from its very foundations, and had nobly endowed. The same year, king William sent his justiciary throughout the whole of England, through every county, and commanded him to enquire and make diligent investiga-

tion as to how many acres or roods of land there was in each, and how much was sufficient for the maintenance of one soldier. He also caused investigation to be made into the revenues of the different cities, and towns, and villages, to ascertain what they usually amounted to. He also inquired how much stock was sufficient for the cultivation of one hide of land, and also what was the yearly income derived from the rivers and fens, and woods, and how many soldiers there were in each county, that he might know what number of men there were in whom he could rely in a case of urgent necessity; all which things were set down in writing, and the documents were brought to Westminster, and laid up carefully, to be preserved in the royal treasury. Then, as he became older, he also became more covetous, and more like a tyrant than a king, so that he cruelly extorted six shillings from every plough or hide of land throughout the whole kingdom.

In the same year, Maurice, bishop of London, began the great church which is not finished to this day. In this year, the privileges of the church of Durham were granted, and confirmed by Thomas, archbishop of York.

The brave Waltheof is put to death. The emperor Henry recovers his power.

A.D. 1084. Waltheof was beheaded. He was a count of noble family, of great bodily strength, strong in his chest, and of a lofty, and imposing stature; being the son of Siward, that most noble count, whom, in the Danish language, they called Droggers, that is, "Brave." He was buried at Croyland. The same year, the Romans received Henry as their emperor, and Hildebrand also was deposed from his papacy by their decision. Wibert, bishop of the city of Ravenna, was enthroned in the Apostolic See, and assumed the name of Clement, and every one exclaimed that Hildebrand had been rightly deposed, as guilty of *lése majesté*, inasmuch as he had presumed to set up another emperor in opposition to the emperor, Henry. The same year, Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino, was made pope, in opposition to Clement, but very soon after he died of a dysentery. The same year, William, king of England, with great ceremony, invested his younger son, Henry, with the military belt at Westminster, on the Day of Pentecost. After that, he received the homage and oath of fealty of all the English, to whatever fee or tenancy

they belonged, and he levied large sums of money from every one against whom he could find any pretence of any sort. After that, he crossed the sea to Normandy.

Now, therefore, in requital of their sins, the ancient nobility of the English began to decay under its oppression, and the souls of the nobles, in accordance with the prophecy of the blessed Edward, drew sorrowful sighs from the bottom of their hearts.

King William prospers in his ways, and founds two convents.

A.D. 1085. King William, after he had banished nearly the whole of the nobility of England, gave full vent to his tyrannical temper, and became savage and inhuman, having no affection for anything but wild animals, for the sake of which he mutilated, and plundered, and imprisoned, and executed men. He enriched Normandy, he subdued and made himself master of Maine, and reduced Brittany to submit to his authority, and he united Scotland to England. He was a most sagacious confiscator of the possessions of robbers and banditti, and a merciless condemner of the men themselves. So that merchants, and foreigners, and travellers could travel throughout the whole length and breadth of England without injury, even if they had been seen to be loaded with treasures of gold; though at all previous times every wood abounded with wolves and highwaymen. For the English of noble and generous birth being expelled from their possessions, and being ashamed to beg, and not knowing how to dig, lurked in the woods with their sons and brothers, thirsting only for booty and plunder, as they were deprived of hunting, and had no other means of obtaining food.

This year, king William gave the bishopric of Dorchester to a man named Remigius, a monk of Feschamp, by whose salutary warnings the king was taught, for the atonement of his transgressions, to found two monasteries, one in honour of Saint Martin, in England, where the battle had been fought, and to which he gave the name of Battle, as has been said before. The other monastery he founded in Normandy, at Caen, in honour of Saint Stephen, the protomartyr, and he ordered it to be consecrated. By queen Matilda he had several children, namely, Robert and Richard, William and Henry, from whom afterwards the line of the kings of England descended.

William the Conqueror.	Robert Curthose. William Rufus, king. Richard. Henry Beauclerc, king. Adela (married to Stephen, of Blois, whose son was afterwards king). And four other daughters.	Matilda, their mother, and the queen, was the daughter of Baldwin, count of Flanders.

King William endows two monasteries, which he has founded, to wit, that of Saint Martin, in England, and that of Saint Stephen, in Normandy.

A.D. 1086. King William founded a second monastery in Normandy, and when it was finished, he enriched it with estates and privileges.

Robert, the first-born son of king William, being discontented at Normandy being refused to him even while his father was still alive, departed into Italy in great anger, where he married the daughter of the marquis Boniface, in order to gain additional power to attack his father; but, when he was disappointed in this expectation, he excited Philip, king of France, to enmity against his father; for which conduct he was deprived of his father's blessing, and of his inheritance; and after the death of William, he lost the kingdom of England, being scarcely permitted to retain the dukedom of Normandy.

King William had one most excellent custom, by which he is said to have escaped divine vengeance for his tyrannical conduct. He attended mass, and all the hours of divine service diligently, and with the simplicity of a child, and would never permit himself to be hindered from so doing by the most urgent or perplexing business, and while so engaged, he did not cease to bend his knees, and pray devoutly.

King William dies. Divides his substance in a marvellous manner. Robert, the first-born, is rejected. William succeeds.

A.D. 1087. A great disaster happened in England. For the nation was attacked by such a great disease and pestilence, that those who escaped the fevers died of famine. For God sent tempests, and thunders, and lightnings, by which many men perished, and He spared neither animals nor cattle; but

even the domestic birds of England, the peacocks, and poultry and geese, fled from the houses, and all became wild birds. This year, king William was in France, and ravaged the kingdom of king Philip, and slaughtered many of his subjects. He also burnt a noble castle called Mathaunte, and all the churches which were in that district, and burnt alive a number of the common people, and two holy anchorites; after which, he departed into Normandy, and sojourned there.

But king William, in the latter part of his life, while dwelling in Normandy, rested for awhile, after he had contracted a league of friendship with Philip, king of France. And king Philip, ridiculing his patience, is reported to have said, "William, king of England, is lying at Rouen, keeping his bed like women who have just been delivered from travail." And king William, being irritated at this sarcasm, replied, "When I go to mass, after my confinement, I will light him up a hundred thousand candles." And not long afterwards, in the month of August, he assembled an immense army, and entered France, subduing everything, and laying waste everything. Last of all, he set fire to the city of Nantes, and burnt it, and, being elated at its destruction, while he was encouraging his men boldly to add fuel to the flame, he came too near the fire, and, owing to the heat of the flames, and the unequal temperature of the autumn, he caught an illness, in consequence of which he withdrew his army, and returned to Rouen. But, on the twenty-seventh of March, when he felt that the day of his death was at hand, king William released his brother Odo, and all those whom he had committed to prison in England or Normandy, and performed a severe penance, for the fact that any one who in his time had caught a wild boar, or a stag, without license, had been deprived of his eyes. He was an inviolable preserver of peace and justice, so that a maiden loaded with gold might have traversed the kingdom of England in security.

King William divided his territories in the following strange manner. Against his will, and because he was compelled to do so, he left Normandy to Robert his eldest son, to William, his second son, he bequeathed the monarchy of England, and to Henry he left all his mother's possessions and a large treasure.

So king William left both his kingdom and his life on the ninth of September, after he had reigned over the English nation twenty years, ten months, and twenty-eight days. His body was carried to Caen, and buried there.

William, the son of king William, hastened with all speed to England, and was consecrated king, on the twenty-seventh day of September, on the Lord's day, at Westminster, by Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury. He endowed the abbey of Saint Martin of Battle, and loved it, and confirmed everything that had been established there by his father, and paid reverence to his tomb, and to the day of his anniversary; which, however, Robert obstinately refused to do; and so, moved by his example, did his other sons too. There were present at his funeral three persons who had been his chaplains, and on whom the king had conferred the dignity of bishop; namely, Maurice, bishop of London, William, bishop of Norwich, and Robert, bishop of Winchester.

Of the Sacrament of the Altar.

The same year, Berengarius of Tours, who had fallen into heretical error, had corrupted nearly all the Gauls, and Italians, and the English with his own erroneous sentiments, asserting new and unheard-of and false doctrines concerning the sacrament of the altar, and the transubstantiation, both of the bread into flesh, and also of the wine into blood. But the prudence of Lanfranc detected all the wiles of his adversaries, and confirmed the catholic truth in every point. Paul also, of whom we have already made mention, suffered not the ecclesiastical truth to fall to the ground. And thus the Christian religion, as to the sacrament of the altar, was irrefragably established.

The Venetians, who were designing to carry away the body of Saint Nicholas from Mirrhea, in Lycia, which had been destroyed by the Turks, were anticipated by the citizens of Bari, who came to the number of forty-seven from Antioch to Mirrhea, and who compelled four monks, who were still found there, to show them the tomb of the saint; and when they had broken it open, they found the bones of the holy Nicholas swimming in liquid oil, complete in number, and they took them out, and carried them to Bari with great glory. And this removal of the bones of the saint took place seven hundred and fifty-five years after his burial.

The same year, while some men of patrician rank, debating at Milan on affairs of state, were sitting together in a tower in that city, a voice sounded in the ears of all them, calling one of them by name, and begging him to depart with all speed. And, as he delayed to comply, a certain person appeared to

him, who, having called him, prevailed upon him by entreaty to depart. And, when he had gone out, the tower suddenly fell, and crushed all who were there miserably.

Ch. II.—From A.D. 1088 to A.D. 1100.

Many of the nobles prefer the claim of Robert—Prudence of William—His coronation—He makes war on Robert—Malcolm does homage to him for Scotland—Death of Malcolm—A great council is held at Clermont—The first crusade—Valour of Robert, and of Tancred and Bohemond—Robert mortgages Normandy to king William—Alexius, emperor of Constantinople—Soliman is defeated—Nice is taken, and Antioch—Siege of Jerusalem—King William is killed, and succeeded by Henry—Baldwin is crowned king of Jerusalem—Robert returns to Europe.

William, king of England, the great conqueror, being dead, William Rufus succeeds to the kingdom, being the second son of the late king.

A.D. 1088. Many of the nobles of England disdaining to be subject to the younger brother, and to desert the cause of Robert, the eldest son, said it would be too unworthy a proceeding to be subject to the younger brothers, while abandoning so gallant and noble a soldier. But the prudence of the king, as he was not able to bend every one at once, proceeded cautiously to propitiate individuals, and at first he promised privileges according to his own discretion; afterwards he was not slack in recalling what it was not his to give; and thus he promised cunningly, with a crafty mental reservation of his own; conduct which did not escape the notice of God.

Victor was elected pope, and governed the papal see one year, four months, and four days.

The coronation of William Rufus.

Therefore the new king was crowned at London, being both in name and fact William Rufus. And there were present at his coronation, Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, who had consecrated him king, and Thomas, archbishop of York, and Maurice, bishop of London, and Walkelm, bishop of Winchester, and Galfrid, bishop of Chichester, and Alnoth, bishop of Worcester, and William, bishop of Thetford, and Robert, bishop of Chester, and William, bishop of Durham, and Odo,

bishop of Bayeaux, the justiciary of all England, and Remigius, bishop of Lincoln, which bishopric, by the management of Remigius, was transferred, as far as its site is concerned, to the place where the seat of the diocese now is. For as that bishopric was one of exceedingly large extent, reaching from the Thames to the Humber, he thought it not fitting that the cathedral city should be in a small town at one end of the diocese, when Lincoln was much superior, both in situation and in its buildings. Accordingly, having bought some lands, he caused a church to be built in the highest part of the city, near the castle, and canons to be ordained to the territory. But now, returning from our digressions from the main subject, let us resume that main subject. The evil which had affected the English, now in some degree returned to the English. For all the nobles of the kingdom whom William the Great had promoted became proud, being indignant at a younger son reigning over them, Robert, the first-born, a noble and magnanimous prince, being set aside; and so they made war upon William, not without laying themselves open to the imputation of perjury. But within three years they were all put down, and their estates distributed among more faithful people.

Lanfranc, the noble Prelate of the Church of Canterbury, died.

A.D. 1089. Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, died on the twenty-fourth of March, who had restored the large church in Canterbury, and all its offices. He procured many additional dignities for that church; he restored its manors, he established two receiving houses for strangers, by condemning heresies he confirmed the faith, he established in an admirable manner the monastic order there, by the assistance of Paul, his nephew, who was a monk, and whom he brought with him out of Normandy, and appointed to be abbot of Saint Alban's; he restored the church at Rochester; he diligently corrected, by a comparison with the ancient copies, the books which the rude simplicity of the English had corrupted; in the confirmation of which the church delights to feel itself strengthened. This year, king William began to wage war against his brother Robert, duke of Normandy. The same year, an earthquake took place, and the monks of Bermondsey came into England, at the invitation of Lanfranc. That Remigius was a monk of Feschamp, who also founded a new convent of monks at Saint Mary de Stoke, and a second at Harden.

King William wages war against his brother Robert.

A.D. 1090. King William, waging war against his elder brother, Robert, took the castles of Saint Valeri and Albemarle. For he was eager to avenge the injuries which he had done to his younger brother, from whom he had treacherously obtained a large sum of money, by selling to him a part of his estate and taking it away afterwards, and by circumventing his brother's simplicity by other similar frauds and acts of cunning. For this prince Robert was of a perfect figure of body, vigorous, bold, and fearless, of great muscular strength, of large bone, of lofty stature, and a manly expression of countenance; but insatiably avaricious, very cunning, and out of arrogance disobedient to his father, magnanimous sovereign as he was; he had no devotion to God, no fidelity to his brother William. At last, indeed, much against his will, he did become faithful to him. For being compelled by necessity, he sought some great friends to make his brother friendly to him, and he himself was reconciled to him after a fashion.

The same year, the church of the blessed Mary of Castilacra was founded by William, count de Warenne.

Malcolm, king of the Scots, did homage to king William. The king, becoming ill, made good promises, but did not keep them.

A.D. 1091. A violent and mischievous wind struck London, shaking the towers, and buildings, and fruit-bearing trees. Remigius, bishop of Lincoln, when he had arranged to dedicate the church which had been completed with so much magnificence, after he had prepared everything that was necessary for such a solemnity, died the day before that on which it was to have taken place. Thomas, archbishop of York, resisted and contradicted him in this matter, affirming that it was built in his diocese. On which account, the consecration was delayed, because an appeal was pending, and because of the untimely death of the bishop. The same year, the body of the blessed Clement, the first bishop who was ordained by the Apostles, was found at Mechi. About the end of this year, or the beginning of the next, king William became reconciled to his brother Robert, having been prevailed on by the entreaties of many of his friends, on condition, however, that the castles which the king had obtained from his brother, should remain his property; and that the king should assist him in obtaining all the things which his father had be-

queathed to him, receiving similar assistance from him. And they made an inviolable agreement, that if either of them died before the other, without a son, the other should be his heir. And some nobles, selected for the purpose, swore to this agreement on the part of the king, and an equal number on the part of count Robert.

In the meantime, Malcolm, king of the Scots, overran the borders of England, plundering and ravaging them; but when the king, in union with his brother Robert, marched with speed towards that district, with an army, Malcolm became alarmed, and met him with peaceful professions, and, having done him homage, swore fealty to him.

Also, about the end of this, or the beginning of the succeeding year, the church of Saint Oswin of Tynemouth was put in order for the reception of monks, who were established there, under the regular discipline of Saint Benedict, under Paul, the abbot of Saint Alban's. After this, king William becoming very ill, promised to pass some good laws, and to have peace with the church. But when he recovered, he repented of having made such promises, and oppressed the kingdom and the church more severely than he had previously done, so that, on a false pretext, he extorted five hundred thousand marks from one church, namely, from Lincoln. He appointed Anselm archbishop of Canterbury: but subsequently he persecuted him illegally, and drove him into banishment. Accordingly, Anselm went into exile, and remained there till he saw in a vision of the night that all the saints of England were complaining to the Most High of the tyranny of king William, who was destroying his churches. And God said, "Let Alban, the proto-martyr of the English, come hither;" and he gave him an arrow which was on fire, saying, "Behold the death of the man of whom you complain before me." And the blessed Alban, receiving the arrow, said, "And I will give it to a wicked spirit, an avenger of sins;" and saying this, he threw it down to earth, and it flew through the air like a comet. And immediately archbishop Anselm perceived in the spirit that the king, having been shot by that arrow, died that night. And accordingly, at the first dawn of the morning, having celebrated mass, he ordered his vestments, and his books, and other moveables, to be got in readiness, and immediately set out on his journey to his church. And when he came near it, he heard that king

William had been shot by an arrow that very night, and was dead. But this event will be mentioned hereafter in its proper place. The same year, lord Herebert, abbot of Ramsey, received the bishopric of Thetford.

Malcolm, king of the Scots, is slain. The holy Margaret, his wife, seeing this and other misfortunes, died.

A.D. 1092. Malcolm, king of Scotland, invaded England for the sake of plunder, but was suddenly intercepted and slain. And when his queen, the God-beloved Margaret, heard this, she from that day forth wasted away with grief, and soon after ender her life, amid prayers and tears; for the Lord chastened her with a double affliction. For Edward, the son of Malcolm and this queen, and the heir of Scotland if he had lived, was slain with his father Malcolm. Then the Scots elected Dunewal, the brother of Malcolm, king; but Duncan, the son of Malcolm, who had been a hostage at the court of king William, advanced his claim by the assistance of William, and put his uncle to flight, and suceeeded his father in the kingdom. The same year, John, bishop of Wells, a native of Tours, transferred the cthedral seat of his diocese to Bath. King William gave the bishopric of Lincoln to his chancellor, Robert Bloet. King William restored the city of Caerleon, which had been destroyed long before in the Danish persecution, and brought inhabitants to it from the southern districts of England. This year also a great deal of rain fell, and an inundation took place, a greater than which had never been seen. King William oppressed the whole kingdom, and also the clergy, with various exactions, and imposed many badges of slavery on men, for which he incurred the curse of many whom he oppressed.

Some of the acts mentioned at the end of this year belong partly to the preceding one.

Frost and snow, such as were never seen before.

A.D. 1093. After some excessive inundations which had been caused by the rain, even the large rivers were covered with such a thick ice, which lasted a long time, that they became passable for men and loaded carriages and waggons. At last, when the snow melted, the fragments of ice floating down the river left scarcely one sound bridge in the whole country. This year also, Suho, provost of Beauvais, was consecrated by the pope bishop of Chartres. In this, or rather in the end of

the former year, king William gave the diocese of Canterbury in peace to Anselm, whose ordination took place on the fourth of December.

The seat of the bishopric is transferred from Thetford to Norwich.

A.D. 1094. On the ninth of April, the seat of his bishopric was removed from Thetford to Norwich by Herebert Loseng. Alwin, the founder of Bermondsey, died. The before-mentioned Herebert became bishop of Thetford by the purchase of the episcopal dignity, having formerly been abbot of Ramsay. But afterwards he repented, and went to Rome, and restored to the pope the staff and ring which he had acquired by simony. But, by the favourable indulgence of the Apostolic See, he was restored.

The same year, king William sent his brother Henry into Normandy with a large sum of money, on purpose to subdue it. The count of Northumberland having become elated at having defeated the king of Scotland, as has been mentioned already, treated the king's court with insult; and therefore the king marched his army into Northumberland to attack Robert, and took prisoners in Newcastle all the more powerful members of the king's household, and loaded them with chains. The castle of Bamborough was restored to the king, and all the favourers of the count were ill treated; for William of Anjou was deprived of his eyes, and Odo, count of Champagne, and many others, had their property confiscated. The same year, king William led an army into Wales, because the year before the Welch had slain many of the Normans, and had broken down their strongholds, and the castle of Montgomery, and put all that they found in it to death. Therefore, king William traversed the country of the Welch with a hostile army; but, finding himself unable to pursue them amid the lurking places of their mountains and their thick woods, established some forts on the borders, and returned to his own country. The same year, stars were seen to fall from heaven.

"A monster born of Losing rises up
Within the church; the base Simoniac sect
Which tramples on the virtues of the canons.
Peter, why slumberest thou? For Simon seeks
Too high preferment in his wicked flight.
If thou wert present he would fly less high.
Alas, alas! for money, for base dross,
The church is sold. Lo! here a son is bishop:
A father abbot. Simon both at once.

What is beyond our hopes if we have money?
Money has all the world, does what it wills;
Bestows and takes away; and, shameful thing,
For money bishops and abbots are created."

During this year, king William went into Normandy, and from thence he sent into England, and ordered twenty thousand English to come to him. But after they had reached the sea-shore, he ordered them to return, and to send the king the money which they had brought with them, amounting to twenty shillings a man.

The holy Wolstan died, and a great council was held.

A.D. 1095. On the twenty-fifth of March, a man of exemplary character, Wolstan, bishop of Worcester, died; and as he was passing from life, he appeared to Robert, bishop of Hereford, in a vision, who immediately hastened to Worcester to bury him. But that holy man Wolstan, to whose holiness the blessed king Edward, as has been already mentioned, even after he was dead, bore witness, became afterwards so eminent for signs and wonders, that the times of the Apostles seemed to have returned.

The same year, that is to say, in the thousand and ninety-fifth year of the Divine Incarnation, a great council was held under the presidency of the pope, at Clermont, a city of Auvergne; where the lord pope himself made a speech to the people on the subject of the Holy Land, of such holiness and of such convincing efficacy, that he animated many illustrious princes to undertake an expedition to Jerusalem, and to make a return to Christ by dying for him. Therefore the pope's speech was not void of effect, and many nobles took the sign of the cross, whom it would be tedious to enumerate. Among whom Robert, duke of Normandy, assumed the cross, with the purpose of entering on that holy expedition, and mortgaged Normandy to his brother William for ten thousand pounds of silver. And he was joined by Robert, count of Flanders, and Eustace, count of Boulogne. There also took part in the expedition duke Godfrey, Baldwin, earl of Monte, and another Baldwin, destined to be the future kings of Jerusalem. A third body was composed of Raymond, count of Saint Giles, Adelmar, bishop of Puy, a man eminent for his skill in arms, but still more so for the purity of his life, and the bishop of Hostia, who were the prelates of the army. There were also Hugh the Great, brother of the king of France,

Stephen, count of Blois, Bohemond, the nephew of Tancred, and others whose names this page is insufficient to contain.

Peter the Hermit was the first actually to set out for Jerusalem, at the head of an innumerable army. But, as thirty thousand of his men were slain before he reached Jerusalem, he incurred an irreparable loss. The first battle of the Christians was at the bridge over the river Pharphax, on the twenty-first of February. The second was before Nice, which they took on the nineteenth of June. They also took Laodicea. But though more than three hundred thousand armed men had taken the vow, there was such plenty in their camp, that a sheep was sold for a shilling, and an ox for less than twelve. When, therefore, after seven weeks and three days, they divided the army, and proceeded onward to Antioch, that division was surrounded by a body of three hundred and sixty cavalry, and an innumerable host of Arabs. They sent to the other division for assistance, and a terrible battle took place, in which the Christians were very severely handled; and, as they were beginning to think of flight, Robert, duke of Normandy, met them, and shouted, "Oh, soldiers, whither are you fleeing? Their horses are more speedy than ours; we must not flee, for it is better to die honourably than to flee disgracefully. Follow me." There was a man of great and marvellous prowess! Scarcely had he finished speaking, when he directed the point of his spear against a certain king of the pagan host, which pierced through wood and iron and body of the man. Then he overthrew a second and a third, and many more who were fated never to rise again. In like manner, Tancred, Bohemond, Richard, and Robert dealt valiant blows among the enemy. When lo! Hugh the Great and Anselm de Ribeaumont came with a numerous force, in advance of the other division of the army, and, being fresh, completely routed the wearied pagans; who, when they saw such a number of enemies coming up unexpectedly, took to flight. So the Christians gained the victory, though it was but a disastrous one, on the first day of July. From thence they marched onwards to Heraclea, and from thence to Tarsus, which became subject to the noble count Baldwin. Athenæ and Mamistra were subdued by Tancred. The duke of Normandy took a certain city called Simeon; and Raymond and Bohemond took another, which they entrusted to Peter of the Alps. At last, they arrived at Iron Bridge; and, on the twentieth of October, they

laid siege to Antioch, which is the metropolis of Syria. In February, a wonderful army of the pagans assembled at Iron Bridge, near the castle of Areth, and our six commanders hastened to attack them; but the great numbers of the pagans encountered them with such vigour, that they retreated a little; and Bohemond, the decider of battles, and Robert, the standard-bearer, the son of Gerard, rushed like lions upon the enemy. In that conflict the duke of Normandy clave one man of gigantic stature through the head, and teeth, and neck, and shoulders down to his breast. And duke Godfrey cut another through the middle; and when one part of him had fallen to the ground, the other part still remained firm on the horse, and was carried back among the pagans. And when they saw this, they became frightened, and fled, and departed to the wrath of damnation.

At this time, Alexius was the emperor of the Greeks, a cunning man, and one who was always devising injury and treachery against our men. This year, the church of Saint John the Baptist was founded at Colchester, by Eudo, the king's steward.

Duke Robert goes to Jerusalem. Normandy is mortgaged.

A.D. 1096. While pope Urban was still sowing the word of the Lord, with the co-operation of many other divines and prelates, eminent for learning, and virtue, and eloquence, the business of the cross went on prosperously; and, as the council was not yet dissolved, a general indulgence from their sins was granted by the pope, to whom, as vicar of the blessed Peter, all power of binding and loosing upon earth has been granted, to all who had assumed, or should hereafter assume, the sign of the cross. This year, duke Robert proceeded to the Holy Land; and the same year a great slaughter of the Jews took place at Rouen. Stars were seen to fall from heaven. King William received Normandy as mortgaged to him. The count of Toulouse, with the legions that accompanied him, began his march towards the Holy Land. This year also, the city of Nice[1] was besieged by our Christians.

Duke Godfrey begins his march to Jerusalem. Antioch is besieged.

A.D. 1097. On the fifth of April, a certain marsh at Fin-

[1] It will be observed here, that our chronicler has stated Nice to have been already taken. In reality it put itself under the protection of Alexius in June 1097. See Gibbon, c. lviii. vol. xi. p. 59.

chamstede, in Berkshire, flowed with blood. Godfrey, duke of Brabant, began his march towards Jerusalem, and joined our army; and a great battle was fought between the Christians and the Turks, the latter hoping to relieve the city of Nice, which was besieged by our troops. Soliman, the lord of that city, and of the extensive and fertile country which lay around it, was defeated with the pagans, of whom he was the sovereign and the general; and the glorious city of Nice was taken in the month of July, on the twentieth day of the month. The same year, the most noble city of Antioch was besieged. The surrounding country was subdued, with many towns and castles which belonged to Antioch, and another very powerful city in the neighbourhood. In this year also, Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated Samson, bishop of Worcester, bishop of London. The same year, Richard was appointed abbot of Saint Alban's. This year, the church of the Holy Trinity, at Norwich, was founded.

Antioch is taken by the Christians.

A.D. 1098. In the month of June, on the third day of the month, Antioch was taken by the Christians, in the ninth month from the commencement of the siege. And after that, the Christians were besieged in the same city by Corbaran, prince of Persia, who advanced against it with a countless multitude of pagans. The Lance of the Saviour was found in the city, in the church of Saint Peter, where it was concealed; and the Christians marched out of the city, bearing the lance before them, and a battle took place, than which a more terrible one was never seen, between the Christians and Saracens, and the victory, by the divine mercy, was on the side of the Christians; Corbaran fled, and his whole army was routed, in which there were very many of the kings and chiefs of the pagans. And this fortunate battle, full of all joy, took place in the month of June, on the twentieth day of the month. This year, the convent of the Charter House was began by the brotherhood, who were seeking a suitable dwelling. And a voice was heard from above, saying in the language of the country, "Ciestavus," that is to say, "Stop here;" on which they stopped where they were, and founded a church and other buildings, which daily prospered and increased in temporal and spiritual things.

The Holy City of Jerusalem was besieged by the Christians.

A.D. 1099. The most holy city of Jerusalem was besieged by the Christians. This year also, the sea broke its bounds, and did such a quantity of mischief as no one had ever seen or heard of before. The great church of the convent of the Charter House, with its barrier, was begun, in the presence of a large body of the brethren then assembled. Adelmar, bishop of Puy, died, a man eminent for his vigour in the use of both spiritual and material weapons, and very skilful in all matters of military discipline. And by his death the Christian army lost a great hope and comfort. On the tenth of April, Jerusalem was taken by the Christians. The number of Christians who besieged it was forty thousand picked infantry, and fifteen hundred knights, without counting those who flocked to join the army from day to day. And the Christians offered the kingdom of Jerusalem to Robert, duke of Normandy, and, because he refused it, God was offended with him, nor was he ever prosperous in any subsequent undertaking. Then our princes, by common consent, having first invoked the grace of the Holy Spirit, appointed a king and patriarch, appointing duke Godfrey king, and Arnulph, bishop of Maturanum, in Calabria, patriarch.

The same year, king William held his court in the new Hall at Westminster, which he had built himself.

King William dies, being slain by an arrow, and his brother Henry is crowned.

A.D. 1100. William, king of England, while he was hunting in the New Forest, on the day of Saint Peter ad Vincula, was shot by an arrow by Walter Tyrell, who did not intend to do so, and so died. But the day before he departed this life, he saw in a dream that he was losing blood by the wound of a phlebotomist, and that a ray of blood reached up into heaven, and covered the light with a cloud, and obstructed the day. And so he awoke from sleep, and called on the Holy Mary, ordered a light to be brought, and forbade his chamberlains to leave him. But when Aurora began to bring day upon the earth, a certain monk related to Robert, the son of Hamo, a dream which he had seen respecting the king the same night. He had seen a vision of the king entering a certain church with haughty gait, as was his custom, despising all who stood around. Then taking hold of the crucifix with his teeth, he

gnawed its arms, and nearly cut off its legs. The crucifix endured this treatment for a time; but at last it struck down the king with its foot, so that he fell on his back. And while he was lying in this posture, such an abundant flame came forth out of his mouth, that the quantity of smoke darkened even the stars. Robert, thinking that his dream ought not to be neglected, immediately reported it to the king. But he laughed exceedingly at first; afterwards, being a good deal affected, he hesitated for some time whether he would go into the forest, as he had intended; and whether, as his friends advised, he should test the truth of these dreams at his own risk. And so before dinner he abstained from hunting, but soon after dinner he proceeded to the wood. And there Walter Tyrell, intending to pierce a stag with an arrow, unintentionally shot the king in the heart, as I have said before; who fell down, and never spoke a word, but ended his cruel life by a miserable death, and was buried at Winchester. And when Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, knew this by the spirit, he hastened to return to his country, as I have said before; for he had been living in exile, having fled from the persecution of the king. And on the day when the king died, he had in his own country the archbishopric of Canterbury and the bishoprics of Winchester and Salisbury, and nine abbeys, the revenues of which had been given to him. A marvellous thing. Whatever displeased God, and those who love God, pleased him. And the next day, he was buried at Winchester, in the church of Saint Peter, in that city; and his brother Henry was elected king, to whom Almighty God gave three gifts, wisdom, victory, and riches; and by which he prospered in everything, and was superior to all his predecessors.

The coronation of King Henry the First.

Therefore after the death of king William Rufus, his brother Henry was elected and consecrated king of England, at Westminster, by Maurice, bishop of London, as Anselm was still absent, on the fifth of August, and with Maurice, Thomas, archbishop of York, placed the crown on the king's head. This year many disasters happened. And the devil appeared visibly in out-of-the-way places and woods, and accosted passers-by. Besides this, in the county of Berkshire, in the village of Hampstede, blood flowed out of the ground for fifteen days together; and flowed from so abundant a spring, that it made a horrible pool.

Anselm, returning from banishment, performed the ceremony of marriage between Matilda, daughter of Malcolm, king of Scotland, and Henry, king of England, of which marriage were born a son named William, and one daughter, by name Matilda, the very image of her mother. And when this maiden was five years old, the emperor Henry asked her in marriage, and obtained her.

But at this coronation it was no derogation from the just claims of the church, or of the archbishop of Canterbury, that the bishop of London, who is the dean of the archbishop of Canterbury, and indeed of all England, filled his place in the performance of this office, and this his own charter testifies.

This year, Robert, duke of Normandy, surnamed Curthose, returned from the Holy Land, and with him returned Robert, count of Flanders. But duke Robert did not as yet come to England, king Henry having, as has been said before, been crowned king, gave the bishopric of Winchester to William Giffard. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, was entirely reconciled to the king. Pope Urban died, and was succeeded by Paschal. Baldwin was crowned king in Jerusalem, because Robert, duke of Normandy, refused that dignity.

CH. II.—FROM A.D. 1101 TO A.D. 1135.

Treaty between Henry and his brother Robert—Dispute between Henry and the Church of Rome about investitures—The Crusaders take Cæsarea—Victories of Baldwin—Robert comes to England—Is taken prisoner—Anselm, the archbishop, holds a great council—The emperor Henry throws pope Pascal into prison—Tancred dies—The nobles swear allegiance to Henry, eldest son of William—War between Henry and Louis, king of France—The order of Knights Templars is founded—Henry's sons are drowned in a storm—Henry marries again—The Normans fortify their chief cities—The Christians make themselves masters of Tyre—The emperor Henry dies—The empress Matilda marries Geoffrey of Anjou—Henry, afterwards Henry the Second, is born—Death of Robert of Normandy—Death of king Henry—Stephen succeeds.

King Henry and duke Robert of Normandy made a treaty.

A.D. 1101. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, warned king Henry of the arrival of Robert, duke of Normandy, and of his

crafty design, and advised the king to send a naval expedition against him. But the friends of both princes arranged a treaty between them, on condition that the king, on account of the evident right that he had to the possession of the kingdom, should every year pay Robert three thousand marks of silver out of the English revenues, and that, whichever of the two lived the longer, should be the heir of the other if he died without a son. And this was sworn to by twelve nobles on each side. Duke Robert stayed with the king, his brother, till the time of the festival of St. Michael, and after that returned to his own country.

In the same year, the king gave the bishopric of Hereford to Kemelin, without any election having taken place, in contravention of the decrees of the new council, and he invested him publicly, which was another thing that he did contrary to his oath. For he had solemnly sworn in the first place that he would preserve the privileges of the church unimpaired, and also the good laws of the kingdom which were established in and observed ever since the time of Saint Edward.

A great council is held by archbishop Anselm.

A.D. 1102. Henry, king of England, besieged the castle of Arundel, which belonged to Robert de Belesme, who held it out against the king; and, at last, the king made himself master of it, and banished Robert from England. The same year, Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, held a council at London, in the church of Saint Paul, in the presence of the king and many suffragan bishops, about the time of the feast of Saint Michael, at which council he excommunicated those priests who kept concubines, unless they put them away from that time forth. After that, becoming more secure of the friendship both of Henry and also of Malcolm, king of Scotland, he formed a design of governing the church with greater strictness, and of eradicating all the seeds of vice. For he had formally married anew, that is to say, after he had returned from exile, Matilda, the daughter of the above-mentioned king Malcolm and the holy Margaret, to king Henry, as has been mentioned before, which was a service very agreeable to both the kings and to both the kingdoms, on account of the virtues of the queen. Anselm, therefore, being confident in the favour of God, and these two kings, wrote out in plain language the decrees which he had received at

Rome, in a general council respecting the investitures to churches; ordaining, forsooth, that no prelate of the church, no bishop or abbot, and none of the secular clergy, should receive investiture of any ecclesiastical dignity from the hands of the laity. On which account the archbishop, also, asserting that this was for the advantage of their souls, degraded some abbots and priors, who had obtained preferments from the hands of the laity, and in consideration of the payment of money, as, for instance, Richard of Ely, Aldwin of Ramsay, the prior of Burgh, and many others, both priors who had no superiors, and also abbots themselves. And since he had refused to consecrate some bishops by desire of the king, who had received institution from the king, or even to allow them to communicate with him, the king fell into evil ways, and became full of vehement wrath against him. So the king commanded Gerard, archbishop of York, to consecrate them. But William Giffard, fearing the rigour of the holy Anselm, disdained the consecration of the archbishop of York. For which conduct he was banished the kingdom, by an unjust sentence of the king. But Kemelin, bishop of Hereford, fearing for his own conscience, because he had received institution from the king, resigned his diocese to Anselm. This year, also, Roger was elected to the bishopric of Salisbury, on the thirteenth of April.

A great mortality among men took place. The city of Cæsarea is taken.

A.D. 1103. A deadly and too-fatal mortality took place, both of men and animals. That year, the city of Cæsarea, the most celebrated and opulent city in the Holy Land, was surrendered to the Christian power, and an archbishop was placed in it, by name Baldwin, and in that city our great father, the holy Basil, that glorious archbishop, formerly presided over the people of God. Moreover, in that city a noble temple to the Gods was immediately destroyed by the Christians: and a very great slaughter of the pagans was made. But Jerusalem was assigned to the government and liberality of some of the Christian princes. But the most worthy caliph of the pagans sent an infinite multitude of Turks to the deliverance of that city, all men completely armed, under a most mighty general. But Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, met him, and, having invoked the assistance of God, slew them

all with the edge of the sword. And in that glorious conflict there fell of the enemy five thousand armed cavalry, but of our men, seventy knights and two hundred foot-soldiers. And the city, to the glory of God, was delivered from the dominion of the pagans.

Four circles appear round the sun.

A.D. 1104. On the seventeenth of April, four circles were seen round the sun, white and spotted, and marvellously entwined together A comet appeared in the month of February. The same year, dissensions arose between king Henry and Robert, duke of Normandy, two brothers. And no small disasters and losses ensued that year. King Henry ordered the property and possessions of Anselm, that virtuous man, to be confiscated, nor could reason, or the intercession of the king of Scotland, and of his own queen, restrain him. But Anselm went to live in banishment at Lyons.

Achon was given up to king Baldwin.

Duke Robert came to England to be reconciled to his brother, but in vain.

A.D. 1105. On the thirteenth of April, king Henry burnt Bayeux. Robert, duke of Normandy, came to Northampton, to the king, his brother, entreating of him, in a suppliant manner, to restore to him what he had taken from him. But God did not will that they should be friends. For the king refused his requests; on which account the duke retired in anger, uttering threats. And the king pursuing him, vigorously besieged him in the castle of Tenchebray, and cooped him up in a very small space. But he escaped by night by a postern door, and levied a numerous army to resist his brother.

Duke Robert is taken, and is put in prison with the count of Mortaigne.

A.D. 1106. On the twenty-fourth of April, while Henry, king of England, was besieging Tenchebray, duke Robert marched against the king with his army in battle array, on the vigil of the feast of Saint Mark, and fought a very undecided battle. The duke himself, though surrounded with many guards, and himself an invincible lion in arms, and a second Mars, as it were, and skilful in military discipline, nevertheless, being no longer able to endure the burden of the war, the main brunt of which fell on him personally, was taken prisoner, and committed to close custody in England, and

with him the count of Mortaigne, and many other nobles; and so, on the twenty-fourth of April in this year, the prophecy was fulfilled which the king, when dying, had said to his son Henry, and to his brother—"I will give you five thousand pounds from my treasury, bear it patiently; in due time you shall have all the honours which I have arrived at, and you shall be superior to your brothers in riches and power." But the king, being mindful of his relationship to his brother, caused his brother to be preserved safely in free custody, without being exposed to any want of food, and allowing him the use of light, and the adornment of handsome clothes. He also allowed him to play at chess and at dice: he also permitted him to wear royal robes, such as the king himself wore; and, by the king's permission, he walked about and visited the neighbouring orchards, and groves, and pleasant places. And one day, when he was strolling about in this manner, he suddenly seized a horse, when his guards were suspecting no such proceeding, and leaped on it, and so escaped unexpectedly. And lo! the guards, raising a shout to the skies, pursued him rapidly, and caught him in a muddy meadow, where his horse sunk in up to his belly, and there kept him close prisoner till the matter was reported to the king. Then the king commanded him to be secretly deprived of the light of his eyes, though without doing any injury to their orbs. And after this, the duke wasted away by himself in anguish, and, cursing the day of his birth, he did not protract his miserable life for any great length of time. The same year, in token of this event, two moons were seen in the heaven, one in the east and the other in the west, and a comet about one cubit distant from the sun, about three o'clock.

This year, also, an order of canons was established in the church of the Holy Virgin Mary of Southwark, near London.

A great council is held under the presidency of Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury.

A.D. 1107. On the fourteenth of April, the prior Norman founded the Church of Christ, in London, for the maintenance of a body of regular canons, which is called the Church of the Holy Trinity.

Henry, son of the emperor, succeeded his father Henry, who afterwards married Matilda, daughter of Henry, king of England, when she was hardly five years old. This year,

Maurice, bishop of the Church of London, died; and king Henry, because he had supplied his enemies, gave thanks to God, and coming to Beck, he there found Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, and made peace with him. The same year, a great council was held at London, in the king's palace, over which Anselm presided, to the decrees of which the king consented, and made a regulation that, from that time forth for ever, no one in England should be invested with the pastoral staff or ring of any bishopric or abbacy by the king, or by any lay person. The archbishop also, on his part, conceding, that no one who was elected to any ecclesiastical preferment should be denied consecration to the honour which he had obtained, on account of any homage that he should pay the king. Then the following bishops were consecrated by Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, namely, William, bishop of Winchester, Roger, bishop of Salisbury, Kenelm, bishop of Hereford, William, bishop of Exeter, and Urban, bishop of Bangor; at Canterbury, on the Lord's day, on the eleventh of August, Maurice was succeeded by Richard de Beaumes.

This year, Edgar, king of Scotland, died, and was succeeded by his brother Alexander.

Gerard, archbishop of York, died, and was succeeded by Thomas.

A.D. 1108. On the fifth of April died Philip, king of France, who was succeeded by his son Louis. This year, also, Gerard, archbishop of York, died, and was succeeded by Thomas. Also, Robert de Beaumes, bishop elect of London, was consecrated by Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, at Pageham, in the presence of many suffragan bishops.

Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, died.

A.D. 1109. Some ambassadors of vast stature, and eminent for the splendour of their appointments, were sent by Henry, emperor of the Romans, to demand the daughter of Henry, king of England, in marriage for their master; from whom king Henry received oaths. The same year, on the twenty-fifth of April, the noble archbishop of Canterbury, Anselm, died. King Henry changed the abbacy of Ely into an episcopal see, and caused Hervey to be ordained bishop there. The same year, they met, by command of the king, in the city of London, in the church of the blessed Paul, Richard, bishop of London, William, bishop of Winchester, Radulph, bishop of Rochester, Herebert, bishop of Norwich, Radulph, bishop

of Chichester, Ranulph, bishop of Durham, and Hervey, bishop of Bangor, on the twenty-sixth of June, at the consecration of Thomas, archbishop elect of York, where also having performed all the observances of the canonical obedience, he was consecrated by the archbishop of the church of Canterbury, who had been duly ordained according to the rites of the Catholic religion. This year, Easter day fell on the day of Saint Mark the Evangelist. Hugh, bishop of Cluny, died, and was succeeded by Poncius.

The holy Oswin, king and martyr, was removed to Tynemouth.

A.D. 1110. On the tenth of April, king Henry gave his daughter, Matilda, to Henry, emperor of Germany; the moon appeared as if extinguished. The holy king and martyr Oswin was removed to Tynemouth. The same year, the holy Godric commenced the life of a hermit, and after having continued it in an exemplary manner for sixty years, he departed happily to the Lord. This year also, a comet appeared in a marvellous manner; for it rose in the east, and when it had ascended into the firmament, it appeared not to advance, but to retrograde. The same year, Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, took Beyrout, a city of Phœnicia, on the sea coast, by force, and caused it to embrace the Catholic faith.

Henry, king of the Germans, held the pope in custody.

A.D. 1111. On the second of April, a terrible mortality of animals began, and likewise a great famine in Normandy. Henry, king of Germany, threw Paschal the pope into prison. Henry, king of England, went into Normandy to attack the count of Anjoy, who retained Maine without his consent, and carried on a vigorous war against him with fire and sword.

A quarrel arose between the pope and the emperor.

A.D. 1112. There was a great mortality of men. This year also, a great quarrel arose between pope Paschal and the emperor Henry. The emperor desired to avail himself of the privilege of his predecessors, which they had enjoyed for three hundred years under sixty Roman pontiffs, by virtue of which they had lawfully given away bishoprics and abbacies by the donation of a pastoral staff and ring, which the pope thought unjust; the emperor thought the contrary, and in this way they came to a violent quarrel. At last peace was made between them, on condition that the bishops and abbots should for the future receive institution from the emperor and

his successors by the staff and ring, and should afterwards vow canonical obedience to the pope or to some bishop, and receive the customary consecration. And these things were done before the altar of the apostles Peter and Paul, in the sight of all who stood by, and then the lord the pope absolved the emperor, and administered to him the sacrament of the body of Christ.

The same year, that illustrious man Tancred, so renowned for his exploits at Jerusalem, died. He was prince of Antioch and count of Edissa; he was succeeded by Roger, the son of Richard, a noble man, on condition that whenever Bohemond the Younger should demand the restoration of Antioch, Roger should resign it to him without any opposition.

King Henry gave the archbishopric of Canterbury to Richard, bishop of London.

A.D. 1113. On the sixth of April, Henry, king of England, led an army into Wales, and the Welch submitted themselves to his pleasure. King Henry gave the archbishopric of Canterbury to Richard, bishop of London, and gave him investiture by the staff and ring. Thomas, archbishop of York, died, and was succeeded by Thurstan. Moreover, a violent quarrel arose between Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, and Thurstan, archbishop of York, because the archbishop of York refused to consider himself subordinate to the archbishop of Canterbury, as his predecessors had been used to do, and their cause was often discussed before the king and the lord the pope, although it was not as yet properly terminated. The same year, in the month of May, a great comet appeared, and a little afterwards there was an earthquake, which threw down part of the city of Manistre, not far from Antioch, with two castles, called Triphalet and Mariscus. Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, and Medusa, prince of Persia, fought a battle, in which Baldwin was defeated, and with difficulty saved himself by flight. In that battle, there fell of the Christians, thirty knights and fifteen hundred foot soldiers. But the victory which they afforded to the enemy was far from being a bloodless one.

Fealty is sworn to William, the son of king Henry.

A.D. 1114. Henry, king of England, caused all the nobles in his dominions to swear fealty to his son William, whom his queen Matilda had borne to him. The same year, in the

month of December, the heaven suddenly appeared red, as if it were on fire, and the moon was eclipsed at the same time. On the twenty-ninth of March the Thames was dried up, and so was the sea for twelve miles, and this lasted for two days. Radulph, bishop of Rochester, was elected to the archbishopric of Canterbury, on the twenty-sixth of April. A comet appeared in the month of May.

Radulph is consecrated archbishop of Canterbury. He consecrates other bishops.

A.D. 1115. Maria, countess of Boulogne, died. Radulph was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, by Anselm, the legate of the lord the pope, on the twenty-seventh of June, and received the pallium from him. The same day, the same archbishop of Canterbury consecrated Theulf, bishop of Worcester, and Bernard, bishop of Saint David's. Lofstan, the Domesman, died, and was buried at Bermondsey.

The church of Saint Alban, the proto-martyr of the English, is dedicated in a magnificent manner.

A.D. 1116. The city of Rouen was almost entirely burnt to the ground. In the same year, in the presence of king Henry and his queen, and of Robert, bishop of Lincoln, and many other bishops, on the day of the Holy Innocents, the church of Saint Alban, the proto-martyr of the English, was dedicated in a magnificent manner by the venerable man Geoffrey, archbishop of Rouen, and placed under Richard the abbey of that place. And the king and queen, with a multitude of archbishops, bishops, counts, barons, and other nobles, celebrated the days of the Nativity with the aforesaid abbot, in that place, with all joy and cheerfulness. The same year, there was a quarrel between the kings of France and England, which was excited by Theobald, count of Blois. This year also, because of the necessities of the king's condition, England was oppressed by various exactions, and the English were plundered of their property in many ways, not without great injustice.

There are various and terrible commotions in the air.

A.D. 1117. On the first day of November a terrible storm of lightning, thunder, and hail alarmed mankind. There was an earthquake, and the moon was turned into blood, on the eleventh of December. Both these events took place at midnight. Robert began to inhabit the convent of Merton, as its first prior, with a few brethren. The same year, Ivo, a man

of venerable character, bishop of Chartres, a man of profound learning in the Holy Scriptures, and an illustrious doctor, died.

Pope Paschal died.

A.D. 1118. Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, died, as did Matilda the Second, the good queen of England, and pope Paschal, who was succeeded by Gelasius. This year, the order of the Templars began in the following manner. Some men of the Equestrian order, fearing God, put themselves in the hands of the patriarch of Jerusalem, devoting themselves to the service of Christ, and professing to live in chastity and obedience, renouncing their own inclinations.

Calixtus succeeded. Louis, king of France, and king Henry fought.

A.D. 1119. On the first of April, pope Gelasius died, at Cluniacum; and, on the tenth of January, he was succeeded by Calixtus. Peter, the first prior of Bermondsey, died. The same year, a battle took place in the open field between Louis, king of France, and Henry, king of England. In which terrible conflict king Henry was twice wounded on the head, so that, although he was well defended by breast-plate and helmet, yet he was so stunned by the weight of the mighty blow that he received, that he was with difficulty cured, and not till after a long time. At last, he gained the victory, and overthrew the man who wounded him, and took him prisoner, and threw him into prison. The same year, Richard of Albinet, the noble abbot of Saint Alban's, died, whose praiseworthy actions would require a special treatise. Herebert, bishop of Norwich, died, a man illustrious both in his life and death. This year, pope Calixtus came into Normandy to king Henry; and the great king and the Supreme Pontiff conferred for some time at Gisors.

William and Richard, the sons of king Henry, and his daughter and niece, are drowned.

A.D. 1120. On the nineteenth of March, the light fell twice on the tomb of the Lord. The same year, king Henry, having subdued all his enemies, and arranged everything in Normandy according to his pleasure, found that joyful things were not to be unmixed with sad ones in this world. For, when his sons William and Richard, and his daughter and niece, and Richard, earl of Chester, and the stewards, and chamberlains, and cupbearers of the king, and many other nobles with them, were sailing joyfully to England, they were all wrecked at sea, and

died by drowning, on the twenty-fifth of December, miserably, yet not so as to be pitied; for their lives had been devoted to irreligious licentiousness. On which account, it is considered that they perished thus in a moment by a strange accident in a most tranquil sea. This year, the Præmonstratensian order was instituted.

Æthelicia is betrothed to Henry, king of England.

A.D. 1121. King Henry married Æthelicia, the daughter of the duke of Lovaine, because of her beauty and the excellent graces of her person, on the tenth of April; and, on the day of Pentecost, she was solemnly consecrated queen, by Rudolph, archbishop of Canterbury, in London, and sat at table with the king, wearing a magnificent crown. After that, when the king went to Wales with a powerful army, the Welch came to meet him in a suppliant manner, and made a treaty with him, according to the terms dictated by his own liberality and will. The same year, Everard was consecrated bishop of Norwich. The same year, pope Calixtus took a man named Maurice, whom the emperor Henry had set up as anti-pope, and ordained him a monk. This year, there was an eclipse of the moon. At Reading some monks began to establish a monastic order under the holy regulations of Benedict.

Radulph, the archbishop of Canterbury, died, and was succeeded by William.

A.D. 1122. Radulph, archbishop of Canterbury, and John, bishop of Bath, paid the debt of human nature. Radulph was succeeded by William de Carboile in the archbishopric of Canterbury. The same year, the admiral Balac took prisoners Jocelin, count of Edessa, and his kinsman, Galeran.

Normandy is strengthened by impregnable castles.

A.D. 1123. On the fifteenth of April, Hugh, prior of Saint Pancras, was made abbot of Reading. The sun appeared like a new moon. The same year, Henry, king of England, held his court at Christmas at Dunestable, taking with him, according to custom, his chancellor, Arnulph, a man who was too solicitous to plunder men of their substance. But he, falling from his horse on his journey, ended his life miserably. The same year, Robert, bishop of Lincoln, died, and was succeeded by Alexander. The tower of Rouen was strengthened and surrounded by a wall. The tower of Caen, too, was fortified.

King Henry gave the archbishopric of Canterbury to William

de Curboile, prior of Chieche, and the bishopric of Bath to Godfrey, the queen's chaplain. The castles of Arques, of Gisors, of Falaise, of Argenton, of Damfronte, of Oximum, of Ambrecas, of Waverle, of Wirle, and the tower of Vernon, were all fortified by king Henry, so as to be impregnable. Also, the castle of Robert de Mellent, who had abandoned the king in a seditious manner, was taken by the same Henry. Also, the king of Jerusalem, Baldwin, was taken by Balak, prince of the Turks. This year also, the church of Saint Bartholomew began to be built in the suburbs of London, by Racher, who was formerly the first prior of that church.

Tyre, the metropolis of Syria, is restored to the Christians.

A.D. 1124. On the sixth of April pope Calixtus died, and was succeeded by Honorius. The sun appeared resembling a new moon. Justice was done in the matter of the coinage at Winchester. Count Robert de Mellent, having united with himself Hugh de Montfort, his sister's husband, and another Hugh de Montfort, the son of Gervaise, entered Normandy in a hostile manner. But William de Tankatville, fighting against them, took them prisoners; and, having taken them, presented them to king Henry. The same year, Theulph, bishop of Worcester, and Arnulph, bishop of Rochester, died.

The same year, Tyre, the metropolis of Syria, was besieged by Michael, duke of Venice, both by sea and land, who was aided by the unanimous assistance of the princes of Jerusalem, and the siege was commenced on the twenty-fifth of February, and the city was taken and happily restored to Christianity on the twenty-ninth of June. Also, king Baldwin, who had been detained as a prisoner by Balac, prince of the Turks, was released from captivity on giving hostages, and returned to his own country. The same year, the king caused all the English soldiers to cut their hair after the fashion of the French, as previously they wore long hair like women.

A council is held at London under cardinal John.

A.D. 1125. On the twenty-eighth of March, the cardinal John of Cremona held a council at London. This year also, there was a great famine. Gilbert, the founder of the abbey at Merton, died. The said John, who in the council had most especially condemned all priests who kept concubines, being detected himself in the same vice, excused the vice because he said that he was not himself a priest, but a reprover of priests.

King Henry bestowed the bishopric of Worcester on Simon, one of the queen's clergy; that of Rochester on John, archdeacon of Canterbury; and that of Chichester on Sigefred, abbot of Glastonbury.

The same year, Alexander, king of Scotland, died, and was succeeded by his brother David, a man of great piety and liberality. Also, Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, fighting against the Turks, gained a happy victory, after a very severe battle.

Henry, emperor of the Romans, dies. The count of Flanders is stripped of his inheritance.

A.D. 1126. On the eleventh of April, the emperor Henry died, and was succeeded by Lothaire, who reigned as his successor for twelve years. Then the empress Matilda, returning to her father Henry, dwelt with the queen in her apartments; for the king loved her greatly, because she was the only heir that he had. And, about the feast of Saint Michael he returned into England, bringing with him his daughter, the widow of so illustrious a husband. And immediately, by command of the king, all the nobles of England and Normandy took the oaths to her, and the first of all to do so was Stephen, count of Boulogne, the son of Adela, the king's sister, and the count of Blois.

The empress Matilda marries Geoffrey, count of Anjou.

A.D. 1127. On the third of April, Geoffrey Plantagenet, count of Anjou, married the empress Matilda. Richard, bishop of London, died, and was succeeded by the universal Gilbert. This same year the count of Anjou departed for Jerusalem without any hope of returning. But king Henry held his court, on Christmas day, at Windsor, with great solemnity; and when Thurstan, archbishop of York, endeavoured on that occasion to place the crown on the king's head; to the prejudice of William, archbishop of Canterbury, he was repulsed by the unanimous judgment of every one, and his staff and crosier, which he had rashly set up on high in the king's chapel, were turned out. The same year, king Henry caused all the soldiers of England to cut their hair a proper length, as previously they vied with women in the length of their hair.

William, count of Flanders died. Louis, king of France, yielded to king Henry.

A.D. 1128. William, count of Flanders, son of Robert,

count of Normandy, after he had subdued the almost unspeakable wickedness of the Flemings, was wounded in the right hand by a lance, while he was besieging a castle in the territories of the duke of Lovaine, and so died, on the twenty-seventh of July. The same year, Henry, king of England, marched into France in a hostile manner with a powerful army, because Louis, king of France, upheld the cause of the count of Flanders, the nephew and enemy of the king; and he compelled king Louis in a short time to refuse aid to the count. The same year, Ranulph, bishop of Durham, and William, bishop of Winchester, died.

Pope Honorius died. Innocent the First succeeded him. Also, the king of France died.

A.D. 1129. Pope Honorius died, and was succeeded by Innocent the First. Also, William, bishop of Winchester, died, and was succeeded by Henry, abbot of Glastonbury, who was the nephew of king Henry. The same year, Philip, son of the king of France, who had been invested with the crown, in consequence of the recent death of his father, while he was exercising his horse for his amusement, by chance fell in with a pig; and as the pig ran under the feet of the horse, who was galloping, the new king was thrown to the ground and broke his neck, and so died. Behold how speedily and how easily that high rank is brought to nothing! The sun was turned into darkness, and the day into night, for nearly half an hour, and the stars were visible.

Louis, brother of Philip, king of France, is crowned.

A.D. 1130. Christ Church, at Canterbury, was dedicated. Hugh, abbot of Reading, was elected to the archbishopric of Rouen. Algod, the first prior of the convent of Saint Mary of Southwark, died, and was succeeded by Algar. Pope Innocent fled to the countries on this side of the Alps, having been expelled by the family of his rival; and, when he arrived in France, he was honourably received at Chartres by king Henry, and a second time at Rouen, where he was received as pope by universal acclamation; and by the management of king Henry he crowned Louis, the brother of Philip, king of France, who was lately dead, at Rheims, as king.

Innocent the First died, and was succeeded by Innocent the Second. Bohemond, prince of Antioch, died.

A.D. 1131. A general synod was held at Rheims. Pope In-

nocent died. The church at Cluniacum was dedicated by that pope. The same year, Rhodoan, prince of Halapia, entered the territory of Antioch in a hostile manner, and when Bohemond, prince of Antioch, encountered him to check him, he slew him with the sword. As Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, an illustrious soldier, was now an old man, he called to him his son-in-law, and his daughter, and their son, whose name also was Baldwin, and committed to them the care of the kingdom, and full power over it; and when he had arranged matters in this way, he yielded up his spirit to God.

Henry is born. The bishopric of Carlisle is established.

A.D. 1132. On the eleventh of April, the city of London was almost entirely destroyed by fire. King Henry established a new bishopric at Carlisle, on the borders of England and Scotland, and placed there, as the first bishop, the prior of St. Oswald's, a priest of the name of Æthelwolf, to whom he was accustomed to confess his sins. The same year, there was born to Godfrey, count of Anjou, by his wife, the daughter of king Henry, a son, who was likewise named Henry. This year also, the bishop of Chester died.

After the birth of Henry, terrible darkness took place in England.

A.D. 1133. All the soldiers of the temple were slain. Also, after the birth of Henry, the eldest son of Geoffrey Plantagenet, and the empress Matilda, darkness took place in England, and there was an earthquake, and the sun became like the moon, that is to say, there was a terrible earthquake. At last, king Henry crossed the sea, and sent the hand of Saint James to Reading. The empress Matilda here bore another son, whom she called Geoffrey, on which account king Henry crossed over into Normandy, and abode there some time, being overjoyed at his grand-children. The same year, the bishops of Llandaff and of London died, while they were on the other side of the Alps. Hervey, bishop of Ely, died, and the king gave his bishopric to Nigel, and that of Durham to Geoffrey his chancellor.

Robert Cortheuse, king of Normandy, died in prison.

A.D. 1134. Robert Cortheuse, the king's brother, died in the confinement in which he was detained, from weariness of life, and because he was deprived of the sight of his eyes. For sadness absorbed him too much, owing to which he died. It happened also, that the king sent him a robe of scarlet, as he

was accustomed to do; but the king had first of all put on the cap, and as he found the cap too small, he said, "Take it away, let this cap be given to my brother, because he has a smaller head than mine." And when it was given to him in compliance to the king's command, the servant incautiously, when he was asked if any one had worn it before, said "Yes," and related what had happened. And Robert said, "Now, indeed, have I protracted my wretched life too long, when that injurious king sends me his old clothes as an abject." And from that time forth he would not take any food, but wasted away both in mind and body, and so died, and was buried at Gloucester.

Henry, king of England, dies. Stephen is crowned.

A.D. 1135. Henry, king of England, died, when he had reigned thirty-five years and three months, on the second of December, at Saint Denis, in the Lion's Wood. For the day before he had been eating the flesh of lampreys, against the advice of his physicians. Henry, archbishop of Huntingdon, ends his Chronicles with this year.

Here we may dwell on some unimportant events. Henry established in his dominions the monastery of Reading, the monastery of the canons of Cirencester, the monastery of Prat at Rouen, the monastery of Mortimer, and he did many other admirable actions worthy of all praise, which are more fully related in the book of his life. And the irreparable loss which England suffered was foreshowed by a violent storm of wind on the vigil of the Feast of the Apostles Simon and Jude, which overthrew in a terrible manner towers, buildings, and trees. But Stephen, the king's nephew, by his sister, being the count of Boulogne, was consecrated king, by William, archbishop of Canterbury, on the twenty-second day of December, in London, at Westminster, being the twenty-second day after the death of his uncle.

The same year, the church of St. Paul was burnt by a fire, which began at London Bridge, and extended as far as the church of the Danes. At the coronation before mentioned, there were present three bishops with the archbishops. But the king, as soon as he was crowned, took possession of the treasure which his uncle had collected, amounting to a hundred thousand pounds, without counting the vessels of gold and silver, plate and jewels, of inestimable value. But the day

that Stephen landed there, was, what is contrary to nature in winter, a terrible thunderstorm, accompanied with dreadful lightning, which was heard all over England, so that the whole world was thought to be come to an end. The king's body was brought from Normandy to Reading, and embalmed with spices, and at the end of three months, buried with great reverence in the same church, which he himself had built from its foundations, and during his lifetime had laid the first stone in the presence of king Stephen and many of the nobles.

Ch. IV.—From A.D. 1136 to A.D. 1154.

Louis the Gross dies—The emperor Lothaire dies—The Scots invade England—The empress Matilda comes to England—London is surrendered to her—War between her and Stephen—Conrad, the emperor, and Louis, king of France, go to Jerusalem—Geoffrey of Anjou gives up Normandy to his son Henry—Henry marries Eleanor—Peace is made between Stephen and Matilda and Henry—Stephen dies, and Henry comes to England.

William, archbishop of Canterbury, died.

A.D. 1136. William, archbishop of Canterbury, died. Bishop Henry carried off the hand of Saint James from Reading. The same year, after Easter, Robert, earl of Gloucester, came into England, a man whose prudence and power king Stephen held in especial respect. After his arrival, the bishops swore fealty to the king, and the king swore inviolably to maintain the liberties of the Church and all good laws; and then he composed his charter: and, in like manner, count Robert did him an homage, that is to say, on condition that he was to preserve all his dignity unimpaired.

Louis, king of France, died. King Stephen crossed the sea.

A.D. 1137. Louis the Gross, king of France, died, and was succeeded by Louis, his son, who received in marriage Eleanor, the daughter of William, duke of Aquitaine, a woman richer in the endowments of her person than in those of her mind. At the beginning of Lent, king Stephen crossed the sea; and on the following Easter-day, the count also crossed the sea, whose voyage was more prosperous than his landing, for the king laid a plot against him, and contrived that he should be taken prisoner; but he was forewarned by those who were the

agents of the plot, and so he escaped. Nevertheless, the king, still retaining treachery in his heart, pretended to be glad that it was well with the count.

Conrad succeeds Lothaire as emperor.

A.D. 1138. Conrad succeeded Lothaire in the empire. Theobald was elected to the diocese of Canterbury, in the presence of Alberic, the legate. This year, count Robert,[1] by ambassadors, as Stephen was in England, renounced all allegiance to the king, and he did this on many accounts, because the king did not keep towards him the oath which he had taken, nor to his sister. And when he did this, the king deprived him of all his possessions in England. The same year, Stephen, king of England, on the very day of the Nativity, besieged the castle of Bedford, saying that he would not grant the enemy peace for a single hour, till the castle was surrendered. The king of Scotland led an army into Northumberland, and with his men committed detestable atrocities. For, in revenge for the empress, to whom that same king had sworn fidelity, they cut open women with child, tore out the untimely offspring, tossed little children on the points of their lances, and slaughtered priests on the altars. Therefore, the king of England hastened thither, but before he arrived, the king of Scotland had retreated to his own country.

A Council is held at Pisa under pope Innocent.

A.D. 1139. The empress Matilda came into England, and with her, Robert, earl of Gloucester, her brother, with a powerful army, on the festival of Saint Michael. Henry, bishop of Winchester, the brother of king Stephen, at that time the legate of the Apostolic See, being indignant at the unworthy treatment which prelates and their possessions received at the hand of the king, grieved, and devised a remedy. At that time, a council was being held at Pisa, by pope Innocent. King Stephen, in his care to arm himself against the royal dignity, compelled many of his prisoners to surrender their castles; and, among them, he compelled, by force, Roger, bishop of Salisbury, to surrender his castles of Sherborne, and of Devizes, and of Malmesbury. Therefore, by the management of archbishop Theobald, and Henry, bishop of Winchester, the brother of the king, and other bishops and prelates, a council was held at Winchester, on the twenty-ninth of Au-

[1] I suppose this to be the person called Brian Fitz Count by Hume.

gust, to which they caused the king to be invited, who sent earl Alberic de Vere, a man of great experience in many kinds of causes, to the council, to allege, with respect to the taking of the said bishops, which was the matter about which he was attacked, that he could do as he did by right, and to defend the conduct of the king. On the thirtieth of August, the council was dissolved. The same year, Roger, bishop of Salisbury, died. King Stephen also persecuted Nigel, bishop of Ely.

Alberic, earl de Vere, is put to death in the city of London.

A.D. 1140. On the fifteenth of May, Alberic de Vere was put to death in London. Aldwin, founder of the abbey of Malvern, died. Stephen, king of England, laid siege to the city of Lincoln, about the time of the Nativity, the strongholds of which had been entrusted to Ranulph, earl of Chester, a little before; and he prevented king Stephen from entering the city till the day of the Purification of the blessed Virgin Mary; and a terrible battle was fought with the king before the city; and, at last, it was taken by many stratagems, on the second of February. During Lent, on the twentieth of March, a terrible eclipse took place throughout all England, so that it was said to be a sign. The week after, on the twenty-sixth of April, Radulph, the son of Hubert, a savage and barbarous man, and one fond of all the stratagems of war, took the castle of Devizes, by surprise, and did not fear to boast that, by means of that castle, he would make himself master of the whole district from Winchester to London; and that he would send for soldiers from Flanders to be his own guard. But soon afterwards, he was taken prisoner by John, a man of exceeding cunning, who was dwelling in the castle of Marlborough, and was put in chains, because he refused to surrender the castle of Devizes to his mistress, the empress; and he was hanged like a thief.

The same year, at Pentecost, a conference was brought about between the empress and the king, with the object of restoring peace. But when they came to the place appointed, which was near Bath, the plenipotentiaries who were on the part of the empress, her brother, count Robert, and on the part of the king, the pope's legate, and the archbishop, they, after a long debate, effected nothing.

The city of London is surrendered to the empress.

A.D. 1141. In this year, king Stephen was taken prisoner,

in battle, on the second of February, by William de Kahaynes, near Lincoln. (And Winchester was destroyed on the fourteenth of September.) The king was conducted to the empress, and placed in custody, in the castle of Bristol. The city of London was surrendered to the empress, but soon afterwards, she was driven from thence, namely, on the twenty-fourth of June. Immediately afterwards, during the same summer, the tower of London was besieged by the Londoners, and it was held and defended stoutly by William de Mandeville. The empress, also, with her uncle, the king of Scotland, David, and her brother Robert, besieged the castle of the bishop of Winchester. But William of Ypres and the Londoners compelled her to retire from that city. Robert, earl of Gloucester, was taken prisoner, on the day of the festival of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. But, in return for his release, the king also was released on the feast of All Saints, and was restored to his kingdom. The same year, Hugh de Saint Victor died, on the tenth of February. About this time, Valeran, count de Mellent, who was the chief of all the nobles of Normandy, made peace with Geoffrey of Anjou, and gave him the castles of Montfort and Valaise, and then, all the powerful chiefs about the river Seine, as far as Ripa Risle, submitted to him, and acknowledged fealty to him. The same year, Gilbert, bishop of London, died, who was called the Universal, and was succeeded in his bishopric by Robert de Sigil.

King Stephen besieged the empress, who, however, escaped. Robert, bishop of London was taken prisoner. King Stephen took prisoner William de Mandeville.

A.D. 1142. King Stephen besieged the empress at Oxford for a long time, but at length she escaped. Robert, bishop of London, was taken prisoner at Fulham, by Geoffrey de Mandeville, on the twenty-third of June. William, bishop of Lincoln and legate of the Apostolic See, held a council in the middle of Lent, the king and many bishops being present. No honour or reverence was paid to the church of God or to men in holy orders, but clergy and laity were, all alike, taken, imprisoned, and put to death. But at that council, a decision was given, that if any one violated the sanctity of a church or cemetery, or laid violent hands on a man belonging to a monastic order, he could be absolved by no one but the pope.

About the same time king Stephen took prisoner Willliam de Mandeville at Saint Alban's, when he restored to the king the Tower of London, with the castles of Walden and Pleiset.

The same year, died Fulk, king of Jerusalem; and also in this year pope Innocent died, and was succeeded by Celestin, who, after he had occupied the Roman chair for five months, died, and was succeeded by Lucius, who ruled that see eleven months and thirteen days. William, bishop of Winchester, died, and was succeeded by Henry. To this Henry, pope Lucius sent the pallium, wishing to erect a new archbishopric at Winchester, and to assign to him seven suffragan bishops.

Lucius dies—Is succeeded by Eugenius—King Stephen besieges Lincoln.

A.D. 1143. Pope Lucius died, and Eugenius was placed in the Roman chair, which he filled eight years, four months, and thirteen days. The same year, Stephen, king of England, besieged Lincoln, and when he was constructing an engine against the castle which was held by Randulph, earl of Chester, eighty of his workmen were slain by the count, and so the king retreated without succeeding in his object. The same year, Robert Marmion, a warlike man, who had expelled the monks of Coventry from their monastery, and had turned that church into a castle, while one day he was fighting against the enemy, in the very thick of them, in front of the monastery itself, was slain, while in an excommunicated state. About the same time Geoffrey de Mandeville, who had committed the very same crime in the church of Ramsay, was slain in front of the church itself, being pierced with an arrow by one of the meanest of the people, while fighting in his own line of battle. Likewise, Arnulph, the count's son, who after his father's death held that church as a castle, was taken prisoner by the king, and banished.

King Stephen banished the Earl of Gloucester and many others.

A.D. 1144. Stephen, king of England, banished the earl of Gloucester and many others of his enemies from the castle of Flanders, and made himself master of that place. Geoffrey de Mandeville died on the fourteenth September. Geoffrey, count of Anjou, reduced Normandy. The same year, Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, going a second time to Rome, behaved himself most munificently, as he had done before. Therefore, he was honourably received by the pope, and returning

the next year, after having gained the entire favour of the pope and his whole court, he so thoroughly repaired and restored his own church, which had been destroyed by fire, that the damage so done to it appeared afterwards to have been no damage at all.

Ranulph, earl of Chester, is taken prisoner by Stephen, king of England.

A.D. 1145. The king of England took Ranulph, earl of Chester, at Northampton, as he was coming to him in a peaceable manner, and thrust him into prison, and detained him there, until he surrendered to him the castle of Lincoln, and the other castles which were under his power; and then, being joyful and elated at his success, though so discreditably obtained, he wore his crown in Lincoln. This year a boy was crucified at Norwich, by the Jews.

The emperor Conrad, and Louis, king of France, went on a journey to Jerusalem.

A.D. 1146. The emperor Conrad and Louis, king of France, and many other nobles and chiefs, assumed the sign of the cross, that they might go to Jerusalem, and adore the traces of the Saviour. William of Saint Barbara, dean of York, was made bishop of Durham. The same year died Galfric, of venerable memory, abbot of Saint Alban's. This year, there died also, Anselm, bishop of Rochester, Roger, bishop of Chester, and Robert, bishop of Hereford. Anselm was succeeded by Walter, archdeacon of Canterbury, Roger, by Walter, prior of Canterbury, and Robert, by Gilbert, abbot of Gloucester.

The same year, Henry, a Cistercian monk, obtained the archbishopric of York, after the death of Thurstan.

The same year, a comet appeared in the west, diffusing marvellous rays on all sides.

The emperor of Germany and the king of France go to Jerusalem.

A.D. 1147. There was a motion made by the emperor, and by the king, and many others who were proceeding in an expedition to Jerusalem. The emperor Conrad, after the end of the winter, reached the port of Acre with his companions. And from thence he went to Jerusalem, where he was received with exceeding joy. And about the same time the king of France followed him with seventy thousand fully armed troops, but in his march he suffered many attacks and distresses and

irreparable losses, and deplored the unheard-of sufferings of France. The city of Damascus was besieged, but in vain.

The same year, Robert, archdeacon of Leicester, was created bishop of Lincoln, as successor to Alexander, by the hand of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, and, after the fast in the month of September, he was consecrated bishop.

The emperor and the king of France return, and king Noureddin acts furiously.

A.D. 1148. After the departure of the emperor and of the king of France from the Holy Land, Noureddin, the son of Zenghi, the most powerful prince of the Turks, invaded the territories of Antioch, and laid siege to the castle of Nepa; against whom, Raymond, prince of Antioch, led an army with too great a want of caution, and fought him in an unequal battle. Owing to which, it happened that he and some other men of noble birth were slain. Noureddin proceeding without meeting with any resistance, besieged the castle of Hareng, and made himself master of it, and after that overran the whole district as he pleased, laying it waste, till the king of Jerusalem arriving, checked his ravages by force.

The king of Scotland, David, invested Henry, his eldest son, with arms on the day of Pentecost. The same year, on the fourteenth of November, the removal of the holy bishop, Erkenwald, took place. Likewise, a council was held in the city of Rheims, under the presidency of pope Eugenius. The same year, Gilbert was made bishop of Hereford.

Geoffrey, duke of Normandy, gave up Normandy to his son Henry.

A.D. 1149. Geoffrey, duke of Normandy, gave up Normandy to his son Henry, (which, indeed, was his inheritance from his mother,) in spite of the prohibition of the king of France. On which account there arose a quarrel between the king and the duke. For the king returned ingloriously this year from the Holy Land, and so did the emperor of Germany. Duke Geoffrey laid siege to the castle of Vinstabel, and built there three pits of stone, and that siege lasted three years.

Everard, bishop of Norwich, died. That Everard, while bishop, divided the archdeaconry of Suffolk into two. This year it began to freeze on the tenth of December, and the frost lasted till the nineteenth of February, and the Thames was so frozen over, that it was rendered passable for foot passengers and horses, and even for loaded waggons.

The king of France received the homage of duke Henry for Normandy.

A.D. 1150. Louis, king of France, and Eustace, the son of king Stephen, came with a numerous army to the castle of Argues, on account of the quarrel which I have mentioned above, and Henry, duke of Normandy, was also present there, and his father, Geoffrey, count of Anjou, with a great army of Anjouins, Bretons, and Normans; but the chiefs on each side, seeing that those legions could not meet in a hostile manner without a great effusion of blood, began to treat of peace, and by the intervention of mutual friends, the king of France received the homage of Henry, duke of Burgundy, and so the two armies separated peaceably. After this, while duke Henry was with his nobles, discussing the question of the expedition into England, his father being seized with a severe illness at the castle of Beri, departed this life, on the seventh of September, and so Henry, his son, became count of Anjou, and duke of Normandy. The same year, Robert de Gorham was created abbot of St. Alban's, as Rodolph had resigned that post from ill health. Louis, king of France, and Eleanor, his queen, were formally divorced, for they were too near of kin, in the fourth degree of consanguinity. King Stephen fortified the castle of Reading on the twentieth of January. The same year, William Turbus was consecrated to the bishopric of Norwich.

Henry, duke of Normandy, married Eleanor, formerly wife of Louis.

A.D. 1151. Count Theobald of Blois, the brother of king Stephen, died. Henry, duke of Normandy, married Eleanor, who had formerly been the wife of Louis. Queen Adelicia died, the wife of king Stephen. The castle of Reading was pulled down. The same year, John, a monk of Sagium, was appointed the second bishop of the Isle of Man, which is between England and Ireland. The first bishop was Raymond, a monk of Savinaim. The same year, William, bishop of Durham, died, and Geoffrey Arthur was appointed bishop of St. Asaph, in North Wales; he it was who translated the history of the Britons from the British language into Latin. The same year, Gratian, a monk of the city of Guise, and a native of Tuscany, composed decrees according to Hu. 2. q. 6; C. form.

Eugenius dies. Anastasius succeeds him. Saint Bernard departs to the Lord.

A.D. 1152. The counts and barons of England made a league with and promised fidelity to Eustace, the son of king Stephen. Queen Matilda, the mother of Eustace, died on the second of May. Richard of Beauvais, the nephew of another Richard, was appointed bishop of London at the beginning of October. The same year, Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, departed to the Lord. Also then died, the pope Eugenius, who was succeeded by Anastasius, and David, king of Scotland, who was succeeded in his kingdom by his nephew, Malcolm. This year, also, duke Henry had a son borne him by Eleanor, his wife, who was called William, which is an usual name of the dukes of Aquitaine and counts of Anjou. Eustace, son of king Stephen, died; and peace was made between king Stephen and Henry, duke of Normandy. The same year, Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, departed to the Lord.

Stephen, king of England, and Henry, duke of Normandy, make peace.

A.D. 1153. Justice looked down from heaven, and through the diligence of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of the kingdom, Stephen, king of England, and Henry, duke of Normandy, made a treaty with one another at Wallingford, on the following conditions. King Stephen, having now no other heir, save only duke Henry, recognised in this congress of bishops and other nobles of the kingdom, that duke Henry had an hereditary right to the kingdom of England; and the duke on his part hardly consented that king Stephen should possess the kingdom in peace for the whole of his life. And this agreement was confirmed by the king himself, and the bishops who were there present, and the other nobles of the kingdom, swearing, that after the death of the king, duke Henry, if he survived him, should obtain the kingdom without any opposition; and for the inviolable observance of that treaty, a solemn writing was drawn up, and preserved in a secure place. This year, Peter the Lombard flourished, who composed a book of sentences. Pope Eugenius died, and was succeeded by the aged Anastasius.

Anastasius dies, and is succeeded by pope Nicholas.

A.D. 1154. Henry, duke of Normandy, crossed the sea into Normandy, and resumed all his seignorial privileges which his

father had granted him; and from thence he proceeded to Aquitaine, where he vigorously repressed a rebellion of some of his barons. The same year, pope Anastasius died, and was succeeded by Nicholas, bishop of Albania, who took the name of Adrian the Fourth. He was a just and religious man, an Englishman, as to his nation, deriving his origin from parents of noble birth, in the district of St. Alban's. He invested the church of St. Alban's with especial privileges, so that as the blessed Alban is the proto-martyr of England, so his abbot also should be the first among the abbots of England in order and dignity.

The same year, peace was made between Louis, king of France, and Henry, duke of Normandy, on these conditions. The king gave up to the duke, Verneuil and Nouveau Marché, and the duke gave him two thousand marks of silver for the reparation of the injuries which the king had suffered. The same year, the holy anchorite, Wilfrid de Heselberg, whose life and death would require a special treatise, departed to the Lord.

The same year, Stephen, king of England, an illustrious soldier, and a man of the most pious mind, died on the twenty-fifth of October, and his body was reverently buried in the monastery of Feversham, which he himself had built from its foundations. And when Henry, duke of Normandy, heard of this event, he came to Barfleur, and there he waited one whole month for a fair wind, and on the seventh of December he set sail, and arrived in England, and on the nineteenth day of the same month, which was the Sunday before the Nativity of our Lord, he was anointed king at Westminster, by Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury. The same year, Reginald was appointed abbot of Reading.

Ch. V.—From A.D. 1155 to A.D. 1189.

Frederic is elected emperor—Henry prepares to invade Ireland—Henry subdues Wales—War between England and Scotland—A new coinage is issued in England—Thomas à Becket is made archbishop—Malcolm of Scotland does homage to Henry—The council of Clarendon—Slaughter of Christians in the Holy Land—Quarrels between Henry and Becket—Henry has his eldest son Henry crowned—Sedition of the younger Henry—Death of Becket; he is canonized—Henry invades Ireland, and is acknowledged king of the country—William, king of

Scotland, does homage to Henry—Henry visits the tomb of Becket—Louis of France comes to England for the same purpose—Philip, Augustus succeeds to the throne of France—Story of Prester John—Prince Henry dies—The Saracens invade Spain—Saladin makes himself master of the Holy Land —Philip Augustus, Henry, and the emperor Frederic assume the cross—Quarrels between Henry and his sons—Death of Henry.

Frederic is created emperor.

A.D. 1155. Frederic was elected emperor, and crowned. Prince Henry, son of Henry the Second, was born in London, on the last day of February. This year also, the hand of Saint James was restored to Reading. About this time also, Henry, king of England, sent formal messengers to Rome, and requested pope Adrian, who had lately been elected, and whose favour he confidently hoped to obtain, inasmuch as he was an Englishman, to allow him to enter Ireland in a hostile manner, and to reduce it under his own power, and to recall those men sunk in brutish ignorance to the more becoming faith of Christ, and to incline them to obey the church of Rome with fidelity. And the pope cheerfully granted the king this permission, and gave him also additional privileges. The same year, Robert, bishop of Exeter died, and was succeeded by Robert, dean of Sherborne. The same year also, Henry, king of England, confiscated the property of William of Peverel for sorcery, because he had poisoned Ranulph, earl of Chester. And there were said to have been several others privy to and accomplices in that deed of wickedness. About that time, Hugh de Mortimer, a most arrogant man, fortified his castles of Gloucester, Worcester, and Briges, against the king; but the king marched against him, and levelled them all with the ground. The same year, Louis, king of France, married the daughter of Alphonso, king of Spain. This year, Thomas, a Londoner by birth, and who was hereafter to become bishop and martyr, received the first benefice which he ever had from the house of Saint Alban; namely, the church of Bradefeld, and not long afterwards, he transferred himself to the service of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury; by whose management he was soon afterwards promoted to the archdeaconry of Canterbury. This year, Peter, surnamed Comerstor, flourished in France, who wrote that

book which is called the Scholastic History of the Old and New Testament.

The robe of the Lord, without seam, is discovered in France.

A.D. 1156. The tunic of Christ, which was without seam, was discovered in France by a divine revelation, which robe, as the letters which were found with it indicated, his mother had made for him, and it had grown as he himself grew. The same year, king Henry passed into Normandy, and, after a protracted and expensive siege, took some castles which rebelled against him, such as that of Chynon and others. The same year, William, king of Sicily, utterly overthrew the city of Baruth, defeated the Greeks, and by his vigour compelled the city and the castles which had been taken from him to return under his dominion, and granted to the pope the right of consecrating the bishops of his kingdom. At this time, Eleanor, queen of England, bore the king a daughter, whom he called Matilda. In a war that took place between Henry and his brother Geoffrey, Henry wrested by force from the beforementioned Geoffrey three castles, namely, those of Mirabel and Losdun, and Chynon, which was spoken of above. This year also, William, the eldest son of king Henry, died, and was buried at Reading.

King Henry subdues Wales—Repels the king of Scotland.

A.D. 1157. King Henry led his army into Wales, and by his vigour subdued that country, and at Snowdon he compelled king Cenus to surrender. He likewise crossed the sea to Normandy. But having heard that Malcolm, king of Scotland, had invaded his territories in a hostile manner, and rashly occupied what did not belong to him, he returned and repelled Malcolm by force. Then the king of Scotland surrendered Carlisle to him, and the castle of Bamburgh, and Newcastle on the river Tyne, and the whole county of Laudon; and king Henry restored to him the earldom of Huntingdon. At this time also, William, the son of the king before-mentioned, that is, the bastard son of king Stephen, earl of Moreton and Warenne, restored to the king Pevensey, and Norwich, and all his fortresses in England and Normandy, which he possessed as having been given him by king Stephen. And king Henry gave him all the possessions which his father Stephen had had on the day that king Henry the First died.

The same year, Hugh Bigod resigned his castles to the king. The same year, in the month of September, a son was born at Oxford to king Henry by his queen Eleanor, and he was named Richard.

A new coinage was struck in England. Henry, king of England, went to Paris.

A.D. 1158. King Henry was crowned at Worcester, and after the celebration of the divine ceremonies, he placed his crown on the altar, and was not crowned any further. A new coinage was struck in England. Geoffrey, brother of king Henry, died. Reginald, abbot of Reading, resigned his office on account of the hatred of the king, and was succeeded by Roger. The same year, Thomas, the king's chancellor, went to Paris with great magnificence, to receive Margaret, the daughter of the king of France, as a wife for Henry, son of the king. The king too crossed the sea, and having been invited, went to Paris; and he also received the submission of the city of Nantes.

A quarrel arose between Alexander and Octavian.

A.D. 1159. Henry, king of England, led an army towards Toulouse, and took some strong castles in the neighbourhood, while the king of France, in the meantime, was constantly abiding in the city. But the king of England did not besiege the city itself in a hostile manner, on account of his respect for the king of France, whose sister, Constance, the count of Toulouse had married, and had had children by her; on which account the two kings became enemies to one another. The same year, pope Adrian died, and a quarrel arose between the competitors, Alexander and Octavian. For the emperor and his clergy received Octavian, but others would not do so by any means. At last, Alexander succeeded. The enmity between the kings of France and England was still increasing.

Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, dies. Fealty is sworn to the younger Henry.

A.D. 1160. Henry, king of England, having returned from Toulouse, caused Margaret, the daughter of the king of France, whom he had under his own guardianship, to be espoused to his son Henry, and he recovered the castle of Gisors, which he had long desired. And when the king of France heard this, he fortified Chaumont. But the king of England came in haste, and put the king of France and his army to flight, and

took the castle and all who were in it. And there were taken prisoners in that fort fifty-five men-at-arms. And then the marriage was celebrated between the son of the king of England, who was seven years old, and the daughter of the king of France who was three, by the authority of Henry of Pisa and William of Papia, cardinal priests, and legates of the Apostolic See, on the second of November, at Burgh. The same year, Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, died. About this time, Maria, abbess of Romsey, daughter of king Stephen, married Matthew, count of Boulogne, by whom she had two daughters. On account of which sin of theirs, Thomas, the king's chancellor, who was, like John the Baptist, opposed to this illicit marriage, suffered many evils from the intrigues and persecutions of this same count.

Henry, son of king Henry the Second, espoused the daughter of the king of France. Thomas is elected archbishop of Canterbury.

A.D. 1161. Henry, son of king Henry, espoused the daughter of the king of France, and peace was made between them. Nearly all Canterbury was destroyed by fire. The same year, the news of the death of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, having been received, the king began with all diligence to arrange that his chancellor Thomas should succeed him in the archbishopric, and sent Richard de Lacy into England with letters from himself to ensure this with the chancellor, Thomas himself, and so the matter was effectually brought to the end the king wished. The same year, Bartholomew, a religious man, and one of great learning in books of theology, was consecrated bishop of Exeter. The same year, at Westminster, Thomas, the king's chancellor, was elected archbishop of Canterbury. Therefore the election having taken place on the Sabbath at Pentecost, he was ordained priest by Walter, bishop of Rochester, in the church of Canterbury. This year, the quarrel between the church of Lincoln and the abbey of Saint Alban's was made up in the presence of king Henry and the archbishop Thomas of Canterbury, and Roger of York, and a great number of other bishops and nobles of the land. The same year, Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, died, and was succeeded by his brother Almaric.

The same year, the kings of France and England prepared for a war by land; but it was immediately terminated, and they became friends.

Thomas is consecrated archbishop of Canterbury. Richard, bishop of London, dies.

A.D. 1162. Thomas, the chancellor, and archdeacon of Canterbury, was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, on the third of June, on the first Sunday after Pentecost. Louis, king of France, and Henry, king of England, having collected two powerful armies from all quarters, but when a battle between them was impending, near Farcival, they suddenly became friends. The same year, Eleanor, queen of England, was delivered of a daughter at Rouen, and gave her her own name. This year, also, Richard, bishop of London, went the way of all flesh.

About the same time, king Henry caused the oath of fealty to be taken to his son Henry, a youth of a most excellent disposition, and Thomas, the chancellor, who was soon after made archbishop of Canterbury, took the oath of fealty first among all the nobles of the kingdom, saving his allegiance to the king, as long as he should live. Thomas resigned the custody of the king's seal, which the king was greatly vexed at. Also, archbishop Thomas suddenly changed his courtier-like way of a life for most strictly religious conduct. The abbot Joachim flourished at this time.

A Council is held at Tours under pope Alexander.

A.D. 1163. King Henry turned away his heart and affections from Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, and from that time forth intrigued against him, and threw obstacles in his way. Gilbert Folioth, bishop of Hereford, was translated to London. The same year, Robert de Montfort fought in single combat with Henry of Essex, on an appeal of treason. The same year, pope Alexander held a council at Tours, in the church of St. Maurice, at which the archbishop of Canterbury and many other prelates were present. About this time, Malcolm, king of Scotland, and Rhesus, prince of Demecia, that is of South Wales, and many other nobles did homage to king Henry at Woodstock. This year also, Thomas, earl of Clare, was summoned by Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, to Westminster, to do him homage for the castle of Tunbrige. But when the king heard of this, he fraudulently forbade the homage to be done, and this was the first evident token of the king's enmity.

A record of the privileges of the king is made at Clarendon, to which archbishop Thomas does not consent.

A.D. 1164. A record of the royal privileges and customs was enrolled at Clarendon, in the presence of the king, and of the chief nobles of the kingdom. And because Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, did not give his consent to them, he retired, having drawn upon himself the great indignation of the king. The church of Reading was dedicated, and the body of St. Edward was removed out of the earth and placed on a bier by the blessed Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury. The same year, the archbishop was subjected to many insults in Northampton; he withdrew by night, and went into exile, and, having encountered many dangers by land, he crossed the sea in a small boat. The count of Flanders and the count of Boulogne plotted against him, in consequence of the machinations of the king. But, under the protection of God, he escaped all their plots.

A slaughter and captivity of the Christians took place in the Holy Land.

A.D. 1165. There was an earthquake took place throughout Ely, and Norfolk, and Suffolk, on the twenty-sixth of January, which threw down persons who were standing up, and made bells ring. The king made an expedition into Wales. Queen Eleanor bore a daughter, whom she called Joanna, after whom, she bore a son, whom she called John. The same year, Godfrey of St. Asaph made at the Lord's Supper, in the church of St. Alban, the proto-martyr of the English, at the greater altar, a chrism and some holy oil, being supported by the authority of the privileges of that church, in the presence of Robert the abbot. The same year, Noureddin, the most powerful prince of the Turks, laid siege to the castle of Hareng, on the borders of the territory of Antioch; and when he heard of this, Bohemund, prince of Antioch, with what assistance he could procure in the neighbourhood, namely, Raymond, count of Tripoli, Salamon, governor of Sicily, and Charos, prince of Armenia, proceeded with vigour to raise the siege, and to put Noureddin and his army to flight. But as they pursued him with too much rashness as he fled, he turned back upon them as they followed him, and took all those who have been mentioned prisoners, and loaded them with chains, and committed them to custody at Alapia, and easily reduced the castle which he had been compelled to leave.

All the observers of the King's ordinances are excommunicated by the blessed Thomas.

A.D. 1166. Eleanor, queen of England, brought forth a son named John, at the end of the year. Also, king Henry crossed the sea into Normandy. Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, excommunicated all the observers of the king's customs and prerogatives, which had been recited at Clarendon, which he called execrable abuses, rather than customs or liberties. And he excommunicated by name some of those who took the king's part in this matter, both clergy and laity. The same year, a short time after, the king procured the removal of archbishop Thomas from Pontigny. For he knew that the place and the abode there pleased him, especially as there was a Cistercian chapter there. And, not long afterwards, he mercilessly banished his whole family from England, not merely from London, but from the whole kingdom.

About the same time, for the assistance of the Holy Land, fourpence were granted and collected from every plough-land of land throughout the whole of England. Robert, abbot of Saint Alban's, died, after he had governed his church there twenty-four years. The bishops of England became favourers of the king's party, and persecutors of the blessed Thomas in his cause. Louis, king of France, was the only comforter of the blessed Thomas: on which account, the two kings spoke of one another with secret hatred.

Pope Alexander, and Louis, king of France, became comforters of the blessed Thomas.

A.D. 1167. Pope Alexander, being aware of the justice of the cause of the blessed Thomas, became his comforter and assistant, and the partner of his exile. For both of them were driven from their country at the same time, for the sake of the liberty of the Church. The same year, Robert of Lincoln died.

This year, the kings of France and England quarrelled: and, in consequence, Chaumont, Gisors, and other castles and fortifications, with many towns and cities, were seized and burnt by the Normans. Also, the empress Matilda died. Matilda, the daughter of king Henry, married Henry, duke of Saxony.

At this time, now that the blessed archbishop Thomas was driven into banishment, his manors, and woods, and preserves,

and serfs, and other possessions were confiscated and destroyed, and what was not destroyed, was committed to the custody of Ranulph de Broke, a man very skilful in scraping up money, the seeds of discord having been sown by Gilbert, bishop of London, and many other bishops, and Robert de Broke himself, who was one of the secular clergy, and who was the guardian of the archbishopric under Ranulph. The same year, Simon, the prior of the church of Saint Alban's, was elected to the abbacy of that church, and was solemnly consecrated, on Ascension-day, by the bishop of London. Count Patrick died in Aquitaine. Robert, the second prior of Winchester, died.

King Henry caused a schism, through hatred of the blessed Thomas the Martyr.

A.D. 1168. King Henry, whose anger against the blessed Thomas, and against the pope, who espoused the cause of the blessed Thomas, was turned to hatred, sent to the emperor Frederic, to intimate to him that he would be his assistance in ejecting Alexander from the dignity of the papacy, because he had become his enemy, and because he espoused the cause of the traitor and runaway, Thomas, who had formerly been archbishop of Canterbury, against his king. And, throughout all England, the king caused the obedience due to pope Alexander to be abjured by every one, from the boy of twelve years of age to the old man. He also sent to Louis, king of France, earnestly entreating him not to maintain his enemy and traitor, the fugitive Thomas. But as he, as it seemed to him, was requiring of him what was not creditable, the pious king, Louis, would not comply. The same year, Richard, prior of Norwich, died.

Eleanor, daughter of king Henry, married Alfonso, king of Castile.

A.D. 1169. Eleanor, the daughter of the king of England, married Alfonso, king of Castile. The archbishop Thomas excommunicated Gilbert, bishop of London. But the king, a vain comforter, cheered him, threatening the blessed Thomas severely.

The same year, two legates *à latere* were sent by the pope, by name Veneian and Gratian, to bring about a peace between the king and archbishop Thomas. But not being able to succeed in their principal business, they were intent only on plunder, and so they returned after their unsuccessful exertions.

Henry the younger is crowned king, and the blessed Thomas is made a martyr.

A.D. 1170. Henry, the eldest son of king Henry, was crowned king at Westminster, on the day of Saint Basil, by Roger, archbishop of York, contrary to the custom and privilege of the church of Canterbury. On which account, the archbishop of Canterbury suspended the archbishop of York, who had presumed to crown the king's son, and some other bishops likewise, who were present at the solemnity; and he excommunicated many other persons. But the archbishop of York and the suspended bishops crossed the sea, and came to Normandy, to the king, making grave complaints against the blessed Thomas. At which, the king, being immoderately angry, complained bitterly of this archbishop Thomas, in the hearing of some of his friends. And they, when they heard this, hastened speedily to vengeance, and coming to Canterbury, they irreverently knocked out the brains of the archbishop himself in his own church. They were four soldiers, too vigorous in every military work, that is to say, in the shedding of blood. Their names were Reginald Fitz-Urse, Hugh de Moreville, William de Tracy, and Richard Brito. The martyr perished on the twenty-ninth of December. But all those soldiers died within four years, dying, however, in penitence; but Robert de Broke, being one of the secular clergy of Ranulph de Broke, who had charge of the bishopric, was excommunicated, and when he was at dinner, the dogs, though hungry, would not eat anything that he had touched, though they took anything greedily from the hands of others. The same year, the bones of a giant were discovered in England, the length of whose body was fifty feet.

Henry, bishop of Winchester, dies. Saint Godric, the bishop, departs to the Lord.

A.D. 1171. Henry, bishop of Winchester, died. King Henry crossed the sea to Ireland, where the archbishops and bishops received him as king and lord, and swore fealty to him; and the king, who was called Monoculus, did homage to him. King Henry was reconciled to the church of Canterbury. On the night of the Nativity of our Lord, a violent tempest arose. Gilbert, bishop of London, and the others who had been excommunicated, were absolved. The king gloriously showed his repentance for the sin that had been committed.

Miracles increased in the matter of Saint Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, throughout the whole world. That glorious man of revered and exemplary life, Godric de Michali, a hermit, having finished the conflict of his course of life in this world, departed from this life to the Lord, to receive a crown of glory in heaven; a man whose life and death would require a special treatise.

The same year, on the festival of Saint Nicholas, at Albemarle, Roger, archbishop of York, having taken an oath that he had in nowise received letters of prohibition from the lord the pope before the coronation of the new king, and that he had not bound himself to the king in the matter of the observance of the customs of the kingdom, and that he had not knowingly procured by word, or writing, or deed, the death of the blessed archbishop Thomas, was mercifully restored to the full discharge of his duties. The same year, the church at Norwich was destroyed by fire.

Henry the Younger wages war against Henry, his father.

A.D. 1172. On the night of the Nativity of our Lord, a sudden and terrible thunderstorm was heard in England and Ireland, and throughout the whole kingdom of France, so that it was plainly seen that the blood of the blessed Thomas was crying out aloud to the Lord. The same year, the heart of the younger Henry was turned away from affection to his father, and he waged war against him, so that the king, in token of his enormous guilt, which he had not yet atoned for, felt even his own bowels rise up in resistance to him. Also, Gilbert, bishop of London, having by an oath cleared himself of all accession to the death of the blessed Thomas, was restored to his office.

Saint Thomas is canonized, and his festival celebrated.

A.D. 1173. The feast of the blessed Thomas was celebrated by the authority of the Apostolic See throughout all England, in such a way, that besides the usual service which is performed at Christmas, a special service was chaunted for the Saint himself, and a special collect was repeated. The king increased his penances, and invoked Thomas in special prayers. The king of Scotland and the count of Leicester, who were renewing war against the king, were taken prisoners, and the young prince Henry was reconciled to his father. The king came to Canterbury, and, in a chapter, was absolved of all

connection with the crime committed at Canterbury. He also resigned on the greater altar, those customs for which the blessed Thomas had contended to the death. William, abbot of Reading, was appointed archbishop of Bordeaux, and was succeeded at Reading by Joseph. The same year, because of the obstinacy of earl Robert, who persisted in his opposition to the king, the noble city of Leicester was besieged and destroyed by king Henry, and the wall, which appeared impregnable, was utterly destroyed all round. The king also united the eldest daughter of Hubert, count of Maurienne, who had been borne to him by the relict of duke Henry, in marriage to his son John, surnamed Lackland, a boy hardly seven years of age. The same year, Roger, abbot of Beckenham, was elected archbishop of Canterbury, but being a man of very strict notions of religion, he absolutely refused the office. Therefore, Richard, the prior of Dover, and a monk of the same church, was elected in his place. This year, also, Rudolph de Warneville, the sacristan of Rouen, and treasurer of York, was appointed chancellor of England. Mary, the sister of the blessed abbess, was made abbess of Berkingham, her own character justifying such an appointment, and the king commanding it.

King Henry having invoked the aid of the blessed Thomas, subdues all his enemies.

A.D. 1174. Roger de Molbray deserted his fidelity to the king, and repaired a castle which had long since fallen to decay in the island of Axholme. But a multitude of Lincolnshire men crossed over in a vessel, and laid siege to the castle, and compelled the constable and all the soldiers in it to surrender, and destroyed the castle. The same year, on the last day of April, when the king of England had heard that the army of his son Richard had occupied the city of Saintes, he took with him the people of Poictiers, and proceeded to deliver that city. This year also, the king took in the larger church at Lincoln, sixty soldiers, with engineers, and a very great number of his enemies of other lands, who had made a castle of the church, and polluted it with feastings and other abominations. The king, invoking the aid of the blessed martyr Thomas, bestowed on the church of Canterbury forty pounds of yearly revenue towards the providing of candles.

On the day of Saint Sylvester, it being the Sabbath, God

delivered William king of Scotland, into the hands of Henry, who loaded him with chains, and confined him in the castle of Richemund. Also, on the same day, Prince Henry the younger, having seen the ships which he, relying on the assistance of the count of Flanders, and trusting in the troops by which he was accompanying, had collected for the purpose of crossing over the sea to England to subdue it, entirely scattered, and almost sunk by a mighty tempest, which arose suddenly, was compelled to return ignominiously to France.

This year, Richard was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury at Rome, by pope Alexander; and Richard, bishop of Winchester, with the bishops elect of Ely, Hereford, and Chichester, were consecrated by the same archbishop. But Geoffrey the Bastard, bishop elect of Lincoln, because his election had not yet been confirmed, crossed the sea in his own person to go across the Alps.

William, king of Scotland, having made peace, comes to do homage to king Henry.

A.D. 1175. The city of Rouen was besieged. This year also, peace was made between the king and his sons. A liegeman of the king of England came from the kingdom of Scotland, and did him homage for all his estates, as his own especial lord. And in like manner, did all the bishops, with the earls and barons of Scotland. They also swore that they would never harbour any one who was a fugitive from the king of England. A general council was held at Westminster, on the seventeenth of June, under the presidency of Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, and legate of the apostolic see. Roger, archbishop of York, was not present at the council. Reginald, earl of Cornwall, died. Hugh Petroleon, cardinal deacon of Saint Angelo, came as legate into England, and gave authority to bring the clergy before a secular judge for forfeit of forest, and for lay fees in favour of the king. The same year, William Turbes, bishop of Norwich, died.

Joanna, daughter of king Henry, marries the king of Sicily.

A.D. 1176. Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, appointed three archdeacons in his diocese, which from ancient times had been content with only one; their names were Savaric, Nicolas, and Herebert. The same year, John, dean of Salisbury, was consecrated bishop of Norwich. And not long afterwards, the king caused the castles of Leicester, of Hunt-

ingdon, of Walton, of Groby, of Stedsbury, of Hay, and of Threst, and a great many more, to be levelled to the ground, in revenge for the injuries which the lords of those castles had often done the king. After this, the king, by the advice and consent of his son, appointed justiciaries over six divisions of the kingdom, six in each division, who swore to preserve to all the inhabitants their rights unimpaired.

The same year, Joanna, the king's daughter, being about to marry the king of Sicily, was given up to her husband at Saint Giles's, on the ninth of November. Hugh Petroleon, the business of his legateship having been terminated, returned home across the sea. Also, king Henry the Second gave his younger daughter in marriage to the king of Apulia, and on the twenty-seventh of August she sailed to her new country. Richard, earl of Strigoil, died. William, earl of Arundel, died on the twelfth of October, at Waverley, and was buried at Wymondham, of which place he was the patron, on the nineteenth of October. Walter, the prior of Winchester, was appointed abbot of Westminster. The same year, the secular canons were removed from Waltham, and regular canons were introduced in their stead, but it was towards the end of the year, and the business was not entirely completed in this year. The third prior of Merton died.

Frederic came to the feet of pope Alexander to make satisfaction.

A.D. 1177. The church of Waltham was restored to the regular canons, and the rule of the most blessed Augustine, the great doctor, most honourably established and maintained therein; and indeed that church of Waltham from that time forth evidently went on prospering and increasing as well in temporal as in spiritual matters; and this business was successfully completed in this one year. But it was commenced on the vigil of Pentecost.

Philip, count of Flanders, and Philippe of Grandeville, went to Jerusalem. The emperor Frederic came, and threw himself at the feet of pope Alexander, to make satisfaction for his transgressions, and thus the schism that had existed was terminated. The same year, a most violent storm of wind tore up trees from their foundations and buildings by their roots, and did almost irreparable damage to many things. This year also, the king of England having arranged everything in his territories according to his pleasure, on the eighteenth of

August crossed the sea to Normandy, and having immediately held a conference with the king of France, they made a treaty in the following manner:—

"I, Louis, king of France, and I, Henry, king of England, wish it to come to the knowledge of all men, that we, acting under the inspiration of God, have promised, and have confirmed that promise by an oath, that we will go together in the service of the crucified one, and being about to go to Jerusalem, we have assumed the sign of the cross, and we determine to be exceeding friends to one another, so that each of us will faithfully strive to preserve the life and maintain the honour of the other."

The king cheerfully visits the tomb of the blessed Thomas the Martyr.

A.D. 1178. A great fall of snow filled the valleys, and buried the thickets and trees. And when it melted away, many cattle and some men were carried away by the flood, and so perished. On the eighth of January the sun suffered an eclipse. This year, Henry, king of England, decorated his son Geoffrey with the belt of a knight, at Woodstock, on the seventh of August. And when the king had arranged everything according to his wish, then, recognizing the virtue of the blessed Thomas the Martyr, he went humbly and cheerfully to visit his tomb, intending to offer thanks at it.

And from that time forth the two kings of France and England made preparation of treasure and all other necessary things, for embarking on the expedition to Jerusalem in a magnificent manner, in such a way that the whole of the east was shaken with fear. The same year, Richard de Lucio, the justiciary of England, on the eleventh of June laid the foundation towards the building a conventual church, in honour of the blessed martyr, Thomas, in the place which is called Westwood, in the territory of Rochester. The same year, the blessed Alban came forth visibly from his church, and came to a man dwelling in the town of Saint Alban's, and said to him, "Follow me." But the man, seeing him shining like the sun, feared, and obeyed, and followed him as he went along the road which leads to the north (and the road shone with his brightness as he went); and then the man said to the martyr, "Lord, who art thou?" He said, "I am Alban, the proto-martyr of England, and I am leading you to the burial-place of Saint Amphilabus, by whose teaching I was converted

to the Lord, and made a martyr, in order that his bones may be reverently discovered, and taken up out of the earth. The place of his burial is about three miles from my church." And thus they conversed as one friend might do with another; and he pointed out the place to him, and the man made a careful mark to enable him to recognise the spot, and fixed it in his mind by placing some stones in a particular order. And when he had done this, the martyr conducted the man back again; and when they came in front of the doors of the church, the martyr admonished him to relate everything to the abbot and to the brotherhood, and having bade him farewell, the martyr departed, and entered his church; but the man, Robert, (for that was his name,) returned to his own house. And that all these circumstances are to be believed to be true, and not the creations of fancy, the evidence of the facts that ensued proves. For after those discreet men, the abbot and the brethren of the convent, were certified of these things, they went to the place which was mentioned to them, and there they found the blessed martyr, Amphibalus, with his companions; and God celebrated unheard-of miracles in the place, one of which we have thought worthy of inserting in this book, namely, that a certain person, who had been dead four days, in fact four days and a half had elapsed since he had expired, was there restored to life, and effectually led all the beholders to give glory to God, and praise to the martyrs who assisted in such a work.

Louis, king of France, came into England, to offer adoration to Saint Thomas.

A.D. 1179. Louis, king of France, although old and infirm of body, being nevertheless active in his faith and devotion, came into England, and was not hindered by the necessity of crossing the sea, although he dreaded it above all things, from offering veneration and adoration with prayer to the holy martyr, the blessed Thomas, at his sepulchre in the church of Canterbury; in order, that after that, when he had evidently become a friend of God, he might with his prayers prevail upon God in behalf of the king and kingdom of France, inasmuch as he had meritoriously received, and protected, and comforted the man whom England had persecuted and expelled. And because the most Christian king, Louis, heard that the glorious promises of God were being fulfilled in the case of the most blessed Amphibalus and his companions, he proposed to visit

that spot; but the advice of his friends prevented him from being absent from his country for such a length of time; grieving at which, though he was unwilling to act in opposition to them, he sent his chaplain thither, in his stead, as it were, to bear splendid presents as an offering on his part, to that, and to certain other holy places which existed in England. Having therefore performed his vow of pilgrimage according to his wish, the king returned, and sailing from between Dover and Whitsand, he had a fair voyage, and reached his own country without meeting with any hindrance. And because he was very fearful by sea, and apprehensive of danger, as he said that to cross the sea was an act of more than human daring, he entreated the blessed Thomas that from that time forth no one should suffer shipwreck in that passage, by which prayer the pious king is believed to have obtained the favour of the saint, which continues effectual to this day. These events took place in the beginning of September, and in all these things king Henry showed himself favourable and sociable to him, as he ought.

This year, Philip, son of the king of France, was crowned. Likewise pope Alexander held a council at Rome, in the middle of Lent, at which three hundred and ten bishops assembled in the Lateran palace. Roger, bishop of Worcester, died. A boy was martyred at Wenlock. In these days, the abbot of Joachin wrote a book on the Apocalypse; and his writings, because from a simple man of little more learning than a layman, he suddenly and miraculously became a profound theologian, were very much greeted among the great, and were considered works of great authority. But because he appeared to incline to the idea of a quaternity, rather than that of the Trinity, the church condemned his writings, of which circumstance pope Innocent made mention in the council which was held by him, and also in the beginning of his decretals.

Louis, king of France, dies. Philip becomes very friendly to king Henry.

A.D. 1180. Louis, king of France, of pious memory, died on the eighteenth of September, and was succeeded by his son Philip. The coinage was renewed in England. John, bishop of Chichester, died. Philip, king of France, placed his whole kingdom at the disposal of king Henry, as his faithful friend, because he knew him to be a most faithful and prudent king;

and they became the greatest friends, without any evil suspicion of one another, and without any remembrance of past grievances, as this document testifies.

"I, Philip, king of the French, &c. :—"

This year also, Richard, count of Poictiers, a man famous for military prowess, cruelly ravaged the territories of Geoffrey de Luneville, scarcely sparing the sanctity of churches. And when he had finished his war according to his wish, he came into England, and was received with exceeding honour by his father on account of his glory, which had become famous throughout all the countries on this side of the Alps.

Pope Alexander dies, and is succeeded by Lucius. Prester John writes to the Pope, and the Pope to him.

A.D. 1181. Roger, archbishop of York, went the way of all flesh on the twenty-first of December. The same year, pope Alexander wrote a letter to Prester John, king of India, in elegant language, expressing a hope that they might be united, being of one belief in all things in the Catholic faith, which, indeed, John himself had previously entreated in a letter of his own, and by a messenger whom he had sent himself, namely, his physician Philip. In which arduous business, the matter would have had a happy termination, if the fame, or rather the infamy, of the Roman avarice had not filled the whole earth to the very extremities of the world, in consequence of which the devotion of the prince above mentioned grew cold, as he was unwilling to put himself in devout subjection to the church of Rome. The same year, pope Alexander died, and was succeeded by Lucius. The king came from Normandy. An eclipse of the sun took place on the vigil of the exaltation of the holy cross, at three o'clock. The same year, Baldwin, abbot of Ford Abbey, of the Cistercian order, succeeded bishop Roger, in the church of Worcester. The earl of Chester died.

Henry, for the expiation of the death of Saint Thomas, gave forty-two thousand marks of silver and five hundred marks of gold to the Holy Land.

A.D. 1182. The duke of Saxony came with his duchess into Normandy. Geoffrey, bishop elect of Lincoln, and son of the king of England, after his election had been confirmed by the pope, and after he had peaceably presided over that church for a period of seven years, without any one compelling him to do so, resigned his preferment at the epiphany of the Lord at

Marlborough, in the presence of the king and the bishops of the kingdom. The same year, king Henry, at Waltham, in the presence of the nobles of the kingdom, munificently gave forty-two thousand marks of silver, and five hundred marks of gold, to procure assistance for the Holy Land. For, in secret confession, he had inviolably promised this gift, in atonement of the death of the blessed Thomas, the punishment for which he dreaded above all things, for himself and his posterity.

The same year, Walter de Constance, archdeacon of Oxford, was consecrated bishop of Lincoln, by Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, in the city of Angers, in the church of Saint Laud. Geoffrey, the king's son, prior elect, who, out of family pride, was not at all inclined to submit himself to episcopal authority, from that time forth became reprobate and detestable in the eyes of God and man, according to the divine sentence: "Whosoever is ashamed of me before men," etc. The same year, Walter, bishop of Rochester, went the way of all flesh.

The Prince Henry the younger dies. Walter de Constance is installed in his see.

A.D. 1183. Prince Henry the younger, a youth of a delightful disposition, the son of king Henry the Second, died on the day of Saint Barnabas the apostle; and he was buried at first in Mayenne, and afterwards in Rouen. Walter de Constance, a bishop of Lincoln, came to England, and was installed in his diocese. The same year, Gerard, surnamed the Maiden, was consecrated bishop of Coventry, who, having gone through many labours with Saint Thomas the Martyr, was worthily raised to the dignity of pontiff by his prayers, many others being passed over.

Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, dies. The Saracens invade Spain.

A.D. 1184. Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, died at Halling, which is a town in the bishopric of Rochester. Also Jocelin, bishop of Salisbury, died. The same year, king Henry conducted the duke of Saxony and his family into England, and a few days afterwards the duchess brought forth a son, whom she called William. The same year, Baldwin, bishop of Worcester, was elected archbishop of Canterbury, and Walter, bishop of Lincoln, was elected archbishop of Rouen. This same year, Philip, archbishop of Cologne, and Philip, count of

Flanders, came into England to offer vows and prayers to the blessed Thomas, as famous miracles were constantly increasing to his great honour. When the objects of the pilgrimage of these nobles had been accomplished, the king courteously went to meet them, and accompanied them to London, where they feasted with him for several days. And at their arrival in London, by command of the king, the whole city was made very splendid, and decked with every kind of ornament.

The same year also, a multitude of Saracens landed on the Spanish territories, and attacked the Christians in a hostile manner, under the command of a great general and sovereign king Macemuth; and when they had done much irreparable mischief to the Christians, the king was smitten by God, as an avenger of his guilt, in a miraculous manner, and died in a horrible manner; on beholding which, all the enemies of God were terrified and fled.

In those days, Baldwin, son of Almaric, the former king, reigned in Jerusalem, but being afflicted with leprosy, he had already lost the use of his eyes. Having therefore summoned the nobles of his kingdom, he appointed Guy de Lusignan, count of Joppa, and Ascalon, governor of his kingdom. About the same time, Saladin, soldan of Damascus, having reduced all the kings of the Saracens under his authority throughout nearly all the territories of the east, so that he might be called king of kings, and lord of lords, threatened, with a loud voice, that he would subdue all Christendom under his feet, and for this purpose he had prepared many warlike machines, being a man of the greatest experience and skill in warlike matters. At this time, Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, died, and was succeeded by Baldwin, a boy of five years of age, his nephew, being the son of his sister, Sibylla, and William, marquis of Montserrat, who was immediately crowned king, and committed to the care of Raymond, count of Tripoli, to be brought up by him.

The same year, king Henry, as he had for some time intended, brought about the transference of the whole kingdom of Ireland to John, his younger son, who, with the consent of his father, had long since received the homage of all the nobles of that country; and he sent John, archbishop of Dublin, into Ireland, as the forerunner of his son's arrival, about the beginning of August.

The Patriarch of Jerusalem, and the Master of the Hospital, arrive in England.

A.D. 1185. Eraclius, the patriarch of the Holy Resurrection, and lord Roger, the master of the hospitallers, came to Henry, king of England, at Reading. And when they had related to him the cause of their journey, they excited the king and all their hearers to tears, for the unheard-of desolation of the Holy Land. They also brought to the king many memorable tokens in confirmation of their petition, namely, relics of the nativity and passion of the resurrection of Christ, and the keys of the tower of David and of the Holy Sepulchre. They also, with tears, related to him the rash and wicked purpose of Saladin, showing him moreover the papal letters which contained the entire series of those events, with a great multiplicity of testimonies. But the king having taken counsel, replied, "that for him to accept the kingdom of Jerusalem which they offered him, and to go thither, and to desert the kingdom of England, and expose it to its hostile neighbours, would not be, as he imagined, acceptable to God, since this kingdom was as pleasing to God, and as devout as the other." So the patriarch being disappointed in his hope, returned to his own country. And when Saladin heard of this, he began in a most merciless manner to ravage those territories of the Christians which bordered on his own.

Pope Lucius died this year, and was succeeded by Urban. A great earthquake was felt at Lincoln, on the fifteenth of April. John, the younger son of king Henry, was knighted by his father, and sent into Ireland. Baldwin, bishop of Worcester was made archbishop of Canterbury, and John, precentor of Exeter, was made bishop of the same church. About this time, the young Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, died, nor was there any one who could then succeed him in the kingdom, except Sibylla, the sister of the leprous king, Baldwin, and mother of the youthful king, Baldwin; on which account, the desolate state of the kingdom increased, and the audacity of Saladin against the Christians.

Geoffrey, count of Brittany, dies. Hugh, a Carthusian monk, is made bishop of Lincoln.

A.D. 1186. Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, received the pallium, and also the office of legate in the province which was subject to him, from the Church of Rome. The same

year, William de Vere was created bishop of Hereford, on the feast of Saint Lawrence. The same year, Geoffrey, count of Brittany, son of the king of England, died on the eighteenth of September, and was buried at Paris, in the church of the blessed Virgin Mary, within the choir of the canons. He left two daughters, whom he had by his wife Constance, daughter of Conan, count of Brittany, and she was with child at the time that her husband died, and afterwards she was delivered of a son, whom she named Arthur.

The same year, Hugh, a Burgundian by birth, and a prior of the Carthusian order, was appointed bishop of Lincoln. William de Northale was consecrated bishop of Worcester, and John was consecrated bishop of Exeter. About the same time, terrible signs appeared, namely, a very general earthquake; also, an image of the child Jesus being broken, flowed with blood. Saladin ravaged the Holy Land more cruelly every day.

The Holy Land is ruined by devastation. The Holy Cross is lost.

A.D. 1187. Saladin assembled Parthians, Bedouins, and Turks and Arabs, and Medes and Curds, and Egyptians, and accompanied by an army of all those nations, he attacked and made himself master of many noble castles, and slew the Master of the Knights of the Temple, with the host of his brethren. They again appointed a fresh master or preceptor of the Temple, and as he was desirous to avenge his slaughtered brethren, and to deliver those who had been taken prisoners in company with Guy de Lusignan, regent of the kingdom, the count of Tripoli, and many other nobles, the intrepid Saladin met him in battle, and as our troops encountered him vigorously with the edge of the sword, a terrible conflict took place, and both armies fought manfully. At last, our men advancing incautiously among difficult ground, and terrible defiles of rocks, were intercepted, so that, although they fought gloriously, nevertheless the party of the enemy prevailed. They say, that the count of Tripoli, having been corrupted by bribes, traitorously permitted the royal standard to fall, which he unfortunately carried. In that battle, the lord Guy, the vice regent of the king, was taken prisoner with the Holy Cross, and the whole multitude of Christians was miserably routed and put to flight, and the greater part of them were

put to the sword, and so perished. This melancholy and disastrous battle took place on the third and fourth of July, in the week of the Apostles Peter and Paul. However, Theodoric, the new Master of the Temple, escaped from this defeat, though on that day he lost two hundred and thirty of his most distinguished brethren. The count of Tripoli escaped unhurt and sound, on which account he was the more suspected. Moreover, with the cross, there were taken its bearers, the bishop of Acre, and the precentor of the Lord's Sepulchre, the latter of whom was slain at once, the other taken prisoner, and soon after slain in the battle. After that, Saladin, increasing in audacity, attacked Acre and took it; then he invaded Galilee, and after that, he attacked the Holy City of Jerusalem.

The same year, pope Urban died, and was succeeded by Gregory; who, after he had ruled the Papal See for two months, died, and Clement the Third was elected in his room, on the twentieth of December. About this time, Gilbert, bishop of London, paid the debt of nature; and the same year, Richard, count of Poitou, hearing of the disasters of the Holy Land, and especially the capture of the cross, was seized with great consternation in his mind, so that, without waiting for the preaching of any one, or for the advice of his father, he, the first of all the nobles beyond the sea, devoutly received the sign of the cross from the hand of the archbishop of Tours, murmuring at and reproaching his father because he declined to take upon himself the defence of the kingdom which was offered to him; and thus shamefully shook the yoke of the Lord from off his neck.

This year, the mother church of Chichester and the whole city was destroyed by fire, on the first of November. Hugh de Mihaute was made bishop of Chester. The citizens of the captured city of Jerusalem, for the sake of preserving their lives, agreed to pay Saladin a poll-tax, at the rate of ten bezants for each man, five for each woman, and one for each child, to the number of fourteen thousand persons of both sexes. This year, Richard, bishop of Winchester, died, on the twenty-second of December. And about the same time, after the example of Richard, count of Poitou, many men flew to assume the sign of the cross, to avenge the great injuries done to their crucified Saviour.

The emperor Frederic, and the kings of France and England, assume the cross.

A.D. 1188. Frederic, emperor of the Romans, assumed the cross, being urged by the preaching of Henry, bishop of Albany, and legate of the Apostolic See, who was sent by pope Clement for this object. The same year, Philip, king of France, and Henry, king of England, came to a conference, having for its object the relief of the Holy Land, in Normandy, between Trippe and Gisors, and after a long discussion, in the presence of Philip, count of Flanders, they agreed together in this, that having assumed the cross, they would undertake the expedition to Jerusalem in company. Therefore, the king of England first received the cross at the hands of the archbishop of Rheims, and William of Tyre. After him, the king of France, and Philip, count of Flanders, and many other counts and barons, and a very great number of nobles, archbishops, and bishops, and of common people an absolutely countless multitude.

About those days, the emperor Frederic wrote an elegant letter to Saladin, which, however, was couched in threatening language; and Saladin, not being at all alarmed, wrote back one in a similar tone. In that letter there was contained a defiance and a declaration of war. This year, Guy, king of Jerusalem, having been detained in chains at Damascus for a year, in the prison of Saladin, was compelled to renounce the kingdom of Jerusalem, and scarcely escaped with his life. About this time, Raymond, count of Tripoli, died, who, when at the point of death, from the alienation of his mind, did not receive the viaticum of salvation. But the valiant sovereign, Guy, when released from prison, as if awakening from a heavy slumber, as no one else had taken upon himself the task of holding the reins of his oppressed kingdom, broke his disgraceful oath, resumed his spirits, and girded himself for the contest, and taking the helm of the vessel which was now nearly sunk by the violence of the storm, he summoned his dispersed followers to unite, and associating with himself the Templars, and Hospitallers, and Venetians, and Genoese, and all the noble pilgrims who had as yet arrived, having a good hope of the arrival of more allies, laid siege to Acre, to the deliverance of which Saladin, without any alarm, came in haste, and after a fierce battle had continued for three days, lo! they beheld an innumerable fleet of Danes and Frieslanders

entering the harbour without any hindrance; and when Saladin saw this, he immediately fled, leaving the city without hope of relief. The strength of the city was, however, impregnable, and the garrison, on the side of Saladin, consisted of nine thousand armed men.

About the same time, the devil, the enemy of the human race, seeing the success of this important affair that had now been vigorously begun, and envying that success, sowed discord and the seeds of ruinous war, and begot hostility between the king of the French, and Richard, count of Poitou, and the king of England too, to such a degree, that they attacked one another with slaughter and conflagration, and breathed nothing but anger and hatred. At last, they came to Normandy to a conference, but as, after many debates, they could not find the way of peace, they departed more at variance with one another than before. Henry had several sons and daughters, namely, William, who died as a child, Henry the Younger, who had been crowned as king, Richard, the king, Matilda, Geoffrey, Eleanor, Joanna, and John, the king.

Count Richard adheres to the king of France. King Henry, worn out by sorrow, dies.

A.D. 1189. A great famine and mortality caused the human race to waste away in a horrible manner. The war between the kings of England and France grew fiercer every day; and now Richard, count of Poitou, began with all his heart to espouse the side of Philip, king of France, against his father, by which the heart of Henry was afflicted with great bitterness. Many also forsook king Henry and adhered to count Richard, especially the Bretons. Pope Clement sent John d'Anagni, the cardinal, with full powers to settle the disputes and quarrels between the two kings, in which he succeeded to some extent, but not entirely. As a crown to his miseries, it happened that Saladin, having made a treaty with the emperor of Constantinople, surrendered all the churches of the Holy Land which he had reduced under his own dominion to the emperor and his prelates, that the rites of the Greek church might be observed in them. Moreover, Saladin also sent to Constantinople some rites of his own law, to be observed therein.

Richard, count of Poitou, becoming more and more carried away by his anger, did homage to the king of France, by way of an insult to his father. About that time, the emperor Frederic, being about to visit the places of our Lord's suffer-

ings, began his pilgrimage on the day of the festival of Saint George, starting with great magnificence from Remisburgh, meaning to pass through Hungary and Bulgaria, according to his original intention. In the same year, Geoffrey, bishop of Ely, died intestate, on the twenty-first of August.

In the same year, king Henry, being utterly overwhelmed in the abyss of melancholy, cursing the day on which he was born, and his own nativity, died at Chinon, on the sixth of July, and was buried at Fontevraud, after he had reigned thirty-four years, seven months, and five days.

The following territories king Henry had in his own power, namely, the counties of Anjou and Maine, by right of succession to his father; and, as his mother's inheritance, England, Ireland, and the duchy of Normandy. In right of his wife, he possessed the duchy of Aquitaine; and we must remark, that the dignity of seneschal belongs to the count of Anjou.

This is the account of Trevetus.

Ch. VI.—From A.D. 1189 to A.D. 1199.

Richard succeeds to the throne—Progress of the war in the Holy Land—Richard's liberality to his relations—He appoints Arthur his heir—He, with the king of France, sets out to join the crusade—Acre is taken—Exploits of Richard—Richard returns from the Holy Land, and is taken prisoner—The pope interferes for his release—He returns to England—Fulk preaches to Richard—Otho becomes emperor—Death of Richard.

The coronation of Richard at Westminster.

Henry, the most pious king of England, being thus dead in great bitterness of spirit, Richard, count of Poitou, his son, succeeded him in the kingdom, and was crowned at Westminster the same year by Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, on the third of September, in the presence of Walter de Constance, archbishop of Rouen, John Comin, archbishop of Dublin, and the archbishop of Treves. The next night a massacre was made of the Jews in London. After that, Godfrey de Lucy was elected bishop of Winchester, Richard, the treasurer, bishop of London, Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisbury, and William Longchamp, bishop of Ely. This year also, William de Mandeville died. On the seventh of March a most terrible thunderstorm was heard.

The same year, a severe battle took place between Saladin and the Christians, in which most bloody conflict the son of Saladin and many of his troops perished, and likewise the brother of Saladin was mortally wounded; and seven squadrons of the infidels were routed. On the other hand, the master of the temple, and a great many Christians, were slain. But the emperor of Constantinople, being greatly perplexed, could not for awhile recover his courage. The same year, on the first of November, Godfrey de Lucy, bishop elect of Winchester, and Hubert Walter, bishop elect of Salisbury, received consecration at Westminster, in the chapel of Saint Catharine, at the hands of Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury. John d'Anagni, the cardinal, in the month of November, landed in England at Dover, and by his means peace was re-established between the archbishop and the chapter in the matter of the chapel of Haketun. And accordingly the chapel was determined to be pulled down. Roger, who had been appointed prior by the archbishop contrary to the will of the chapter, was at once deposed, and the king, on the petition of the archbishop, gave the deposed prior the abbey of Evesham. Afterwards the sentence about the before-mentioned chapel was modified, at the entreaty of the archbishop, so that it was reduced to a small one, not having any baptistery or cemetery attached to it, or any regular service, excepting only such as could be performed by one secular priest. The king of Scotland did homage to king Richard, for the rights of which he was possessed in England. And king Richard gave him the castles of Berwick and Roxburgh. And for this restoration of those castles, and for a discharge from any acknowledgment of fealty and allegiance due from the kingdom of Scotland, and for the confirmation of his charter, he gave the king of England ten thousand marks of silver. The same year, Richard gave to John, his brother, the counties of Somerset and Dorset. He also gave to Eleanor, his mother, the customary dowry, and besides that, he conferred on her many estates and ample honours, and on the fifth day of December, he crossed over the sea to Normandy. Archbishop Baldwin placed under an interdict the lands of count John, the brother of the king, because he had taken for his wife the daughter of the earl of Gloucester, who was related to him in the third degree of relationship. The same year, the tenth part of all moveables was granted and collected throughout England, for the assist-

ance of the Holy Land, which was in great danger. And in those days, on the thirty-first of December, Richard, bishop of London, and William, bishop of Ely, received consecration at Lambeth from archbishop Baldwin.

" Richard, by the grace of God, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, justiciaries, viscounts, and to all his servants and faithful subjects throughout the whole of England, sendeth greeting—

" Know ye, that we have restored to our dearest kinsman William, by the same grace of God, king of Scotland, his castles of Roxburgh and Berwick as his own, to be held by him and his heirs in perpetuity as theirs by hereditary right. Moreover, we have discharged him from all the agreements and covenants which our father of blessed memory, Henry, king of England, extorted from him by novel claims of equity, in consequence of his capture, on condition that he performs to us in all its antiquity and fulness, all that king Malcolm, his brother, did of right, and was of right bound to perform to our predecessors, and that we, on our part, do to him whatever our predecessors did of right, and were bound to do to the aforesaid Malcolm; that is to say, with respect to his safe conduct when coming to our court, and returning from our court, and while sojourning at our court, and in all matters of administration, and in all privileges, and dignities, and honours which are rightfully his due, and for these purposes recognizances shall be given by four of our nobles selected by William himself, and by four of his nobles selected by us. And if after the aforesaid king William was taken prisoner by our father, any one of our subjects has without legal judgment seized upon any of the territories or marches of the kingdom of Scotland, we will that that be restored in full, and reinstated in that condition in which it was before his capture. Moreover, as to the estates, or lordships, or fees, which he has in England, to wit, in the county of Huntingdon, or in any other county, he and his heirs shall possess them in perpetuity with the same liberties with which Malcolm possessed, or ought to have possessed them; unless the said Malcolm, or his heirs, shall have subsequently bound them by any feudal tenure, though still, if any of such fees are bound by any such service, it shall apply to him and to his heirs. And if our father has given any thing to the aforesaid William, king of

Scotland, we will that such gift be ratified and secured. We also restore to him the allegiance of his own subjects, and all the charters which the lord king our father obtained from him in consequence of his capture, and if any other which were granted out of forgetfulness shall be detained or discovered, we ordain that all such shall be wholly devoid of validity. But he himself is our liegeman for all the lands for which his predecessors have been liegemen to our predecessors, and for which he has sworn fealty to us and to our heirs. Done before Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, and Walter, archbishop of Rouen, witnesses, &c. &c."

Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, having held a council at Westminster, sets out on his journey to Jerusalem.

A.D. 1190. Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, held a council at Westminster, on the nineteenth of February; and there bidding farewell to his brethren, he set out on his journey to Jerusalem, from which he was never to return, as he died in the Holy Land. Richard, king of England, and Philip, king of France, set out on their expedition to Jerusalem, after the feast of the nativity of Saint John. William, bishop of Ely, received the appointment of legate, and held a council at Westminster. Walter, abbot of Westminster, and William, bishop of Worcester, died. The same year, Frederic, emperor of Germany, died; also Ranulph de Glanville, and Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, died. A terrible massacre of the Jews took place at York, which was besieged on all sides by the legions of the Christians, and was closely blockaded. The chapel of Saint Thomas the Martyr was built, where he died. The bishop of Ely was appointed by the king's letters chief justiciary, and, as it were, regent of England. The king appointed Arthur his heir. King Richard and the king of the French met at Vezelay, where the body of the blessed Mary Magdalene rests, on the week of the festival of John the Baptist, where the king of England assumed the wallet and staff of a pilgrim, in the church of the blessed Mary Magdalene. Then the kings, being now in harmony and friends, and confederate together in the sacred bond of charity, proceeded to the coast, for the purpose of crossing the sea. But the two armies were divided on account of the dearness of provisions. And, at Messina, a quarrel arose between the king of England and the king of France. However, the same day,

peace, though a hollow one, was re-established between them, but it could never be restored on its former footing. About that time, by the consent of king Richard, the Norman church was relieved from the long yoke of slavery by which it had been oppressed, to the extent that thenceforth, on no ground whatever, were any of the clergy to be taken by the secular power, as they hitherto had been, except for homicide, theft, arson, or some similar enormous crime. The bishop of Ely, indulging in excessive arrogance, consumed a vast treasure in surrounding the Tower of London with a marvellous wall, and he also designed to bring the Thames entirely round it; and he, in many ways, put the king to vast expense, and caused him great loss of money. And, therefore, at last, he was precipitated from his elevation into the depths of confusion.

Acre is taken. Cyprus is subjugated by king Richard. Pope Clement dies, and is succeeded by Celestine.

A.D. 1191. Richard, king of England, and Philip, king of France, set sail for Messina, on Palm Sunday. And, after that, the king of France landed at Acre, on the twenty-first of April, and the king of England on the second of June; and Acre was taken on the twelfth of July, and there a quarrel broke out a second time between the two kings. This year, also, Geoffrey, archbishop of York, having been consecrated at Tours, came to England, and landed at Dover. But finding there that designs were formed against him by the partisans of the chancellor, he took refuge in the church, from which he was dragged by the chancellor's guards, and conducted to Dover Castle, where he was detained some days, till he was released by count John, his brother, and the justiciaries of the land. About the same time, the aforesaid chancellor being deprived of the high dignity which he had before, came to Dover, and, wishing to cross the sea secretly, disguised himself irreverently in a female dress, which some people detected, and treated him with deserved contumely, and gave notice of his conduct to the justiciaries; but, however, immediately afterwards, he crossed the sea. Reginald, bishop of Bath, was elected archbishop of Canterbury by the monks of that church, but soon afterwards died. This year, also, Robert, son of William, son of Radulph, seneschal of Normandy, was made bishop of Worcester. Pope Clement died, and was succeeded by Celestine, by whom the emperor Henry was crowned,

on the vigil of Saint John the Baptist. William Postard was promoted from being prior of Westminster to be abbot of the same place. Hugh de Minaunt, bishop of Chester, expelled the monks from the church of Coventry, and instituted secular clergy in their places. King Richard subdued Cyprus, where he married Berengaria, the daughter of the king of Navarre. The bones of Arthur, that most famous king, were found at Glastonbury, a place which was formerly called in the British language the Isle of Avallon, that is to say, the Isle of Apples. The same year, king Richard redeemed, for an enormous sum of money, the relics of the saints which Saladin had carried off in the Holy Land, in order that he might have those persons as intercessors in heaven for him, whose relics he had ransomed from the hands of the infidels. On the vigil of Saint John the Baptist, being the Lord's day, an eclipse of the sun took place about six o'clock, and lasted till eight. The same year, an oath of fealty to king Richard was taken at London, in the chapter-house of Saint Paul, for the king had suspicions of his chancellor. William, archbishop of Rouen, was appointed, by letters of king Richard, chief regent and governor of England, and the chancellor was ignominiously deposed.

King Richard is taken prisoner by the duke of Austria, and sold to the emperor.

A.D. 1192. King Richard, returning from the Holy Land, was arrested by the duke of Austria, in a town which is called Gynaciam, in Austria, and delivered up to the emperor Henry. The bishop of Worcester died; and Savaric was consecrated bishop of Bath. The same year, the chalices and treasures of the churches, and a fourth part of the revenues of the whole of England, were taken for the purpose of furnishing the king's ransom. The king of France returned to Paris from his pilgrimage, where he was received with a solemn procession by the clergy and people. The same year, after the feast of Easter, the emperor Henry brought many accusations against Richard. First of all that, by his assistance and counsel, he had lost the kingdom of Sicily and Apulia, which belonged to him by hereditary right after the death of king William, for the acquisition of which he had, at an infinite expenditure of money, assembled a vast army, when the same king Richard had promised faithfully to contribute his assistance, to enable

him to obtain that kingdom from Tancred. Secondly, he advanced a charge in the matter of the king of Cyprus, who was united to him by relationship, urging that he had unjustly deposed him from his sovereignty, and thrown him into prison, and had violently seized on his territories and treasures, and had sold the island to a stranger. And afterwards he accused him of the death of the marquis of Montserrat, his heir, as if it had been owing to his treachery that the marquis was slain by the assassins, whom he had also sent to slay his superior lord, the king of France, to whom also he had preserved no fidelity, as he ought to have done, in their common pilgrimage, though such fidelity had been confirmed by each one to the other by a mutual oath. Next, he complained that he had thrown the standard of the duke of Austria, his kinsman, while fighting in the Holy Land in the cause of God, into a common sewer, to show his contempt for the duke, and that he had insulted his Teutonic knights by word and action.

To all these charges king Richard eloquently and distinctly replied, taking the charges in their regular order, in such a manner that he appeared to all his hearers to have completely exculpated himself. Moreover, he sent an imperial embassy to the Old Man of the Mountain, requiring him and his assassins to write a letter which should prove his innocence of the crime with which he was charged; and such a letter was sent the following year. And so the fame of the king was cleared before all men with respect to all the accusations that had been brought against him, and from that time forth the emperor began to deal more mildly with him; and his ransom was taxed at a hundred and forty thousand marks of silver of the standard of Cologne. To pay which, all the chalices in England, and a fourth part of the revenues of the realm, as I have said before, went into the possession of foreigners to procure the king's liberation, which was a ruin and irreparable loss to England. But still, for the redemption of such a great king, it appeared slight to the loyal subjects of the kingdom, and to the king's friends. But count John, the brother of king Richard, believing that king Richard would never be released, but rather that all the money paid for his ransom would be lost as well as the king himself, entered into a treaty of friendship with the king of France, to the injury of the king, his brother. For he knew that Philip hated him, and he designed to be crowned himself, but he was hindered by the virtue of

the English. The king of France invaded Normandy, and stormed the castles of that province, and occupied them himself. Gisors he got possession of by treachery. About the same time, the king of France espoused the daughter of the king of Denmark, and soon after divorced her.

The emperor and the duke are admonished by the pope to release king Richard, but in vain.

A.D. 1193. The fame of king Richard was sufficiently cleared from all the false accusations which had been brought against him, by the reading of the letter which the Old Man of the Mountain had by this time transmitted to the emperor and the duke of Austria. And, accordingly, both the duke and the emperor were admonished by the lord the pope to suffer king Richard to depart in peace. But they were altogether unwilling to let so rich a prey escape them. About the same time, Saladin died, and was buried in hell, and his brother, Sofadin, succeeded him. The king of France continued to prosecute the war in France with great vigour. But the friends of the king, and the faithful subjects of the kingdom, seeing that delay brought danger with it, hastened to pay his ransom; the king being also in great distress of mind, for whom they felt deep sympathy. For the count John was usurping his kingdom, the king of France was endeavouring to make himself master of Normandy, and dangers were threatening him on all sides.

The king of France repudiated his wife, and committed her, as it were, to custody in prison. All transactions respecting things to be sold, were, by command of king Richard, ordained to be regulated by one standard of weight and measure throughout the whole realm of England.

King Richard is released. Having paid his ransom, he arrives in England. He visits Saint Thomas.

A.D. 1194. King Richard, having now paid the greater portion of his ransom, and given hostages for the remainder, was, on the day of the purification of the blessed Mary, released from all custody on the part of the emperor, to whom the duke of Austria had sold him, and allowed to return to his own country. But the king, when he had arrived in England, went to the tomb of the blessed Thomas to pay his adoration, and afterwards to that of Saint Edmund, and after that to that of Saint Alban, the proto-martyr of England; and advancing from thence to Nottingham, he put down all those whom his

brother, the count, had bribed. He recovered the castle, and treated those whom he took mercifully. The same year, all the churches in England were taxed and charged with imposts. Having, therefore, in a short time subdued all his adversaries in England, he, by the advice of his nobles, though against his own will, was crowned a second time at Winchester, in Easter week, Hubert, the archbishop, performing the mass, and William, the most pious king of Scotland, being likewise present. Which same William, king of Scotland, on the aforesaid day of the coronation of king Richard, carried before the king, as his proper service, one of the three swords which were brought forward out of the king's treasury; and the two counts, Hamelin de Warenne on the right hand of the king of Scotland, and Ranulph, earl of Chester, on his left hand, carried the two other swords. After that, on the day of the festivals of the two saints, Nereus and Achilles, he embarked on board ship at Portsmouth, and landed in Normandy, and rested that night, and slept after his fatigues at Bruis, where count John, taking good advice, came to meet the king in a suppliant manner, and with many of his soldiers threw himself humbly at his feet, and with profuse tears implored the mercy of his brother. But the king, who in time of peace was most merciful, wept, and raised up his prostrate brother, and received him again into his paternal affection, and immediately he delivered Verneuil from siege, and relieved the whole country from the oppression of the French. Immediately after this, he drove the king of France from the province of Touraine, and took all his horses and carriages, and beasts of burden, and then suddenly crossing into Poitou, he compelled all his enemies in that district to retreat; so that from the castle of Verneuil, as far as Charlescroix, there was no one who could resist him. About this time the king of France sent four messengers to the king of England, to bring him a pacific message, which he sent in treachery, proposing that, desisting from their vast expenses and useless exertions on both sides, they should submit the questions in dispute between them both, to be decided by a battle between five picked men of each kingdom. The king of England replied that the proposal was very agreeable to him, provided that the king of France would himself make one of his five warriors, as he himself would be one of the five on his side; but this the king of France refused.

The same year, Robert, earl of Leicester, was taken prisoner by the king of France. Henry de Marischal, brother of Walter de Marischal the elder, was made bishop of Exeter. The same year, king Richard passed over into England, and appointed tournaments to be held in certain places, in order that the English, who were persons of great personal strength, might by practice become more expert in warlike exercises. In these days also, a certain Alexius, son of Manuel, having collected a countless number of armed men, attacked Cursak, the emperor of Constantinople, in a hostile manner, and took him prisoner, and put out his eyes, and reduced him to the condition of a eunuch, and then consigned him to perpetual imprisonment, and occupied his kingdom.

The duke of Austria is excommunicated, and dies. The king of Morocco invades Spain.

A.D. 1195. Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, on the thirtieth of April received, with the archbishopric, the appointment of legate over the whole of England, Wales, Scotland, and also the church of York. The prior of the hospital of Jerusalem was made bishop of Bangor, on the sixteenth of April. The same year, the duke of Austria, who had taken king Richard prisoner, being smitten by the judgment of God, died in an excommunicated state, because, though he had been repeatedly admonished by the Roman church, he refused to release king Richard. Hugh de Pusac, bishop of Durham, and Henry, bishop of Worcester, died. The harvest was spoilt by the excessive rains and floods. The emperor Henry, on the death of Tancred, who had unjustly succeeded king William, now made himself master of the kingdoms of Apulia and Sicily. For he had married the sister of king William, and therefore when he was dead, the kingdom more justly belonged to him. The same year, the king of Morocco invaded Spain, and committed unexpected slaughter among the Christians. The same year, also, Garin, abbot of the church of Saint Alban, died, on the twenty-ninth of April, and was succeeded by John, a monk of the same church, on the twentieth of July. About this time, also, the king of France was constantly admonished to treat his queen in a proper manner. Also the lord, the pope Celestine, admonished all the prelates of England, for the advantage of the Holy Land, to preach to the people, and to impose the sign of the cross on all faithful believers.

The emperor Henry repents of having accepted the ransom, but is not regarded.

A.D. 1196. John de Constance, dean of Rouen, was consecrated bishop of Worcester, on the twentieth of October. Also William Fitzosbert, surnamed A la barbe, was slain while attempting to defend the cause of the poor at London. Richard, king of England, fortified the new castle of Audley against the will of Walter, archbishop of Rouen, and as the king, though often admonished, would not desist from his undertaking, the said archbishop laid the whole of Normandy under an interdict, and then went to the court of Rome. The emperor Henry, being alarmed at the thoughts of divine vengeance, gave to the brotherhood of Carthusian monks the money which he had received for the ransom of king Richard, to make silver incense burners. But the abbots refused to receive it in that form. In these times, a monk of Evesham, being thrown into an ecstasy and delirium, saw some wonderful things, which would require a special treatise. Philip of Poitou was consecrated bishop of Durham. The emperor who has been mentioned above, and who sold king Richard after he had bought him, and who, on that account, incurred the bond of anathema, died this year; whether he ever secretly had done penance and been absolved, is not known.

At Christmas, king Richard was at Poictiers, and after that, on the day of the festival of Saint Hilary, Philip, king of France, and Richard, king of England, met in a conference at Louviers, where they made a treaty in the following terms:—The king of France claimed from king Richard and his heirs quiet possession of Issod, with all the rights pertaining to it, and all the rights which he had in Berri, and Auvergne, and Gascony, and surrendered to him tranquil possession of the castle of Argues and the county of Albemarle, and many other castles which he had seized after his return from his pilgrimage to the Holy Land. And Richard, king of England, claimed from the king of France quiet possession of Gisors, and a tax of a twentieth throughout the whole of Normandy. And that this agreement might be firmly established, they provided sureties on both sides, and bound themselves to a mutual observance of it under a penalty of fifteen thousand marks. But in process of time, the king of France repented of having made the exchanges to which he had consented; and as king Richard had now peaceable possession

of all the aforementioned places and rights, he collected a great army, and having broken his treaty with the king of France, laid siege to Albemarle. And after having done this, the king of England ordered all the estates and possessions to be seized which were in his reach belonging to the abbots of the great monastery at Cluny, of the monastery of Saint Denis, and of the monastery of Charity, who were the securities for the king of France in the matter of the covenant before mentioned which was to the effect, that if the king of France transgressed it, they should pay the sum of money named in the agreement. In the mean time, the king of France took the castle of Albemarle by storm, and destroyed it, as he did many others. The same year, Hugh de Chaumont, a very powerful noble, and a great friend of the king of France, was taken prisoner. In these days also, count John and Marcadée, being at no great distance from the city of Beauvais, took prisoner Philip, bishop of that city, in full armour, and William de Merlau, his son, with many other knights, and a great number of common soldiers, and Marcadée coming early in the morning to the bedside of king Richard, said to him in the Norman dialect, "*Sus, Richard, sus, je te aymene le cantatur de Balvais.*" [1] And so the bishop was presented in complete armour to king Richard, and by the king's command, he was detained in prison in his armour; and when the lord the pope wrote in his behalf, desiring that he might be released, severely reproving king Richard for having taken prisoner and detained in this manner a bishop, who was his most beloved son, the king sent to the pope, who wrote thus for his son the breast-plate of the bishop in which he had been taken, and said in his letter of answer, "See, O father, whether this be thy son's coat or no." And as the pope desisted from making any more requests in his behalf, the bishop was subsequently liberated by ransom.

The interdict in Normandy is relaxed. Fulk distinguishes himself as a preacher.

A.D. 1197. Richard, king of England, in order to procure the relaxation of the sentence of interdict which the archbishop of Rouen had uttered, because of the affair of the castle of Audley, sent to the Roman court his chancellor, William, bishop of Ely, and the bishops of Durham and

[1] "Get up, Richard, get up, I bring you the charter of Beauvais."

Exeter, to plead his cause against the archbishop. But William, bishop of Ely, died on his way to the Roman court, and was buried in the abbey of Pymes, belonging to the Cistercian order, on the thirtieth of January. But his fellow-bishops arrived at Rome, and effected a reconciliation between the king and the archbishop on terms which were not injurious to either party, and it was confirmed by a charter. At this time it was intimated to king Richard, that ships were accustomed to come from England to Saint Valori, bringing supplies to his enemies, when they were in need of them, to his own great injury. And so, to revenge this wrong, he burnt the town, dispersed the monks, and transported the bier of Saint Valori, with his remains, into Normandy. And in that harbour he found ships loaded with corn, the sailors of which he ordered to be hung, and having burnt the ships, he distributed the provisions among his own soldiers. At this time also, the munificence of king Richard won over many of the more powerful nobles of France, especially Baldwin, count of Flanders, the counts of Champagne and Brittany, and many other nobles of the French, who abandoned the king of France, and became adherents of king Richard. In these days, another prophet arose in France, a most powerful preacher, namely, the master Fulk, for whose sake the Lord condescended manifestly to work miracles. That Fulk one day came to Richard, king of England, and said to him, "I, on the part of Almighty God, command thee immediately to give in marriage your three wicked daughters whom you cherish, lest a worst thing happen to thee." And the king is said to have answered him, "Thou hypocrite, thou hast lied, because I have no daughter at all." To which Fulk replied, "Certainly I do not lie, because, as I have said, you have three most infamous daughters, one of which is pride, the second covetousness, and the third luxury." Accordingly, the king having summoned the counts, and many others who were at hand, to appear before him, said to them, "Hear all of you the prompting of this hypocrite, who says that I have three very wicked daughters, namely, pride, covetousness, and luxury, and he has enjoined me to give them in marriage; I therefore give my pride to the pride of the Templars, my covetousness to the monks of the Cistercian order, and my luxury to the prelates of the church."

This Fulk tried by all means to extirpate usury, which having been derived from the men of Italy, at that time was polluting France exceedingly. He also sent a religious and eloquent preacher into England, namely, the abbot of Flai, of the Cistercian order, to put a stop to the traffic which at that time was carried on on the Lord's day. At this time, Robert of Shrewsbury was consecrated bishop of Bangor. Meantime, the count of Flanders laid siege to the castle of Arras, and blockaded it; and when the king of France wished to relieve it, the count so cut him off from all the roads by his canals, that the king was compelled to submit to the count's will. All measures and weights throughout the kingdom were brought to one legal and uniform standard.

Otho is crowned king of Germany in an honourable manner.

A.D. 1198. Otho, nephew of king Richard, was honourably crowned king of Germany, at Aix-la-Chapelle, by the management of king Richard himself; and immediately afterwards he married the daughter of the duke of Louvaine, and, on the day of his coronation, he sat with her on his throne at the banquet, but she was not yet crowned. The same year, pope Celestine died, and was succeeded by Innocent the Third, who was consecrated pope on the day of the festival of the Chair of Saint Peter, and was placed in the chair of Peter. Would that he had followed the footsteps of Peter! By his favour there arose in Italy a new kind and order of preachers, who chose to call themselves Jacobites, because they seemed to imitate the life of the Apostle. About the same time, Hugh, bishop of Chester, being on his death-bed, moved with compunction of mind and penitence for his sins, paid the debt of nature, at Beccumherwpl, in the countries beyond the sea. The same year, the secular clergy were expelled, and the brotherhood of monks at Coventry was recalled to their former and proper position, on the Sunday on which the anthem "Rejoice, O Jerusalem," is sung. Eustace, dean of Sherborne, received the dignity of the bishopric of Ely, and received consecration at the hand of Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, at Westminster. And, after his election, Geoffrey was elected bishop of Chester, on the twenty-first of June.

This year, a shower of blood fell on the masons who were building the tower of Audley. About this time, a quarrel arose between the archbishop and the monks of Canterbury, because

of the church which the said archbishop had lately built at Canterbury. For the monks were afraid lest the archbishop should transfer the seat of his diocese to Lambeth, as he had threatened. On which account they went to Rome, and, complaining to pope Innocent, they prevailed on him to depose the archbishop from the office of justiciary, and in this the archbishop displayed great arrogance and audacity in resistance. For it really was not proper for him to involve himself in matters of secular business, and be present in cases where human life was put in peril. Accordingly, the bishop having, by the Roman church, been removed from the office of justiciary, the king appointed Geoffrey, the son of Peter, in his stead. In those days, also, Philip, king of France, and Richard, king of England, met in battle between Guisnes and Vernon, when the king of France and his army, being unable to withstand the shock of the conflict, consulted their safety by flight, and fled for refuge to Vernon. But before they could enter the castle, king Richard overtook them with the edge of the sword, and took prisoners twenty knights and two hundred and sixty men of inferior rank.

About the same time, Richard, bishop of London, paid the debt of nature; and, in the course of the same year, king Richard, having assembled all his forces, took by storm three castles from the king of France, namely, those of Sirefontaine, Buris, and Courcelles, being nobly assisted by his English troops. But the king of France having reinforced his army by four hundred knights and a thousand esquires, and with the garrisons which he drew from Nantes and other places, sallied forth, and marched to relieve the castle of Courcelles, which he believed had not yet fallen. But when king Richard knew this, he marched to meet him, and a most severe and bloody battle took place in the plains between Courcelles and Gisors; but the king of France not being able to withstand the shock of the battle, was routed with his army, and fled to the castle of Gisors; and when, in the flight, his troops had all thrown themselves pell-mell on the bridge of Gisors, it broke down under the number of those who tried to cross it, and the king of France himself, in complete armour, on horseback, fell from the height of the bridge into the river Eure, with a great number of his soldiers besides; but the king himself got out of the river, though deep and rapid, and was dragged out of the mud, and so, though with difficulty, saved

from death. But the rear division of the flying army, in order to secure the safety of the king, and to enable him to be dragged more readily out of the deep mud, returned to encounter king Richard, showing itself the most gallant portion of the French nation, which thus exposed themselves to danger of death for the safety of their lord. And, accordingly, that most bloody battle was there renewed, and the clang of arms and the crash of spears again resounded, but at length the side of king Richard prevailed, and three of the chief knights of the king of France were taken prisoners, namely, Matthew de Montmorenci, Alan de Rossi, and Fulk de Greville; and, besides these, there were taken in the actual conflict a hundred noble knights, and two hundred esquires, and an innumerable host of men-at-arms.

The king sent a consolatory epistle, with the news of this glorious victory, to his prelates and friends who were remaining in England. Therefore, the king of France, seeing that the force of the king of England was increasing day by day, entreated the pope to bring about a peace between them. Therefore, the pope sent a legate with a most special letter to Richard, king of England, entreating him, in an affecting manner, to be favourable to his desires in the matter of the arrangement of peace. Accordingly, king Richard accepted the promotion of his nephew, Otho, so that he should be crowned king of Germany, in reference to which he acquiesced in the prayers of his suppliant, and showed favour to the lord Innocent the pope, and approved of the advancement of the imperial dignity. Therefore, the two kings met together, and swore to a truce for five years, agreeing that the subjects and merchants of each king might go and return through both countries, and buy and sell without hindrance. And when this had been done, the king of England sent to Rome the abbot of the Charter House, and Raymond, a monk of Saint Alban's (who had at the same time been despatched on the affairs of his own church to the king at his court in Normandy), that they might complete the before-mentioned arrangement, and for the completion of the business, the king levied an aid of five shillings on every hide of land throughout the whole of England. The same year, there was an extraordinary storm of thunder and lightning, and rain, such as was never seen before. Eustace was consecrated bishop of Ely. Hugh of Chester died, in the habit of a monk, at Bec. Also, John, bishop of Worcester, and Peter, bishop of Saint David's, died.

King Richard, being wounded by an arrow from an arbalist, dies, and is succeeded by John, his brother.

A.D. 1199. Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, to his own disgrace and that of many others, in consequence of the intrigues of the monks of Canterbury, to whose injury it was founded, and in compliance with the authority of the supreme pontiff, who commanded the deed, levelled with the ground the church of Lambeth, which Baldwin, his predecessor, had founded in honour of the blessed Thomas the Martyr, and which he himself had almost completed. At the same time, a truce, as has been said before, having been made between king Richard and the king of France, king Richard directed his formidable standard against some barons of Poitou, who had rebelled against him; and while he was besieging the castle of Chalos, he was wounded, on the twenty-sixth of March, by an arrow from an arbalist, and, as the wound was unskilfully managed, he began to feel the danger of approaching death. However, he made himself master of the castle by storm, and for the love of God he permitted the author of his death to depart free. Being therefore about to die, he ordered his body to be buried at Fontevraud, at his father's feet, to whom he confessed that he had behaved traitorously; and for the especial love which he bore to the Normans, he bequeathed his invincible heart to the church of Rouen. And ordering his entrails to be buried in the castle before-mentioned, he bequeathed his dung to the people of Poitou, to mark their treason by such a bequest.

Ch. VII.—From A.D. 1199 to A.D. 1216.

John succeeds to the throne—Many of the nobles adhere to Arthur—Marriage of John—The king of France espouses the cause of Arthur—Death of Arthur—Inactivity of John, and his losses in France—The emperor Otho comes to England—Rapacity of John—The pope lays England under an interdict—John makes a treaty with the king of Scotland—The pope absolves the English from their obedience to John—John subdues North Wales—The king of France prepares to invade England—John submits to the pope—Magna charta is granted—The barons elect Louis of France king, and invite him to England—Louis invades England—Death of John.

The coronation of king John, the brother of king Richard.
THEREFORE John, count of Mortaigne, the brother of king Richard, who was now dead, and who was at the time of his death in the counties beyond the sea, sent news of his peaceful succession to England. He took upon himself the government of the duchy of Normandy, and received the homage of the nobles. Many, however, of the chiefs adhered to Arthur, as their natural lord; and this was the beginning of hatred. The same year, William, a noble by birth, and a canon of the church of Saint Paul, in London, was consecrated bishop of London, at Westminster, by Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, on the twenty-third of May. About the same time, that is, on the twenty-fifth of May, John, duke of Normandy, crossed over the sea to England, and the next day, being the vigil of the ascension of our Lord, he came to London; here, in the presence of the assembled nobles of England, he was crowned at Westminster by Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, on the day of the Ascension of the Lord; and immediately afterwards he re-crossed the sea, with a great multitude of men. For he was afraid of Arthur, to whom many of the nobles adhered, and who was at that time dwelling under the protection of the king of France. For, besides the king, who supported him, the nobles of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, all adhered to him as their legal lord, saying that it was the custom and established law that Arthur, as being the son of the elder brother, should succeed to the patrimony which was his due, and which, forsooth, Geoffrey, the father of the said Arthur, would have had if he had survived king Richard. Therefore, Constance, the mother of Arthur, entrusted him to the guardianship of the king of France, who, to guard against treachery, had him carefully educated at Paris. About the same time, the election of Philip, duke of Swabia, and of all the rest, was annulled, and Otho, king of the Germans, was elected emperor by pope Innocent and all the Romans, and was admitted to the Roman empire. And after his election had been confirmed by the lord the pope, Philip, the duke of Swabia, who was his rival, was excommunicated, with all his partisans, who refused to desist from giving annoyance to Otho, and acclamations of, "Long live the emperor, Otho!" were heard throughout the whole city. In those days, also, France was laid under an interdict, on account of the arrest of brother Peter, of Douay, bishop elect of Cambray.

King John, having repudiated Hawisia, married Isabella, daughter of the count of Angoulême.

A.D. 1200. King John married Isabella, the daughter of the count of Angoulême, and on the Sunday next before the feast of Saint Denis she was crowned queen, by Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, because a divorce had been pronounced between him and Hawisia, the daughter of the earl of Gloucester, because they were related to one another in the third degree of consanguinity. But Hugh, surnamed the Brown, had already espoused the same Isabella as his wife. The same year, William Postard, abbot of Westminster, died, and was succeeded by Radulph de Arundel. Also Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, died, on the first of December, after he had lived in his bishopric fourteen years. Peace was made between John, king of England, and Philip, king of France. Guy de Brause was consecrated bishop of Hereford, on the twenty-fourth of September, at Westminster. Louis, son of Philip, king of France, married Blanche, daughter of the king of Spain, and niece of king John. Mauger was made bishop of Worcester; John de Grey bishop of Norwich; and Giles bishop of Hereford. The same year, before the nativity of the Lord, there were seen by night five moons in the heavens, about the hour of the first watch of the night; the first in the north, the second in the south, the third in the west, the fourth in the east, and the fifth in the centre of them all.

About the same time, the blessed Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, was distinguished for signs and virtues; of which, however, the most manifest was, that when his body was being conveyed from London to Lincoln, there was not an hour, though the weather was at all times very stormy, in which there was not fire and light in some of the torches which were borne around the bier. Likewise, about the same time, the Lord wrought miracles in the sight of the people, at the preaching of the abbot de Flay, of whom we have made mention above.

King John comes to Paris, and is lodged in the palace of the king of France.

A.D. 1201. Pope Innocent having assumed the sign of the cross, enjoins a general pilgrimage. John, king of England, celebrated the nativity of the Lord at Guildford, where he distributed many garments, suited to the festival, among his troops. And Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, as if

vying with the king, and on equal terms with him, did the same at Canterbury; at which the king conceived no small indignation. Then the king went to Canterbury, and in that city, on Easter day, he and his queen wore their crowns. William de Blois was made bishop of Lincoln. That year, also, the holy Wolstan, and the holy Modwen, were distinguished by many miracles. Pope Innocent, after he had by force extorted money from the Cistercian order for the expedition of the pilgrims who had assumed the cross, having been very severely reproved by the blessed Mary, the patroness of that order, desisted from that exaction. The same year, after having celebrated the feast of Pentecost, at Portsmouth, the day following the king and his queen embarked on board ship, and, although with some difficulty, landed at Normandy. After that, the two kings came to a conference near the island of Audley, and made a peaceful agreement with one another; and three days afterwards, king John, on the invitation of the king of France, came to Paris, and was lodged in the king's palace in that city, the king of France himself lodging elsewhere. This year some terrible and destructive tempests struck terror among mankind. The same year, Sirard, prior of Norwich, died. The same year, at the instance of pope Innocent, the fortieth part of the revenues of all the churches was given in aid of the Holy Land against the Saracens, who were gaining the superiority at that time. The same year, Hugh de Neville, who had conquered and slain a lion, died.

The kings again become enemies on account of Arthur.

A.D. 1202. John, king of England, kept the festival of the Nativity of the Lord at Argenton, in Normandy, and, in the following Lent, a conference was held between the kings of France and England, in which the king of France, being armed with mutual hatred against the king of England, ordered him indignantly to restore to count Arthur all the lands which he held and unjustly retained possession of on the continent, namely, Normandy, Touraine, Anjou, and Poitou; and he also required many other things of him, which the king of England declared that he would never do. Therefore, as the conference was not attended by the desired result, the next day the king made a sudden attack upon the castle of Butavant, with military violence, and threw the castle to the ground, and, advancing from thence, he took other castles and towns

in a hostile manner, and destroyed them; and he besieged the castle of Radepond for an entire week. But when the king of England came to his relief, he retired in disorder, and turning off to Gournay a few days afterwards, he entered that town, and reduced it under his own power. Then returning to Paris, he placed Arthur under guardianship, giving him two hundred picked knights of the kingdom of France, who were to go to Poitou and reduce that province under his authority. And they, hearing that queen Eleanor was staying at Mirabeau, laid siege to that castle, and compelled it to surrender, the tower alone holding out, into which the queen had betaken herself with a few armed men. When, therefore, they had blockaded it all round, there flocked thither to the assistance of Arthur all the nobles of Poitou, especially Hugh surnamed the Brown, count de la Marche, who was a public enemy of king John, on account of queen Isabella, whom the said count had married as his wife before she was espoused to the king of England; and in this way they made a great army, and attacked the tower with repeated assaults. The queen being in a strait, signified this to king John, who was at that time in Normandy, entreating speedy and effectual succour. And when king John heard of her distress, he flew with all possible speed, and with a numerous army, to the castle of Mirabeau, and the French and the people of Poitou met him boldly, and began a most violent battle. But the French being repulsed, were forced to enter the castle, and the king, pursuing them, continued the bloody conflict within the castle itself, and being assisted by a valiant and glorious body of English, rejoiced in the desired victory. In that battle two hundred knights of the kingdom of France were taken prisoners, and Arthur himself, and all the nobles of Poitou and Anjou, so that not one of them escaped. And the nobles he at once sent into England, and into Normandy, and committed them to custody there; but he sent Arthur to Falaise, to be carefully guarded. But when the king of France, who was besieging and vigorously attacking the castle of Arques, while the garrison was making a manly resistance, had heard this news, he retired from the siege in disorder.

On this, king John, ordering Arthur to be brought before him, enquired of him whether he would adhere to him as his uncle and lord in all good love and peace, to whom Arthur made a spirited and haughty reply, requiring him to surrender

the kingdom of England and all his territories. Then the king commanded Arthur to be conducted rapidly to Rouen, and to be carefully kept in the closest custody, and soon after he disappeared.

The same year, king John, coming into England, was crowned at Canterbury, by the hand of Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, on the fourteenth of April, and immediately afterwards he crossed the sea to Normandy, and when he arrived there, a general belief of the death of Arthur gained ground throughout the whole kingdom of France, and throughout all the countries beyond the sea, to such an extent, that king John was looked at with suspicion by all men, as if he had slain him with his own hand. On which account, many people from that time forth were wholly alienated from the king, and pursued him to the death with implacable hatred. And the king of France himself summoned king John before him on a charge of treason, and as he refused to appear to answer this charge after many citations, he was deprived of all his possessions, according to the decision of his peers, by the barons of the court of the king of France, whose vassal he was, and the king accused him openly, and branded him with infamy. The same year, William de Stutevil, and William of Oxford, prior of Southwark, died, and he was succeeded by Richard of Saint Ethelred.

The king of France took the noble castles of Normandy, king John being inactive.

A.D. 1203. John, king of England, kept the feast of the Nativity of the Lord at Caen, in Normandy, where, putting aside his warlike cares, he devoted the hours of the night to drinking; and, protracting his morning slumbers till dinner-time, he replied, with a laugh, to all who brought him news that the king of France was displaying great activity, and daily subduing one castle after another, so that, in one day, as it were, he recovered all that he had lost. Hugh de Gournay, seeing the incorrigible torpor of the inactivity of the king, surrendered to the king of France the castle of Montfort, and at last, as all had forsaken the spiritless king, even Rouen was lost. At length, king John, effeminate and dissolved in luxury as he was, seeing his losses, and that he was deprived of all military reinforcements, and of all refuge in Normandy, embarked in haste on board his ships, and landed at Portsmouth,

in England, where he treated his subjects with furious rage, inventing all kinds of fictitious causes of provocation against them, such as that they had left him destitute of all military force in the countries beyond the sea, and thus he extracted from them immense sums of money.

The same year, the Master William de Blois, precentor of the church of Lincoln, and canon of the said church, was, on the day of Saint Bartholomew, consecrated bishop, at Westminster, by William, bishop of London, as the archbishop of Canterbury was detained by severe infirmities. About the same time, oil began to flow in a miraculous manner from a certain image of the blessed Mary of Sardenai, which is not far from the city of Damascus, a miracle which brought over many even of the Saracens to the Catholic faith, and restored health to many who were sick. And even the sultan of Damascus, who had become entirely blind, having invoked the aid of the blessed Virgin Mary, received his sight as clear as before, by the infusion of some of that oil. And so he granted sixty measures of oil every year to maintain a light before the altar of the Virgin, so as to give light for light, and because at first, on the recovery of his sight, he saw a lamp glittering in the light, and from that time forth, namely, to the feast of the Nativity next ensuing, the oil began to drop from the before-mentioned image in more abundant drops, and the next year the oil became solidified into flesh.

The miracle of the oil of the image of Saint Mary of Sardenai becomes famous.

A.D. 1204. King John celebrated the nativity of the Lord at Canterbury, Hubert, the archbishop, administering the necessary services. Then, on the day after the circumcision, the king and nobles of England met in a conference at Oxford, where military reinforcements were granted to the king, and two marks and a half on each knight's fee, nor did even bishops or abbots, or any persons connected with the church, depart without making him some promise. The same year, the miracles increased which were wrought by the oil which flowed from the image of the blessed Mary of Sardenai; which I have already said became solidified into flesh, and by which afterwards the soldan of Damascus was cured, and in consequence its fame becoming illustrious, gave consistency to the Catholic faith in the east. In those days, the castle of Roch-

Audley was besieged for nearly a year, and as, though the besiegers repeatedly requested aid from king John, none came to them, Roger, the constable of Chester, who was accounted the chief of the besieged garrison, a most gallant and warlike man, with many other illustrious knights, began, their victuals failing, to waste away with hunger. And when those princes, becoming enfeebled, had become sure of the treacherous inactivity of John, they preferred being slain in their armour to perishing shamefully by famine. They sallied out of the castle, and dashed into the midst of the enemy, slaying the finest of their horses, and slaughtering the enemy on every side with their flashing swords, and shedding much French blood. At last, when the multitude of their enemies collected in close order and attacked them, they were taken prisoners, reeking with the blood of many of their enemies; and in this way, the castle of Roch Audley fell into the power of the French king, on the fifth of March. And when the garrisons of other cities and castles in Normandy on the side of king John saw this, they informed him in what a strait they were placed; and that, unless they received more prompt and effectual assistance, they must go over to the French king, whether they would or no. To which he replied, that each of them must provide for himself as appeared to him to be most for his advantage. In the mean time, king John went on, wretched indeed, but undeserving of any one's pity, indulging his gluttony and luxury with his wanton queen, while lying in whose bosom he thought that he was in possession of every joy, relying on the money which he had sworn to extort from England. The same year, on the first of April, in the first watch of the night, such a great redness was seen in the heaven towards the east and north, that the firmament seemed on fire, in which excessive redness, however, brilliant stars appeared, which was a terrible and marvellous thing. And this appearance lasted till midnight. At the same time, Godfrey, bishop of Winchester, died, and was succeeded by Peter de Rochs, who, at the instigation of king John, went to Rome, where by the distribution of liberal hospitality he deserved to be promoted to the supreme pontificate of the church of Winchester, and to be consecrated in that city. The same year, Easter day fell on the day of the feast of Saint Mark the Evangelist. This year also an eclipse of the moon took

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place at midnight, which lasted a long time, on the sixteenth of April.

Having made himself master of the castle of Roch Audley, the king of France soon afterwards took the valley of Rodal, and many other fortresses; and Rouen, which was still in suspense, a truce having been granted to that city by the king of France for a large sum of money, although a little before this some persons had engaged most positively for the loyalty of that city, submitted entirely to the power of the king of France about the time of the feast of All Saints; and when king John heard of this, he laughed and threatened, swearing by the feet of God, that the sterling money of England should restore everything. Simon de Welles was made bishop of Chester, Baldwin, count of Flanders, was made emperor of Constantinople; Eleanor, queen of England, died; the abbey of Battle, a royal palace, was founded by king John.

Of the error of the monks of Canterbury in the matter of the election of an archbishop.

A.D. 1205. Peter de Roches returned from the countries beyond the sea; he was a native of Poitou, of more experience in warlike than in scholastic affairs; he was consecrated by the lord the pope Innocent, on the twenty-fifth of September. Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, died, on the twenty-ninth of June; and Savaric, bishop of Bath, on the twenty-seventh of July. But the monks of Canterbury, fearing lest the king should, after his usual fashion, hinder their election, without inquiring the king's pleasure, elected Reginald, their subprior, archbishop, and having sung the hymn "Te deum Laudamus" at midnight, they placed him first of all on the greater altar, and after that in the archiepiscopal throne, which was done secretly, because the monks were afraid that if the election which had thus been made without the king's consent became known to the king, he in his anger would hinder the further progress of the matter. On which account, the very same night, the same subprior, having first made a declaration upon oath that he would not consider himself as elected without the license and special letters of the convent, and that he would not promulgate to any one the letters of the convent about what had been done, which he had in his possession, took with him some monks of the convent, and set out for the court of Rome, which was done, that the election

might not reach the king's ears till they ascertained whether they could carry on the matter they had taken in hand to its accomplishment, fearing the cavilling objections of the king above everything. But this same archbishop elect, forgetting the oath that he had taken, the moment that he arrived in Flanders, loudly declared himself the archbishop elect of Canterbury, and said that, on that account, he was on his way to the court of Rome to have his election confirmed in that city, and that he was doing so by the advice of those who were with him, who believed that that was for the advantage of his cause. And moreover, he showed everywhere, without disguise, the letters which he had in his possession. At last, when he reached Rome, he immediately declared his election to the lord the pope and his cardinals, displaying his letters about what had been done publicly to everybody, and pressing the lord the pope constantly for his consecration. But the pope replied, and said, that he wished to deliberate, and that he should wait till he was more fully informed of the matter. But when the monks, who remained at Canterbury, heard of the conduct of the subprior, and how he had shamelessly violated his oath and revealed their secrets, they were exceedingly angry, and immediately sent some monks of the convent to the king, requiring from him permission to proceed to an election. And the king assented to their request, and secretly addressing them, pointed out to them that the bishop of Norwich was one who was united to him by ties of great intimacy, and he combined commands, promises, and entreaties together to persuade them to elect him archbishop. When, therefore they met in chapter, they chose John de Grey, bishop of Norwich, for their archbishop, who, at that time, was at York on the king's business. Accordingly, he being summoned, came in haste to the king, and with him the king entered Canterbury with exceeding pomp. And the prior of Canterbury, in the presence of the king, and the whole multitude of the people in the metropolitan church itself, openly pronounced the election of John de Grey to have taken place with all due form and regularity, and then the monks chaunting the hymn "Te deum Laudamus," took him, and conducted him to the greater altar, and at length placed him in the archiepiscopal throne. And when this had been done, then the king, in the sight of all the people, invested the archbishop elect with the possession of all things belonging to his archbishopric. And so in this

double election, a second error was committed worse than the first, which was the seed of many tribulations and scandals in England, which were never afterwards completely quieted and extirpated. This year the order of preachers was firmly established.

The noble castle of Mount Alban is taken by king John.

A.D. 1206. King John celebrated the day of the Lord's Nativity at Oxford; on which occasion he also sent some monks of the church of Canterbury to the Roman court, the chief of whom was the Master Elias de Brandefeld, whom the king supplied with ample resources from his own treasury, that they might procure from the pope a confirmation of the election of the bishop of Norwich. Likewise, at the same time, the suffragan bishops of the church of Canterbury sent agents to the court of Rome, conveying grave complaints on their part to the pope, that the monks of Canterbury had rashly presumed to hold an election to the archbishopric without consulting them, when they had, both by common law and ancient custom, a right to be present with them, and to join in the election. Their deputies also alleged many decrees and precedents to establish these arguments, and produced witnesses, and exhibited letters of evidence, by which they endeavoured to show that the suffragan bishops, in union with the monks, had elected three metropolitans. But the monks, on the contrary, asserted that, by a special privilege granted to them by the Roman pontiffs, and by approved and ancient custom, they had been used to elect the archbishops without the concurrence of the suffragans, and they undertook to establish this point by competent witnesses. The allegations having been heard, and witnesses produced on both sides, and the question having been diligently examined, a day was appointed by the lord the pope, being the twenty-first of December, for him to pronounce sentence, and the deputies were ordered to attend and to receive the pope's decision on the law. At last, definitive sentence was delivered by the lord the pope Innocent on this point, in favour of the monks, and the privileges which they claimed were established for ever.

The same year, king John crossed the sea, taking with him a large army, and on the tenth of July he landed at Rupel, and the inhabitants of that part of the country came to meet him, and gladly adhered to him. From thence he proceeded

with more security, and arrived before Montauban, a most noble castle, in which the whole military nobility of the province, and especially of the king of France, was shut up. And immediately he surrounded it with his battalions, and began to attack it with vigorous and frequent assaults. And, at last, by the unceasing prowess of the English, that impregnable castle was taken, which Charlemagne had not been able to reduce in a seven years' siege, as those who have written an account of his exploits assert. And the castle was taken on the day of the feast of Saint Peter ad Vincula, on the fifteenth day of the arrival of king John before it.

The same year, John of Ferentum, legate of the Apostolic See, came into England, and traversed it, extorting a vast sum of money, and, at last, that he might not seem to have done nothing else, he held a council at Reading, on the day after the feast of Saint Luke the Evangelist. And when he had done this, having filled and carefully carried off all his baggage, he returned to his own country. The same year, some discreet, and religious, and dignified men from the countries beyond the sea, going between the two kings, with great anxiety for the establishment of peace, on the day of the feast of All Saints, established a truce between them for two years. King John returned to England, and landed at Portsmouth, on the twelfth of December. This year also, William, bishop of Lincoln, went the way of all flesh. Jocelin of Wells was made bishop of Bath, and received consecration at the hands of William, bishop of London. Henry Marischal, bishop of Exeter, died, and was succeeded by Simon of Apulia, dean of York. This year, the queen of the French, the mother of king Philip, died. The same year, a simple and upright man, living in the bishopric of Lincoln, being conducted by Saint Julian, saw some wonderful visions, which would require a special treatise.

The Emperor Otho comes to England. The order of Minors[1] *begins.*

A.D. 1207. King John celebrated the nativity of the Lord at Winchester, in the presence of the nobles of the kingdom. After that, on the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Mary, thinking only of rapine, and placing his hope and strength in treasures of money, he seized, throughout all England, a thir-

[1] Minors was a name assumed by the Franciscans, to show their humility.

teenth part of all moveables and other property, whether belonging to the laity or to other men, ecclesiastics and prelates, all murmuring, though they did not venture to resist him; but still cursing him, and hoping that such plunder would not have a happy result. And that prayer was heard by the Lord, as the following narration will show: Godfrey, archbishop of York, alone refused to submit, and firmly resisting, secretly retired from England, and in his retreat involved in one sentence of anathema all those, especially in his own diocese, who committed this plunder, and generally all invaders of the church, or of ecclesiastical property. At the same season, about midnight, on the twenty-seventh of January, a sudden and violent storm of wind coming, threw down buildings, uprooted trees, and destroyed thousands of sheep and cattle.

The same year, the emperor Otho came into England, at whose arrival the whole city of London put on a joyful appearance, the citizens adorning themselves with cloaks and other ornaments. And having had a conference with his uncle, he returned to his own country, having replenished his coffers with five thousand marks of silver. This year, the preachers who were called Minors arose under the favour of pope Innocent, and filled the earth, dwelling in towns and cities, in bodies of ten or seven, possessing nothing whatever, living on the Gospel, displaying a true and voluntary poverty in their clothes and food, walking barefoot, girded with knotted ropes, and showing a noble example of humility to all men. But they caused great alarm to many of the prelates, because they began to weaken their authority, first of all by their preaching, and secret confessions of penitents, and afterwards, by their open receptions. About the same time, as the two parties were still carrying on their contest about the double election of the monks of Canterbury, the lord the pope, seeing that they could not agree in either one or the other of the elected archbishops, annulled both the elections, earnestly advising and persuading them to elect Master Stephen Langton, an Englishman by birth, a man of deep wisdom, elegant person, faultless morals, a fit and sufficient person, as far as man can be, to govern the universal church, assuring that his promotion would be very advantageous both to the king himself and to the universal Anglican church. But the monks replied to this, and asserted that it was not lawful for them to proceed to a canonical election without the royal consent, and that of their

own convent. And the pope, as if taking their words out of their mouth, said: "Know ye that ye have plenary power in the church of Canterbury, inasmuch as ye are selected as the first men in your convent; nor is it customary to wait for the consent of princes to elections which are celebrated at the Apostolic See. On which account, we do command ye, being of such a number and character as ye are, inasmuch as ye are amply sufficient for the election, by virtue of your obedience, and under the penalty of anathema, to elect him archbishop, whom we give you to be the shepherd of your souls." The monks then, being in a strait, fearing the sentence of excommunication, although unwillingly and grumblingly, nevertheless gave a consent, such as it was. Alone of all of them, Master Elias de Brantefeld, who had come on the part of the king and the bishop of Norwich, refused his consent. All the rest chaunting the hymn, "Te Deum Laudamus," conducted the archbishop elect to the altar, who, on the seventeenth of June, received consecration in the city of Viterbo, at the hands of the pope himself. After these events, the pope, as he had promised the monks, sent a most elegant letter to John, king of England, to desire him to receive, as archbishop of Canterbury, Stephen Langton, who had been regularly elected and consecrated, a native of England, an imcomparable master in learning and morals. But when these circumstances came to the knowledge of king John, he ordered all the monks to be expelled from the monastery of Canterbury, and having been expelled, to be forcibly banished from the kingdom as guilty of *lése majesté*. About this time died Simon, bishop of Chichester. The monks of Canterbury were expelled on the day of Saint Swithin, and their goods were confiscated. The same year, on the day of Saint Remigius, Isabella, queen of England, bore to king John his first born son, and he was called Henry, after the name of his grandfather.

All England and Wales are laid under an interdict.

A.D. 1208. King John celebrated the feast of the nativity at Windsor. At the beginning of March, in this year, there was an eclipse of the sun. All England and Wales were subjected to an interdict, without any exemption whatever being allowed, on the vigil of the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary; and the execution of the decree was committed to William, bishop of London, Edward, bishop of Ely, and Mauger, bishop

of Worcester. This year, Philip, bishop of Durham, and Geoffrey de Muschamp, Bishop of Chester, and William de Warenne, died. The same year, queen Isabella bore king John a son, who was called Richard; so that when the time of her child-bearing was accomplished, the child was born on the vigil of the Epiphany, in the year next following, and this circumstance gives rise to many contradictions in history. The bishop of Chester was succeeded by William de Cornehull, archdeacon of Huntingdon, and the bishop of Durham by Richard de Marisco.

This year, Philip, duke of Swabia, who had been a competitor, with Otho, for the empire, was murdered. The king ordered all the property of the monks to be confiscated, because of the interdict. At the beginning of the interdict the white monks desisted from the performance of their duties, but afterwards, at the command of their abbot, they ventured to celebrate divine service. But when this boldness of theirs had come to the ears of the supreme pontiff, they, to their greater confusion, were suspended anew by a fresh sentence. About the same time, king John, fearing lest the pope should become more violent, so as to excommunicate him himself by name, and absolve all who held under him from their loyalty and fealty to him, caused all those who he at all suspected, to swear fealty to him, and took special hostages from them. But the more powerful nobles, when the king demanded hostages from them, refused them to his face, saying, "How can we expect him to preserve our sons and dear relations, who are not at all akin to him, unhurt, when he wickedly slew with his own hand his own nephew, by that kind of death which is called murder?".

In the meantime the king kept on oppressing one or other of the nobles of the kingdom, either by extorting money from them unjustly, or by stripping them of their privileges or properties; of some he seduced the wives, or deflowered the daughters, so that he became manifestly and notoriously odious and detestable both to God and man. Moreover, that his insatiable avarice and unappeasable gluttony and licentiousness might be concealed from no one, he prohibited all fowling and taking of winged game, and prevented the nobles from hunting, by which measures he not only lost the affections of all men, but incurred their unextinguishable hatred; so that even his own wife detested and loathed him; whom he, though an adulterer

himself, accused of adultery, and he put to an ignominious death those whom he suspected of familiarities with her; and he ordered the queen herself to be kept in close custody. And, among other flagitious crimes, he, like a second Herod, ordered a great many innocent boys, who were hostages at Nottingham, to be hanged on a gallows; on which account all his subjects, both English and foreigners, wishing to shake off the intolerable yoke of such a tyrant, began seriously to consider what prince there was in whose bosom they might find a refuge.

War being imminent, William, king of Scotland, made a treaty with king John.

A.D. 1209. The king removed his exchequer from Westminster to London till Christmas time, out of hatred for the city of London; and because it was about the days of the nativity, which writers place on the confines of the old year and the new, that a son was born to king John, whom he called Richard, some assert that he was born in this, and others in the preceding year. But the time that his mother was confined to her room because of her delivery, lasted till the vigil of the Epiphany. In this year, also, Hugh de Welles, archdeacon of Wells, and chancellor of the king, was elected bishop of Lincoln. About this time, king John, having collected a numerous army of English, directed his standards and army towards Scotland. But coming into the province of Northumberland, to the castle which is called Northam, he then marshalled his army in battle-array against the king of Scotland. And when the news of this was brought to William, king of Scotland, he greatly feared the violence of John, whom he knew to be prone to every kind of wickedness and barbarity. Accordingly, coming to meet him, like a pious man, he proposed to treat of peace on equitable terms. But the king of England, giving vent to his fury, spoke imperiously to him, and reproached him bitterly for having received his fugitives and the public enemies of England into his kingdom, and for having given them assistance, and showed them favour, to his prejudice. But when the king of England had invented this and many other reproaches upon the before-mentioned king of Scotland, at last, after great exertions on the part of the ministers of the two sovereigns, they made peace, on condition of the king of Scotland paying to the king of England,

for the benefit of peace, eleven thousand marks of silver. And, moreover, for greater security, he gave him his two daughters as hostages, that in this way the peace between them might be rendered firmer.

The same year, Henry, duke of Saxony, and brother of the emperor Otho, came into England. Likewise in this same year, Otho, son of the duke of Saxony, and nephew of the king of England, was consecrated emperor of the Romans, by pope Innocent the Third, on the fourth of October. In this year, too, the king, disregarding the respect due to the schools of the University of Oxford, caused two of the scholars to be hung at Oxford, by which proceeding the whole body of scholars was dispersed and thrown into confusion. About the same time king John was excommunicated by name, on account of the illegal oppression which he had now for two years incessantly exercised against both the army and the church. This year, also, Master Alexander, a man of the greatest personal beauty, and most reverend countenance, deeply imbued with the fulness of learning, so as to be accounted a celebrated master and teacher, and reader in theology at Paris, being nevertheless led away by ambition, dared to uphold and support king John in his error, owing to which conduct he was at last precipitated with disgrace from the highest honour to the lowest depth of confusion. About the same time, Hugh, bishop elect of Lincoln, received consecration and institution to his diocese in the countries beyond the sea, at the hands of the archbishop of Rouen. The king's seal was entrusted to Walter de Grey, and he was appointed chancellor. The Jews, too, were this year compelled to pay a very heavy ransom.

Otho, the new emperor, is excommunicated.

A.D. 1210. King John was at the feast of the Nativity at Windsor; all the nobles of England being present, and communicating with him, notwithstanding the sentence which had been proclaimed against him. After this, by command of the king, the Jews of both sexes were arrested throughout all England, and thrown into prison, and subjected to the most severe punishment, to compel them to gratify the king's desires with their money.

About the same time, pope Innocent excommunicated and denounced the emperor Otho, and absolved many nobles both

of Germany and of the Roman empire, from their fealty to him. On which account the pope was by many persons considered a whimsical and changeable person, because he had, at the same time, raised him up and overthrown him. The peace which had been announced between the kings of England and Scotland was confirmed, and formal copies of the treaty interchanged. The king crossed the sea to Ireland, with a very numerous army, about the time of the feast of Saint John the Baptist, from which country he expelled Hugo de Lacy, and received the submission of the whole of Ireland. But on his return, being ungrateful to God and man, he imposed a very heavy tax on all abbeys, and most especially he oppressed the houses of the Cistercian order. And William de Brewer, Robert de Tunham, Reginald de Cornhulle, and Richard de Marisco, of the convent of Saint Bridget, in London, were his counsellors, and showed favour to this most wicked proceeding, and received the money which was extorted. Walter de Grey was appointed to the bishopric of Chester, and Henry, archdeacon of Stafford, to that of Exeter. Many of the Jews, because of the terrible oppression, fled from England. The same year, Matilda, a woman of the noblest birth, the wife of William de Brause, and William her son, and the heir of her husband, at the command of John, king of England, were miserably put to death by famine. But William de Brause himself, her husband, fled to Scorham, and having changed his garments there, crossed the sea clandestinely in the disguise of a beggar, and not long afterwards died at Paris.

Pandulph, the sub-deacon of the pope, and Durand, return without hope of peace. All the subjects of the crown of England are absolved from their fealty to king John.

A.D. 1211. William de Brause was expelled from England as a banished man, and having suffered great distress, and being wasted away, as it were, with grief, died at Paris, and was buried in the church of Saint Victor, on the vigil of Saint Laurence. Pandulph, the subdeacon of the lord the pope, and Durand, the hospitaller, came to England for the purpose of bringing about a peace between the king and the priesthood. But they returned without effecting anything. King John going on an expedition into Wales, compelled Leoline,[1] prince

[1] Usually called Llewellyn.

of North Wales, to submit to him, violently forcing an entrance into the district called Snowden, a place abundantly fortified by its natural situation, on the Sabbath before the feast of Saint Laurence. The same year, the two gallant knights, Robert de Tunham, and Roger, constable of Chester, died. The king of France too expelled and banished from his kingdom Reginald, count of Boulogne, who, on this, coming into England was honourably received by the king of England, from whom he received a gift of land of the value of three hundred pounds yearly, and to whom he did homage, and swore fealty. Likewise, at this time, pope Innocent, as John, king of England, disdained to listen to his ambassadors, who gave him wholesome advice, and who brought back no replies except derisive laughter; marvelling at his obstinacy, and detesting his stubbornness, absolved universally all kings, and all other persons, both poor and rich, natives of his kingdom, or neighbours who had any connection with the crown of England, from all fealty to king John; and he sequestered the whole realm, and declared it in a state of subjection, strictly, and under penalty of excommunication, forbidding all bodies and all individuals to avoid his society at table, at the council-board, and in conversation. But king John had for his principal partisans and advisers in this error and obstinacy his own brother William, earl of Salisbury, Alberic de Vere, earl of Oxford, Geoffrey, son of Peter, the justiciary of England, three bishops of the court, namely, Philip of Durham, Peter of Winchester, and John of Norwich; Richard of Marisco, the king's chancellor, Hugo de Neville, the chief forester, William of Wrotham, the guardian of the ports, Robert of Old Bridge and Huon, his brother, Brian of the Isle, Geoffrey de Lacy, Hugo de Balliol, and Bernard his brother; William of Canteleu, and William his son; Fulk de Canteleu, Reginald de Cornhull, Viscount of Kent, Robert de Braybroke, and Henry his son; Philip de Hulecotes, John de Bassingborne, Philip Mark, chatelain of Nottingham, Peter of Badlake, Robert de Gangi, Girard de Athia, and Ingelram his nephew, Fulk and William Briwer, Peter the son of Hubert, Thomas Basset, Fulk de Breance, a native of Normandy, and a great many others, whom it would take a long time to enumerate. And these men, wishing to please the king in everything, gave him pernicious counsel, not according to reason, but guided by mere impetuosity of will.

King John is deprived of his kingdom by formal sentence. Peter prophesies. The bishops return.

A.D. 1212. King John was at Windsor, at the feast of the Nativity of the Lord; and in the ensuing Lent, on the Sunday in which "Rejoice, O Jerusalem," is sung, the king invested Alexander, the son of king William, the legitimate heir of Scotland, with a knight's belt. The same year, Mauger, bishop of Worcester, who had been banished from England, on account of his stand in behalf of the liberty of the Anglican church and the due execution of justice, died at Pontigny. Likewise, Geoffrey, archbishop of York, and Baldwin, earl of Albemarle, and Bon, the abbot of Saint Edmund's, paid the debt of nature the same year. This year, the church of Saint Mary of Southwark was burnt between three of the columns of the church, and the chapel which was on London Bridge was burnt, with all the houses which stood on the bridge; and the bridge itself was greatly injured, and a great part of Southwark was burnt down, and, as the flames crossed the Thames, the greatest part of London was burnt down too, both city and suburbs; and men, women, and children, to the number of three thousand, without counting those who were so completely destroyed that no remains of them were found; and this fire took place on the night of the translation of the abbot Saint Benedict, that is to say, on the tenth of July

The same year, when the king was preparing to go on a military expedition, and to invade the Welch, a report was suddenly spread abroad that the earls and barons at Chester had conspired against him; on which account he returned, as if thunderstruck, and as he was greatly agitated at the circumstance, some of them excused themselves, and denied it. But Robert, the son of Walter, and Eustace de Vesci, and Godfrey Ridel, yielding to the misery of the times, were sent into banishment, with several others, and fled, some to France and some to Scotland. Also, William of Necton, one of the clergy, was banished, and Godfrey of Norwich was thrown into prison at Nottingham, and at length was put to death miserably at Bristol, by a new contrivance and kind of punishment. And the before-mentioned Robert and Eustace, and several other barons and knights, and even some of the bishops and clergy, had their possessions confiscated, their houses taken possession of, their fortifications thrown down, and, after that, the king

erdered them to be put to death. And from that time forth, inviting foreigners into his kingdom, and keeping them about him, he incurred deservedly the implacable hatred of his natural-born subjects.

The same year, king John extorted writings from all the religious houses, and from all the secular clergy, in which they were compelled to bear witness that they had of their own accord given him everything which he had forcibly and wickedly extorted from them. But, in the course of those days, sentence was given against king John, that he should be deprived of his kingdom, and the name was verified which was given to him out of insult, when he was called John Lackland. About the same time, a certain simple and upright man, touched with the spirit of prophecy, declared before all men what he knew concerning this same king John. This man was a hermit, and was named Peter, and because he had forewarned many persons of what would happen, he was called the Wise. Among other things which this man predicted, he openly asserted that, on the day of the Ascension next ensuing, John would not be king, nor after that time, but that on that day the crown of England would be transferred to another. The hearts of many wavered, but, on the day thus predicted, when the king was declared a tributary to the Roman pontiff, the word of the prophet was proved to be true. Accordingly, in these days, pope Innocent sent as his legate *a latere* Pandulph, his subdeacon, into the countries on this side of the Alps, to bring to England mournful conditions of peace, to which, if the king consented, he might find the favour of the Apostolic See, because forfeiture of his kingdom had been pronounced against him, and danger was threatening him on all sides, as his conduct well deserved. For his own bowels were fighting against him, and being spiritless and rebellious against himself, and sleepless and wasting away, he could not contain himself, wretched as he was, but no proper object of pity to any one. The same year died Henry, son of Alwyn, mayor of London.

The king of France prepares to invade England. Godfrey, archbishop of York, dies.

A.D. 1213. King John held his court at the feast of the Nativity at Westminster, which was attended by only a very small body of knights; at which season also, Godfrey, archbishop

of York, died, after having passed seven years in banishment for his defence of the liberties of the church and the execution of justice. King John, being in great straits, wished to turn the miseries which he had incurred by his own guilt on those who had sought to restrain his madness; and began to accuse first one and then the other of his nobles of treason, calling them jealous, miserable wittols, whose wives, as he used to boast, he had violated, and whose daughters he had deflowered. Among others, he began to insult beyond measure Robert Fitz-Walter with reproaches and threats; and he endeavoured to destroy his castle which he had in London, namely, Castle Baynard, on the Monday which was the day after the feast of Saint Hilary, by stirring up enemies against him in London. The same year, in the month of January, Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, William, bishop of London, and Eustace, bishop of Ely, returned from the court of Rome, and having held a conference in the countries beyond the sea, they formally laid before the king of France, and the Gallican bishops and clergy, and all the people, the sentence which had been passed at Rome against the king of England for his contumacy. After which, they, on the part of the lord the pope, laid an injunction on the king of France, and on all the rest then present, that, for the remission of their sins, they should all march in a hostile manner against England, depose king John from the throne of the kingdom, and elect in his stead some one else who might be worthy, in obedience to the Apostolic authority. Then, the king of France perceiving that matters had come to the point which had been long desired, girded himself manfully for the war, and commanded all the men in his dominions, dukes, earls, and barons, knights and esquires, to assemble in strength at Rouen in Easter week, on pain of being accounted base, and as they wished to avoid appearing guilty of the crime of *lése majesté*. He also caused all the ships that belonged to him, and all that he could collect from all quarters, to be furnished to the best of his power with corn, and wine, and meat, and all kinds of arms, in order that his large army might have abundance of all necessary supplies. But when king John received information of all this, he, in the month of March, caused all the most strongly-built ships to assemble from all the harbours of England, that he might be able to make a gallant and effectual resistance to those who were endeavouring to invade England. In

like manner, he collected a most numerous army from England and Ireland, and all the neighbouring places. And while he was on the coast, expecting the arrival of the king of France, Pandulph came to king John himself from the countries across the sea, announcing to him the dangers that were impending over him, and assuring him that unless he was protected under the wings of the lord the pope, and by his power, he would lose everything. And when the king had learnt from this same Pandulph the manner in which he might procure this protection, he swore, touching the Holy Gospels, in the presence of Pandulph, that he would submit himself to the judgment of the church. And sixteen earls and many of the more powerful barons swore with him to the same effect as the king himself, promising that if he repented, he should be compelled by the king to observe his oath. Accordingly, he resigned his crown to pope Innocent, and did homage to him, and of a country of the most perfect freedom he made a slave, in such a way that the prince of many provinces became subject to tribute, drawing up a deed with reference to it, which was a mournful and hateful one to those who heard it.

"We make it known to your university that as we have in many things offended the Lord, and the holy mother church, and as on account of such conduct we are well known to stand in need of divine mercy, and cannot worthily offer anything which will be a proper satisfaction for it, to God and to the church, unless we are willing to humble ourselves and our kingdoms for his sake, who for our sakes humbled himself to death. Therefore we, holy grace itself inspiring us, in accordance with the excellent counsel of our barons, do offer and freely grant to God, and to his holy apostles Peter and Paul, and to the holy Roman church, our mother, and to our lord the pope, Innocent the Third, and his successors, all the right of patronage which we have in the Anglican churches, and the whole kingdom of England, and the kingdom of Ireland, with all their rights and belongings, for the remission of our sins, and those of our whole race, both living and dead. And receiving them back again, as it were, from God and the Roman Catholic church, as their feudatory, and holding them so, with the presence of the wise Pandulph, the sub-deacon and friend of our lord the pope, we, from this time forward doing liege homage to our lord, pope Innocent and his Catholic successors, and to the Roman church, ac-

cording to the form set down below, would do the same in the presence of our lord the pope, if it were possible for us to be in his presence. Obliging our successors, and our heirs by our wife for ever, that they in the same manner show loyalty and fidelity, without any contradiction, to the supreme pontiff who shall for the time be the president of the church, and to do him homage; and, moreover, we and our successors do resign for ever the guardianship of the vacant churches. And in proof of this our perpetual offering and concession, we do will and establish that, from our own proper and especial revenues, which proceed from our kingdoms before-mentioned, the Roman church shall, in lieu of all the customs which we are bound to pay for those things, (besides in all cases the penny of Saint Peter,) receive a thousand marks sterling every year; that is to say, five hundred marks at the feast of Saint Michael, and five hundred marks at Easter, of which thousand marks, seven hundred shall be for the kingdom of England, and three hundred for the kingdom of Ireland; and this shall be done without injury to ourselves, our heirs, our laws, liberties, and royal privileges. And we, willing that all these things shall be ratified and perpetual, and lasting as they have been above set down, do bind ourselves and our successors not to contravene them. And if we or any one of our successors shall presume to attempt any such thing, whoever he may be, he shall be declared an outlaw, unless on being admonished he come to his senses. And that this charter of our obligation and concession may remain unalterable, I swear that for the future, from this hour forth, I will be faithful to God, and to the blessed Peter, and the Roman church, and our lord the pope Innocent, and to all his successors who become so in accordance with the Catholic faith. Moreover, I will be a helper in upholding and defending the patrimony of the blessed Peter, and especially of the kingdom of England and kingdom of Ireland, against all men, as far as my power extends. So help me God and these holy gospels, I myself being the witness, in the house of the military order of the temple."

Accordingly, the king of France having been cajoled by many speeches of various kinds from the messengers of the pope, now that John, the king of England, was sheltered under the shield of the Roman court, desisted from his enterprise, having lost about forty thousand pounds of silver, and covered himself with great shame. But on the Thursday next

following after the feast of Saint Michael, Nicolas, bishop of Tusculum, came into England, to Westminster, as a legate, and remained there eighteen days, where he held frequent debates with the brotherhood of the church, concerning the reformation of temporal and spiritual matters. After that, he went to Evesham, on the festival of Saint Edmund, and deposed Roger, the abbot of that church, for manifest reasons, and appointed Radulph, prior of Worcester, to be abbot in his room. Geoffrey, the son of Peter, justiciary of England, died on the fourteenth of October. Henry of London, archdeacon of Stafford, was made bishop of Dublin. Robert of Shrewsbury, bishop of Bangor, died, and was buried in the middle of the market-place of Shrewsbury, in compliance with his own wish to that effect. About the same time a great persecution was set on foot against the Albigensian heretics, under duke Simon de Montfort, in which war the king of Arragon was slain. But king John, who instead of a king had now become a viceroy, ay, and even a tributary or feudatory of the pope, not understanding the prophecy of Peter, of which mention has already been made, most unjustly ordered the said Peter and his son to be hung on a gallows.

King John having become a tributary of Rome, the general interdict is relaxed.

A.D. 1214. John, king of England, held his court at the feast of the Nativity of our Lord, at Windsor, where he distributed festival garments in numbers, to a multitude of nobles. At the same time, the legate before-mentioned deposed Radulph de Arundel, abbot of Westminster, by the agency of Nicholas, abbot of Waltham, who was sent on the part of the legate to Westminster, to put the deposition in execution, which took place on the morrow of the feast of Saint Vincent, by breaking his seal in the chapter house; and William de Humec, prior of Frontigny, a monk of Caen, was elected in his place, and on the Sunday of the Holy Trinity he received the blessing from William, bishop of London. On the day of Saint Urban, being the twenty-fifth of May, peace was established, though not yet settled in all its details, between our lord the pope Innocent and king John, and was sworn to by many earls and barons of the kingdom, on condition that the king should in all good peace receive the lord Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, and the other bishops of England, and

should restore to them all the abbacies, and should satisfy the holy church in all things, and that the king and his heirs should every year give to the Roman church a thousand marks sterling, namely, seven hundred for the kingdom of England, and three hundred marks for the kingdom of Ireland. The same year, Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, landed at Dover, and with him came William, bishop of London, Eustace, bishop of Ely, and Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, and on the Thursday, which was the day following the festival of Saint Processus and Saint Martinianus, the general interdict of the Anglican church was taken off, there being present on the part of the lord the pope, the before-mentioned legate, Nicholas, and Pandulph, the pope's sub-deacon, with the archbishop himself, and the other bishops, and the counts and barons before-mentioned, who took the oaths on the part of the king and the kingdom, at Saint Paul's, in London.

The same year, on the vigil of the Purification, king John took a journey into Poitou, and, on the Thursday next after the feast of the apostles Simon and Judea, on his return from thence he went to Westminster, and was honourably received by the clergy and people there present, and by the legate Nicolas and the archbishop Stephen, and by nearly all the bishops of England. About the same time, died John, abbot of Saint Alban's, on the day of Saint Kenelm, king and martyr.

It should likewise be known, that the interdict, of which such ample mention has been made, lasted six years, fourteen weeks, and two days. On the fourth of October, Simon, dean of York, was consecrated at Canterbury, bishop of Exeter, and Walter de Grey, bishop of Worcester. This year too, there died Gilbert de Glanville, bishop of Rochester, on the twenty-fourth of June, and likewise John de Grey, bishop of Norwich. Also, in the same year, before the Purification of the blessed Virgin Mary, the count of Flanders, accompanied by several foreign nobles, landed in England, to take the oaths of allegiance, and to do homage to king John in the city of Canterbury. Afterwards, returning with William, earl of Salisbury, by making a prodigal distribution of the king's treasures, they collected a numerous army of hired mercenaries, having formed a design of suddenly attacking Philip, king of France, on a Sunday, as he was not accustomed to bear arms on that day, and of overthrowing him in this way.

They had also great hope from, and great reliance in the wisdom and assistance of the emperor Otho, who was, as it were, with a drawn sword, watching for a struggle. Accordingly, the war cry being shouted, "The king's men! the king's men!" on one side, and "Montjoye! Montjoye!" on the other, the battle of Bovines, in Flanders, was fought, and great bravery was shown on both sides. In this battle, the king of France was thrown from his horse, and being attacked by the enemy on all sides, would have been cut to pieces, if a certain Norman knight had not sheltered him with his own body, who at last fell, for him and upon him, pierced with several spears. On this day, three fine horses were stabbed and slain under the same king; nevertheless, by the assistance of God, he that day gained an incalculably important triumph over his enemies. On which account, the pious monarch, writing about his victory to the university of Paris, said, "Praise God, my dearest friends, for we have never before come forth safe from so great a struggle." In this battle, the first person who set the example of flight was Hugh de Bovines, who seemed to be the leader of them all, and after that many nobles, both of the empire and of the kingdom of England, were taken prisoners. But the emperor escaped with a few of his men who were at hand, in such a way that his fame was never afterwards restored.

To the greater confusion of king John, he was repulsed from the castle which is called Monk's Rock (which he had besieged with a numerous army on the side towards Poitou), in consequence of the arrival of Louis, son of the king of France; so that, hearing the news of the taking of his nobles at Bovines, and ascertaining that he had no power to resist on any other side, he felt that both God and man were offended with and hostile to him. Accordingly, he fled disgracefully and ignominiously from the siege before-mentioned; and if he had not given eleven thousand marks of silver for a truce for three years, and then retreated into England with all speed by the management of Robert de Courcy, who was at that time legate in France, he would no doubt have been taken prisoner to his great disgrace. On which account, the French rose up against the said Robert, the legate, with reproaches and insults, as if he, being an Englishman, had been glad to deliver an Englishman. Accordingly, the king returned into England, in disorder and disgrace, on the nineteenth of October. The same

year, William of Trumpington, a monk who was taken out of the bosom of the same church, and was a man eminent for every kind of virtue, succeeded John, as abbot of the church of St. Alban's; and on Saint Andrew's day, received the pontifical benediction from Eustace, bishop of Ely, in the church of Saint Alban's.

King John coming again to himself, on account of his perplexity, assumes the sign of the cross, and many of his nobles with him.

A.D. 1215. King John, at the feast of the Nativity of the Lord, held his court at Worcester, but kept the feast for scarcely one day. After that, he came in haste to London, when the nobles of England earnestly requested him to confirm the promises which he had made to them humbly and in good faith. But the king, seeking for grounds of objection, and asserting that it was a hard thing that they asked, and one that required great deliberation, cunningly asked for a truce till the close of Easter, and obtained it. In the mean time, that he might be the more surely protected under the wings of his lord the pope, and be more completely armed against his subjects, he took upon himself the sign of the cross, and many of the nobles with him did the same, on the fourth of March. The same year, Eustace, bishop of Ely, went the way of all flesh at Reading.

This year a great discussion on the question of the peace of the kingdom took place between the king and the barons, between Staines and Windsor, in a meadow which is called Runnymede; which means the meadow of counsel, because from old time counsels about the peace of the kingdom were frequently held there; the lord Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, being the mediator between them, and some other bishops. And the first day of this discussion was the day of March before the feast of Saint John the Baptist. And it was protracted and spun out till the Wednesday after the feast of Saint Bartholomew, the king, however, being absent. And when the barons demanded the fulfilment of the promises that had been made to them, the king, with a laugh of derision, replied, "Why do not these men demand the kingdom?"

The same year, on St. Martin's day, a general council was held at Rome, under pope Innocent the Third, consisting of sixty-one private archbishops, four hundred and twelve bishops, and eight hundred abbots and priors, in which council the

pope, on the day of the Apostle Saint Andrew, formally excommunicated Louis, the eldest son of the king of France, and all the counts and barons of England, who, with their accomplices, were conspiring and rising up in insurrection against the king of England, the vassal of the church of Rome. War now increased in England from day to day, the barons first of all occupying, in a hostile manner, the whole county of Northampton, with the town of that name itself, with the exception of the castle, the garrison of which defended itself manfully. But the besiegers, being destitute of the necessary engines, retired without succeeding in their object. For before these events had happened, the king, providing for the future, had secretly fortified his castles. From thence, the barons came to London, and on the seventeenth of May they entered the city, and occupied it without meeting with any resistance; for the citizens detested king John for the many unjust exactions with which he had incessantly oppressed them. Accordingly, having held a conference there, they sent some of their allies, both barons and citizens, beyond the sea, to Louis, whom they had elected king, to desire him to hasten and come with all speed to England, as he might then at once obtain the kingdom without any difficulty or opposition. And that he might not hesitate, they sent, both to the king of France and his son, letters patent, with the seals of the nobles affixed, and fifty hostages. The same year, after the feast of Saint Michael, king John besieged the castle of Rochester, in which were some gallant barons, namely, William of Albinet, and many others, whom Robert Fitz-Walter, who was lying lazy and inactive with his whole army in London, was bound to succour, but he would not do so. Owing to which, the aforesaid castle was miserably taken, and the nobles were taken prisoners, and thrust into Corfe castle to await the king's pleasure, and were at last ransomed when scarcely alive. After that, the king became a perfect tyrant, and a destroyer of his own kingdom, hiring, as his soldiers, a band of foreigners, to wit Savaric de Mallein, with his fickle Poitevins, and Gerard de Sotingin, with his inconstant Flemings, and Walter, surnamed Buc, with his vile troop. And then there arose unheard-of confusion in the kingdom, of so fierce a character, that sons were seen to rise in a hostile manner against the fathers, and fathers against their sons. Accordingly, king John, accompanied by that detestable troop of foreigners, whose

leader and general was Falcas de Breaute, a man of ignoble birth and a bastard, and carried away by his fury, began to lay waste the northern parts of England, to destroy the castles of the barons, or compel them to submit to his own order, to burn without mercy all the palaces and towns which belonged to the barons, to oppress the inhabitants of the country by carefully devised tortures, in order to extort money from them, so that the lord of the country seemed in his madness to be angry with his people, and to hate his own inheritance. Everywhere there was grief and misery. The priest became as the people, and the sceptre of the church was profaned. The bishops were proscribed, and the flock was scattered as the shepherds fled. At the same time, Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, because he had always been a reprover, and, as far as he was able, a corrector of king John, who, however, always resisted him, was suspended from his offices, on the ground of his being a favourer of the enemies of king John, the vassal of his lord the pope, who was acting foolishly in every thing. And the lord the pope confirmed this suspension in a general council. At last, the archbishop, with great difficulty, though many persons exerted themselves in his behalf, prevailed so far as to obtain the grace of absolution. In these days the castle of Bedford was taken and given to Falcos, on whom the king also bestowed a wife of noble birth, namely, Margaret de Riparie, with all the estates that belonged to her. Moreover, this same Falcos took the town belonging to William Manduyt de Hammeslape. Also the town of Tunbridge was taken. The same year, on the day of the conversion of Saint Paul, William de Cornhulle was consecrated bishop of Chester, and on the twenty-second of February, Master Benedict, the precentor of Saint Paul's in London, was consecrated bishop of Rochester, and Master Richard, dean of Sherborne, bishop of Chichester. In the meantime, Master Simon de Langton was elected archbishop of York, a man who had but little of the favour of the people; I wish that he may have had the grace of God. But by the influence of the king, his election was soon annulled; for the king, now that he had become a tributary of the pope, could obtain very important favours from him. And the king was afraid that if Stephen, being archbishop of Canterbury, bore rule in the southern provinces, and his brother Simon, being made archbishop of York, governed the northern districts, as they would then be

the two chief prelates in England, everything would be regulated by their will, and one would be supported by the assistance of the other.

About the same time, a certain portion of the barons who had remained in London, issued forth with a body of cavalry, and laid waste the province of Cambridge, and, without any difficulty, reduced the fortress under their power, and took prisoners twenty-five esquires, whom they found in it, and whom they bound with chains, and carried off with them to London. From thence they traversed the adjacent counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, plundered the farmers and the citizens of the cities, scarcely sparing the churches, and making themselves masters of everything. They also compelled the towns of Yarmouth, Wich, and Ipswich, and the neighbouring districts, to pay a very heavy ransom. And then returning through Colchester, they raged against the inhabitants of that district with similar fury. The same force also besieged and took the castles of Hertford and Berkhampstead, and forcibly seized many others which lay in their way. About the same time, in consequence of the exertions of his friends, and even of some foreigners who feared that they might be imprisoned in a similar manner, that noble man, William de Albiney, was released from prison, having first been compelled to pay a fine for his redemption of six thousand marks, which were to be paid within a short time. In the carrying out of which business, his wife, Agatha, labouring beyond what could have been expected of the female sex, raised the money demanded, though with great difficulty; and so, in a most praiseworthy manner, effected the release of her husband.

The barons remain inactive in London. Louis, son of the king of France, lands.

A.D. 1216. Which is the eighteenth year of king John's reign, the same king John was, on the day of the Nativity of our Lord, at Nottingham Castle. But, on the morrow, he sent messengers to Belvoir Castle, requiring that it should be immediately surrendered to him; and threatening that, if any delay took place, William de Albiney, to whom the castle belonged, and who was detained in the king's prison, should never dine again, but should be put to death by famine. And when this was known, immediately the governors of the castle, going to meet him, gave up the keys of the castle to him, sti-

pulating for the safety of their persons, and arms, and possessions. In the meantime, England was afflicted with severe affliction, the wives of the nobles being given up to the sport of the soldiery, their houses being burnt, their woods cut down, their lands given away to foreigners, and money extorted from every one by exquisite torments. In the meantime, the barons lay inactive in London, doing nothing, except at times driving away into the neighbouring places the flocks and herds of poor men, and carrying off their masters as their booty, in a merciless manner. But, while they were thus inactive, the king did not desist from daily reducing their castles, and towns, and dependents, and estates, under his own powers. In like manner, too, his guards, who were stationed in different parts, ravaged and destroyed the possessions of all the barons. But the king, after he had laid waste and subjugated all the northern districts of England, suddenly invaded the territories of the king of Scotland, who had shown himself a favourer of the barons, and made himself master, by force, of the castle of Berwick, and some others, which were believed to be impregnable. And he would have spread slaughter and destruction very widely in those parts, if a great necessity, which did not admit of delay, had not suddenly recalled him, as will be shown hereafter.

And while these things were going on, at the pressing request of the king, who was frequently sending messengers to the pope as his lord, the supreme pontiff, in order that he, as a new master, might give a vigorous and effectual protection to his new vassal, now, a second time, excommunicated by name and individually the barons of England, whom he had previously excommunicated in the lump. About this time, the isle of Ely was laid waste by Falcos, who also, mounted on his horse with his sword drawn, irreverently entered the cathedral itself, and dragging from thence noblemen, and matrons, and clergymen, and the lord Stephen Ridel himself, a noble of the most illustrious character, an honourable and munificent man, he compelled him to pay a most heavy ransom. The barons being now in a strait, as they found that the lord the pope, who was formerly their defender, was now become a vigorous persecutor of them, because of the submission of the kingdom to him, and the vassalage under which the humbled monarch had placed himself, were in daily expectation of the arrival of Louis, the eldest son of Philip,

the French king, whom they had elected their sovereign. And they had sent him hostages, and written letters, and other kinds of bonds and engagements of fealty and allegiance, conveyed by formal embassies, and he now, having made all the necessary preparations, was hastening his arrival. But king John, hearing of the arrival of Louis in England, flew to Canterbury. In the meantime, Gualo, the legate, landed, who had been sent by the lord pope Innocent the Third for the protection of king John, who, having visited Philip, king of France, on his journey towards England, had, on the part of the lord the pope, dissuaded him, by all the means he could think of, not to send his son Louis to the succour of men who were excommunicated, lest the Roman church should be deprived of its patrimony. And when king Philip had understood that this was said of the kingdom of England, he presently answered in this manner: "The kingdom of England never was the patrimony of Peter, or of the Roman church, nor is it now, nor will it ever be so; for king John, a long time ago, wishing unjustly to deprive his brother, king Richard, of the kingdom of England, and being on that account accused of treason, and convicted before him, was condemned by a formal trial in the court of the king himself, and the sentence was pronounced by Hugo de Pusatz, bishop of Durham; and so he has never been the true king of England. Again, even if he ever was a king, and the true king of England, still he subsequently forfeited the kingdom by the murder of Arthur, for which action he was condemned in our court. Again, no king or prince can give away his kingdom without the consent of his barons, who are bound to defend that kingdom. And if the pope, being led away by a lust of new dominion, has ultimately determined to uphold this error, he will give a very mischievous example to all kingdoms." And at these words, all the nobles of France who were standing by, began to cry out, as it were, with one voice, that they would stand to the death in defence of that article, namely, that no king or prince could, by the impulse of his own private will, give away his kingdom, or make it tributary, by which conduct the nobles of his kingdom would be rendered slaves. These events took place at Lyons, on the fifteenth day after Easter. But the next day Louis came to the conference, and, in the presence of his father, and Gualo, the legate, and all the rest who were standing by, said: "My lord the king,

if I am your liegeman for the tenement which you have given me, I am so far bound to you; but with respect to the kingdom of England, what right have you to determine anything at all? I submit myself to the judgment of my peers, as to whether you have any power to compel me not to follow up my rights, especially such as do in nowise concern you, or whether you are not, on the contrary, bound to do me justice, because I am prepared, if need be, to fight even to the death for the inheritance of my wife, the niece of king John." And when the legate heard this, he requested the king to grant him a safe conduct through his territories, which the king kindly did grant. Accordingly, king Philip still dissembling, Louis hastened his march to the sea-coast, in order to cross over to England, and arrive there before the legate. And when he was on the point of embarking on board ship, he found in the harbour of Calais a most gallant and numerous fleet, amounting to six hundred ships and eighty transports, well equipped, which Eustace the monk, who has been mentioned above, had collected there against his arrival. Then Louis and all his followers embarked on board the ships, and came with a fair wind to the isle of Thanet, and anchored in the place which is called Stanhore, on the twenty-first of May. King John was at that time with his army at Dover, but as he was surrounded by a band of foreign mercenaries, who loved Louis more than John, king of England, he did not dare to encounter Louis in a hostile manner, lest his troops might perchance desert king John himself in his necessity, and transfer themselves to Louis. From which considerations he preferred retreating at the time to engaging in a doubtful battle. Therefore, he retreated, and withdrew to Canterbury, and left and entrusted the castle of Dover to the custody and good faith of Hubert de Burgh. And soon afterwards, Gualo, the legate, landed in England, for the protection of king John and the kingdom against Louis and his partisans. But king John fled as far as Winchester, and Louis, when he found that no one offered to resist him, disembarked from his ships, and landing at Sandwich, subdued immediately the whole of that district, with the exception of the town of Dover, and hastening towards London, he made himself master of the castle of Rochester, and on the second of June he arrived in London, where first of all he offered up prayers at Saint Paul's, and was afterwards publicly received by the clergy and laity with

great joy, and received the fealty and homage of all the barons. And shortly afterwards, namely, on the fourteenth of June, the city of Winchester was surrendered to him; and on the day after the feast of Saint John, he took the castle of the city, and the bishop's castle also; and on the ninth of July, he received the submission of the castles of Odiham, Farnham, Guildford, and Reigate. The castle of Windsor was besieged by the earls and barons of both France and England, but they were forced to retreat from before it without succeeding in their object. But the castle of Cambridge was taken by the barons, with twenty esquires which were found in it.

The same year, Gualo, the legate, exacted visitation fees throughout all England, from all the cathedral churches and houses of religious brotherhoods, fixing each visitation fee at fifty shillings. He also seized all the benefices of the clergy, and men of religious orders who adhered to Louis and the barons, and converted them to the use of his own clergy. In the meantime, king John, inflamed with the madness of passion, oppressed and grievously afflicted the provinces of Suffolk and Norfolk. Then, continuing his march towards the north, he irrecoverably lost his carriages, and much of his baggage, at Wellestrem, where they were swallowed up by a quicksand. And when he heard the news he grieved inconsolably, and redoubling deep sighs, he passed the night at Swineshead abbey, belonging to the Carthusian order, where, according to his custom, he gorged himself with peaches soaked in new wine and cider, and being greatly absorbed in grief for his recent loss, he became attacked with a severe illness. But the next day, concealing his illness lest the enemy should triumph over him, he, though with difficulty, mounted his horse; and soon after, having had a litter drawn by horses made for him, he dismounted from his palfrey and entered it, and in this way he came to the castle of Leadford, where he spent the night, and found his disease increase greatly. But the next day he was carried forwards, and arrived at the castle of Newark, where he took to his bed, and his sickness assumed a fatal appearance; and summoning the abbot of Crofestune, who was skilful in the art of medicine, to his side, he confessed himself to him, and received the eucharist from him. And he appointed Henry, his eldest son, the heir of his kingdom, bequeathing his body to the church of Worcester, under the protection of Saint Wolstan. After this,

with the greatest bitterness of spirit, he cursed all his barons, instead of bidding them farewell; and in this manner, poor, and deprived of all his treasures, and not retaining the smallest portion of land in peace, so that he was truly called Lackland, he most miserably departed from this life on the night following the next after the day of Saint Luke the Evangelist. And because this John made himself detestable to many persons, not only on account of the death of his nephew, Arthur, but also on account of his incontinence, by which he violated the treaty of the marriage bed, and of his tyrannical conduct, and of the tribute with which he bound the kingdom of England under perpetual slavery, and of the war which his misdeeds provoked, he scarcely deserved to be mourned by the lamentations of any one.

The following are the territories which John lost, by his cruelties and oppressions, and various fornications and injuries, which he did not desist from doing to every one. First of all, the duchy of Normandy, the county of Blois, the county of Maine, Anjou, Poitou, the Limoisin, Auvergne, and Angoulême. And all these districts at one time belonged to king John. Besides this, he subjected England and Ireland to the payment of tribute, and never recovered any of his losses, to the day of his death.

This John had the sons and daughters whose names are mentioned below.

Henry, Richard, earl of Cornwall, Edmund, Isabella, Eleanor, and Johanna.

Ch. VIII.—From A.D. 1216 to A.D. 1225.

Henry the Third succeeds to the throne—The English defeat the French who support the claim of Louis—Peace is made—Louis leaves the kingdom—Pope Innocent dies—The siege of Damietta—Persecution of the Albigenses—The princess Johanna marries Alexander, king of Scotland—Quarrels break out again between the king and the barons—Death of Baldwin, emperor of Constantinople.

The coronation of king Henry the Third.

But when John, king of England, was dead, the legate Gualo and many of the nobles of England met at Gloucester. And as Westminster, which, according to the custom of the king-

dom, is the place set apart for the consecration of the king, was at that time besieged by his enemies, under the compulsion of necessity, Henry, the eldest son of John, was anointed king, and solemnly crowned at Gloucester, before the larger altar, in the church of the Convent. And because Louis had already displayed great arrogance to, and made himself detested by, all the English, and despising the English and the treaty that he had made with them, had bestowed their fortresses and estates upon others, all the nobles of the land in a short time returned and adhered to the young king Henry, who had merited no reproaches from them. Accordingly, the castles of Hereford and Berkhampstead, and many others, submitted to his authority, and the barons, behaving like gallant men, deserved absolution from the legate, and affection from the new king.

About the same time, while pope Innocent was celebrating a solemn procession at Rome, and when that image of our Lord's countenance which is called the Veronica had been borne along reverently to be gazed upon by the people, the pope himself replaced it in its accustomed place; but on the morrow it was found turned round, standing in an improper manner, in such a way that the face was bent downwards, and the beard turned down to the ground. And when the lord pope heard this, he greatly feared that this was an evil omen, and, accordingly, he composed a collect, and appointed it to be said in honour of the Veronica; and he granted to all who should repeat it a pardon for ten days. In those days the truce expired which had been entered into in the Holy Land between the Christians and the infidels.

A battle having been first fought at Lincoln, and the French having been subsequently defeated by sea, the English triumphed gloriously. Pope Innocent the Third dies.

A.D. 1217. King Henry, the son of king John, celebrated the solemn festival of the Nativity of our Lord, at Christmas, at Bristol. But the remnant of the barons who remained in London gradually returned to him. And an iniquitous design of the French was revealed by one of them who was at the point of death, namely, the viscount Melun; for, when he found that death was close at hand, and that there was no remedy, then, fearing for the safety of his soul, he confessed that it was the intention of Louis and his Frenchmen, which

had been confirmed by an oath which they had all taken, and pledges of faith that they had mutually interchanged, as soon as they had subdued England, to expel all the English and condemn them to irrevocable exile. Besides this, the sentence of excommunication, which the English dread above all other nations, was day by day bringing back the barons to their natural lord, and causing them to forsake Louis. Louis, abandoning the siege of Dover Castle, crossed the sea in order to reinforce his army from France by the assistance of his father, and soon after, returning again, he besieged the same castle a second time: and a very great multitude of foreigners prepared to hasten to the assistance of Louis. About the same time, Falcas, having plundered the town of Saint Alban's, violently dragged even from the church some nobles who had occupied it as a safe place of refuge, and polluted the church itself with bloodshed. But presently the martyr himself, the blessed Alban, looked upon Falcas himself with a stern eye so fiercely, and reproved him so bitterly, that he was almost bereft of his senses; and, moreover, the very same night the legate beheld the same thing in a vision, and related it to Falcas.[1] On which account the same Falcas returned in the greatest humility and alarm to the church of the blessed martyr, barefooted, and stripped of his upper garment, and entered the chapter-house, with tears entreating pardon for his transgression of the abbot and each of the brethren; and he related to them plainly how he had been severely reproved by the martyr Alban himself, and how he had also been knocked down by a certain vast stone which fell from the tower of the church like lightning, so that he fell to the ground almost lifeless, and, as it appeared to him, was thrust down to the gates of hell. And so he submitted to corporal chastisement at the hands of each individual among them, and thus he properly obtained from the abbot and the brethren the indulgence which he had entreated.

The same year, the remainder of the barons who still adhered to Louis came in haste with a great number of Frenchmen to Lincoln on the twentieth of May, being the Saturday, the vigil of the Sabbath of the Holy Trinity, for the purpose of occupying the city and the castle, but they were taken prisoners by the citizens who were faithful to the king, and the earl of Perche was slain. And when Louis heard this, he departed from the siege of Dover Castle, and came to London,

[1] Called Fawkes by Hume.

and waited there for the expected succour and arrival of the French. But as the Lord was propitious to, and fought for, the innocent king Henry, in a naval battle on the sea, not far from Dover, the French, though an immense multitude, were defeated, routed, wounded, taken prisoners, drowned, and some of them slain by the sword, and Eustace the Pirate, surnamed the Monk, was also slain. And when Louis heard this, he was grieved at the double disaster, and could not be comforted; and because his steps were weakened, he humbly entreated conditions of peace. Accordingly, when Gualo, the legate, and the bishops, and clergy, and laity were met together, with William de Marischal,[1] who was at that time the protector of the king and kingdom, they held an earnest conference on the subject of peace, on an island pretty near the town of Kingston, and peace was made and confirmed between the king and Louis, on the vigil of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, Louis having been first of all solemnly absolved from the sentence of excommunication, which, as has been fully related above, had been pronounced against him.

The same year, pope Innocent paid the debt of human nature, after he had filled the papal chair eighteen years, five months, and fourteen days, dying on the sixteenth day of July. He was succeeded by Honorius the Third, who was previously called Cintius, and who ruled the church ten years, seven months, and nineteen days, as this History, as it proceeds, will show. By him also the design of the business of the cross was approved, confirmed, and diligently prosecuted, in accordance with the resolutions which had been taken in the council of pope Innocent. But when the conditions of peace were sent to Louis to be read over to him, and examined by him, he was pleased, as he had feared much harder terms. Accordingly, all the nobles of both sides being summoned together, first of all Louis and all his partisans swore, laying their hands on the Holy Gospels, that they would stand by the judgment of the church, and that he, Louis, would depart with all his friends from the realm of England, and would never return, and would never utter any false accusations against the barons of England, whom he had deceived by falsehood and lies; Louis also swore that he would persuade his father, according to the best of his power and ability, with-

[1] This was the earl of Pembroke, who, at the time of John's death, was marcschal of England.

out any reservation, to restore king Henry all his rights; and, if ever he came to the possession of the kingdom of France, he himself would, without making any difficulty, restore them. After this, Henry, king of England, with the legate and marischal, and the nobles who were there assembled, swore that he would restore to the barons of England, and to all his other subjects in the kingdom, all their rights and inheritances, and all the liberties which they had formerly desired, for the sake of which war had been waged; that all prisoners should be released, all castles discharged of any ransom that might be due, all obligations cancelled, and all oaths and promises of fidelity; that all hostages and everything of that sort should be given up on each side, fully and plainly, without any fraud or evasion. Some obstinate recreants were, however, excepted from this peace, for whom Louis did not care very much, since they had persuaded, and prompted, and urged him on to the disastrous disgraces that he had suffered. As, for instance, Simon de Langton, and Gervais de Hobruge, and some others, who subsequently crossed the Alps, and with difficulty obtained, from the kindness of the lord the pope, a reconciliation to the church and kingdom of England, and a restoration to the benefices of which they had been deprived by the legate. After these events, Louis, having been absolved, as I have already said, and having borrowed from the citizens of London five thousand marks to meet the expenses of his return home, hastened to Gaul for the last time.

Saphadin dies. The tower with the chain being taken, the noble city of Damietta is besieged.

A.D. 1218. King Henry was, on the feast of the Nativity, at Northampton, where Falcas performed the necessary services for the king. But, in the month of May, king John of Jerusalem, with the patriarch and bishops, and inhabitants of Bethlehem and Acre, and other prelates, and the duke of Austria, and the masters of the Temple and of the Hospital of Saint John, and of the house of the blessed Virgin Mary of the Teutons, and a great multitude of Christians, made a successful voyage from Acre to Damietta, and immediately they besieged a certain castle with a chain, which appeared the strength and defence of the whole city, which was at no great distance off. About this time, there was a total eclipse of the moon, and, without the siege being protracted for any length of time, the town with the chain was taken by the Christians.

The walls of Jerusalem were destroyed by the Saracens, for the purpose of recalling the Christians, so as to prevent their besieging Damietta; when Pelagus, bishop of Aubigny, legate of the Apostolic See, arrived, more to the destruction of the Christians than to their support, as the ultimate issue of the business showed. There arrived also Master Robert de Corsim, a cardinal, and Master Thomas de Novin, both profound theologians and preachers. Also, a great multitude of Romans came, who fled at the first shock of battle, and so showed a most mischievous example to the Christians, as will hereafter be related. There came also to the siege of Damietta some noble men of the greatest renown from England, namely, Ranulph, the illustrious earl of Chester, and Saer, earl of Winchester, and William, earl of Arundel, and many famous barons, such as Robert Fitz-Walter, John, the constable of Chester, William de Harcourt, Oliver, son of the king of England, with a large retinue. But, on the night of the feast of Saint Andrew, an unequalled and unheard-of tempest of thunder and lightning, and wind and rain, shook nearly the whole world in a terrible manner, affecting both the eastern and western countries, and causing both the sea and the Nile to rise on a sudden, so that both the natives of the country and the Christians suffered irreparable damage.

The same year, the church of Saint Mary was dedicated at Worcester, and the body of the glorious bishop and confessor, Wolstan, was removed to its proper place, in the presence of the chief men of the kingdom, both knights and prelates, on the same day, being the seventh of June, G being the letter, according to the Sunday letter, the day of the week being Thursday, in the week of Pentecost; Silvester, the bishop of the church, who had formerly been a monk and prior of the same church, presiding over the removal, and managing all these things, and conducting them to their accomplishment in a magnificent manner. And as that saint was honoured with exceeding glory, numbers of his relics were distributed among several places, and bestowed upon divers prelates; so that one of his ribs was given to William, abbot of Saint Alban's, and gratefully received by that convent with a solemn procession, all arrayed in their choral robes of festival; and soon after enclosed in a golden chest wrought with great beauty, and a festival was appointed to be kept with all due solemnity, in honour both of his burial and removal. About

this time, Gualo, the legate, returned to Rome, with chests well filled with gold and silver, after he had, by his largesses, procured the election of Richard Marais, and had disposed of a great portion of the revenues of England at his pleasure. But Richard having been elected, received consecration on the twenty-fourth of July. Pandulph was elected to the bishopric of Norwich, and when Gualo, the legate, departed, he succeeded him in the office of legate, and, on the Monday after the festival of Saint Andrew, he came to London, to Saint Paul's.

About this time, the blockade of the city of Damietta was completed, the tents, and fosses, and stations being properly arranged. In those days also, Silvester, of pious memory, bishop of Worcester, died, at Ramsey, after he had accomplished everything that had reference to his patron, Saint Wolstan, except the bier, in a solemn manner, according to the desire that he had long before conceived; and he was succeeded by William de Blois, archdeacon of Buckingham, who was consecrated at Westminster, on the Lord's day, being the morrow of the festival of Saint Fides the Virgin.

Also about this time, after the capture of the tower, and the completion of the siege of Damietta, Saphadin, the inveterate cause of evil days, and the disinheritor of his nephews, and the most wicked usurper of the kingdom of Asia, being affected internally with anguish of heart, died, and was buried in hell. And he was succeeded by his son, Coradin, the unwearied imitator of his father's wickedness. King Henry caused a seal to be made for himself. The same year, Ranulph, prior of Norwich, was made bishop of Chichester.

William, the great mareschal, dies. The siege of Damietta is protracted. The Christians are distressed, nevertheless they persevere. Jerusalem with the sovereignty is offered to the Christians.

A.D. 1219. Which is the fourth year of king Henry the Third, the said king celebrated a great and solemn feast at Winchester, on the day of the Nativity of the Lord. The same year, William, the great mareschal, the principal governor of the king and kingdom, died, and was buried in London, in the New Temple, in the middle of the church, on the day of our Lord's Ascension,[1] being the sixteenth of March; and

[1] There is evidently some mistake here. Even Easter day cannot possibly fall as early as the sixteenth of March, much less Ascension day.

after his death, the young king remained under the guardianship of the bishop of Winchester, to be brought up by him.

About the same time, the siege with which Damietta was encompassed being still continued, imposed or brought great danger and loss; first to one side and then to the other, according to the various chances of war. At length, on the day of Saint Leonard, owing rather to a miracle than to any assistance from men, the city of Damietta was taken and completely restored to Christian worship. In these days also, Louis having, at the suggestion of his father, gone down to the district about Toulouse, surrounded that city with a blockade. But when he had wasted some time there to no purpose, and after Simon, earl de Montfort, an illustrious warrior, had perished, having been slain by a blow from a squared stone, and his brother had also fallen in a similar manner, and by a like misfortune, Louis returned ingloriously and in disorder into Gaul, with his army greatly weakened by famine. The same year, Hugh de Mapenore, bishop of Hereford, died, about Easter, and was succeeded by Hugh Folioth, and was consecrated at Canterbury, about the time of the feast of All Saints. The same year, many councils and deliberations were held between the barons at Westminster, who were still, in some degree, at variance because of the hostilities which were not wholly forgotten, and Leoline, prince of North Wales, and some of the nobles of England. But Leoline through his sagacity always remained uninjured. This year, a more earnest preaching began with great vehemence to invite many of the faithful to unite in assuming the cross against the Albigenses.

The blessed Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, is removed by archbishop Stephen. The blessed Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, is canonised.

A.D. 1220. King Henry the Third on the feast of the Nativity was at Marlborough, being still under the guardianship of Peter, bishop of Winchester. In which year also, which was the fifth after his consecration as king, he was crowned at Westminster, on the day of Pentecost, by Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, on the seventeenth of May, in the presence of lord Pandulph, the legate, and other bishops, prelates, earls, barons, and mayors of England. And the said archbishop preached at the same time there in favour of as-

suming the sign of the cross. After that, on the festival of Saint Barnabas, Henry, king of England, and Alexander, king of Scotland, met in a conference at York, where the question was discussed of entering into a treaty of marriage between the said Alexander, king of Scotland, and the lady Joanna, sister of Henry, king of England; and after this treaty had been settled, the king of Scotland returned to his own country.

About the same time, the blessed Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, was canonized at Rome, and deservedly reckoned in the college of the Saints, and his feast was fixed on the seventeenth of November. So also the feast of the translation of the blessed Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, and martyr, which translation took place under Stephen of glorious memory, the fourth successor of the martyr in his archbishopric, was fixed on the day week after that of the Apostles Peter and Paul, and celebrated with great magnificence. But on the holy Saturday which was the vigil of Pentecost, the new work of the chapel of the blessed Virgin Mary at Westminster was begun; king Henry the Third himself being the chief instigator of this work, and its founder, and the layer of the first stone at the commencement of the undertaking. This year, Henry de Boune, earl of Hereford, and Saer de Quency, earl of Winchester, both died on their journey as pilgrims to Jerusalem. On the Sunday before the feast of Saint Barnabas the Apostle, that is to say, on the eighth of June, the church of Saint John de Mordune was dedicated in an honourable manner by John, bishop of Hertford, under master Thomas of Essex, who was at that time the rector of that church. This year also, when the season of the Advent of the Lord was drawing near, a violent contest arose between Richard, bishop of Durham, and the monks, because the bishop was an indiscreet and extravagant waster of the property of the church. On which account, the bishop protected himself by an appeal, and lavishing his treasures with even more profusion than usual, he went to Rome, when he burdened his church with an expenditure of more than thirty thousand marks. And as this contest continued some time, both the priory and the diocese incurred inestimable injury.

This year also, a journey of the justiciaries took place throughout all England. This year also, John, abbot de Fontibus, an upright and just man, and one who eschewed evil, was consecrated bishop at Westminster, on the day after the

feast of the Saints Perpetua and Felicitas, being the Sunday on which the anthem, "Rejoice, O Jerusalem," is chaunted. At that time also, the Welch passed over their borders which had been formerly established as the frontiers of England and Wales, chiefly under the command of William de Brause, and offered repeated insults, and did constant injury to the country.

This year, Frederic the Second was crowned emperor at Rome, in the church of Saint Peter, by Hugolin, the cardinal bishop of Ostia, and Veliterno, the legate of the Apostolic See, and pope Honorius the Third, on the twenty-second of November, and he was deposed in the forty-first year of his reign by pope Innocent the Fourth, in the council of Lyons.

Eustace de Falconbridge is made bishop of London. Pandulph, the legate, returns to Rome.

A.D. 1221. King Henry the Third was at the festival of the Nativity of the Lord at Oxford, where he celebrated the feast with his nobles with great solemnity. This year, William of Saint Mary's, bishop of the church of London, voluntarily resigned his bishopric on this day, after the feast of the conversion of Saint Paul. And on the twenty-fourth of February, Eustace de Falconbridge, at that time treasurer of the exchequer, was elected bishop of London, and his election was confirmed by the legate, Pandulph, at Norwich. And on the Sunday when the anthem, "The mercy of the Lord," is sung, which fell that year on the twenty-fifth of April, being the day of the Evangelist Saint Mark, he was consecrated at Westminster, by Benedict, bishop of Rochester, acting for the time as the deputy of Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, who was at that time in foreign parts on the spiritual business of the holy church and kingdom of England; the legate, however, was present. Soon afterwards, on the Monday which was next before the feast of the blessed Mary Magdalen, Pandulph, being elected bishop of Norwich, resigned his office as legate, at the command of the lord the pope Honorius, at Westminster, in the presence of Richard, bishop of Salisbury, Peter, bishop of Winchester, and Eustace, bishop of London, and no one else at that time succeeded him as legate. During the time that he had enjoyed the authority of legate, he manfully repressed several warlike disturbances which were not previously healed, and after the feast of Saint Michael, he quitted England.

About the same time, William de Fortibus, earl of Albemarle, seized unjustly upon some castles; and being unwilling to return to peace with the king, raised a hostile rebellion against him in Lincolnshire, on which account the bishop and all his partisans were, for the guilt which they thus perpetrated, excommunicated by Pandulf, the legate, and the bishops and clergy of England, and the count himself was compelled to surrender, without any respect being shown him, and some of his followers were thrown into prison, and some condemned to perpetual banishment.

King Henry gave Alexander, king of Scotland, his eldest sister, Joanna, for his wife, and she was espoused to him on the day after the feast of Saint John the Baptist, at York, and the nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence, in the presence of both the kings, and many of the nobles.

In the same year, also, Hubert de Burgh, at that time justiciary of England, married Margaret, sister of the aforesaid king of Scotland, in the city of London, in the presence of the lord the king and the lord Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, and other nobles of the land, the lord archbishop himself celebrating the marriage service.

This year, the city of Damietta was wrested from the power of the Christians, on the vigil of the decapitation of Saint John the Baptist; on which account the crusaders, who were endeavouring to accomplish their intended march to that city, abandoned the expedition when they heard of the disaster of the Christians. Peter de Roches, bishop of Winchester, assumed the sign of the cross. Eustace, bishop of London, demanded of the abbot William, and of the convent of Westminster, a right of procession, procuration, visitation, and every kind of universal jurisdiction, on account of which claim an appeal was made to the pope.

In the same year, William de Albiney, earl of Arundel, died in foreign parts, on his way back from Damietta, and his body was conveyed to England by Thomas, the monk of Saint Alban's, to be buried at Wymondham, of which the earl was the patron. The same year, on account of the frequent irruptions of the Welsh, who a little before had even stirred up the king himself to such an undertaking, king Henry fortified a very strong castle, on account of the desirableness of its situation, and called it the castle of Montgomery, from the place

where it stood. This year the order of brethren preachers was established.

Peace is re-established between the church of Saint Paul in London, and the church of Westminster.

A.D. 1222. King Henry the Third was, on the feast of the Nativity of the Lord, at Winchester, where Peter, the bishop of that city, supplied him with all necessaries, in a splendid manner. This year, also, the controversy which had been raised between Eustace, bishop of London, and the chapter of Saint Paul's on the one part, and William, abbot at the time, and the convent of Westminster on the other part, was terminated by the exertions of Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, Peter, bishop of Winchester, Richard, bishop of Salisbury, Thomas, prior of Merton, and Richard, prior of Dunstable, whom the two parties agreed upon as arbitrators and regulators of peace. They pronounced the monastery of Westminster absolutely exempt from every kind of subjection to and from the jurisdiction of the bishop of London, and ordered that the church of Staines, with all its belongings, should be converted to the use of the church of Westminster, as its own, and that the manor of Sunbury should become the property of the bishop of London, and that the church of that same manor should become the property of the church of Saint Paul for ever. Also they announced a formal sentence that the church of Saint Margaret, with the whole parish, and all the chapels that were or that should at any time be contained in the parish, with the tithes and all its belongings, and the clergy and laity who dwelt in it, should be exempt from the prelatical jurisdiction of the bishop of London and his officials, and his church, without any exception, or the interposition of any one.

They also added that the parishioners might receive the benedictions of the abbot, the dedications of churches and chapels built, or hereafter to be built, within the limits of the said parish, and the consecrations of altars, and the ordinations of monks and secular clergy, and the confirmations of children, and the holy oil and chrism, and all other sacraments of that sort, anywhere, and from whatever bishop they chose, without any kind of opposition from the church of London, for ever. The same year, on the sixth of March, William, bishop of Ely,

treasurer of England, died, and also Robert Manduyt, chamberlain of my lord the king, about the time of the feast of Saint Barnabas. Master Stephen de Langton, the archbishop, held a solemn council at Oxford, at which many regulations were made for the reformation of the constitution of the Anglican church, and the monastic religion, as is elsewhere shown in the records of the said council.

A few days before the council a certain impostor was apprehended, having on his body and limbs, that is to say, on his side, hands, and feet the five wounds of the crucifixion. And he and another vagabond, an accomplice in the same fraud and imposture, were brought together before the council; and being convicted, and compelled to make a public confession, they were punished by ecclesiastical sentence. The same year, Pandulf was consecrated bishop of Norwich. The same year, also, William de Humet, abbot of Westminster, died, on the twenty-first of April, and was succeeded by Richard de Berkinges, prior of the same place, who, on the eighteenth of September, in the same year, received the benediction of the lord Peter, bishop of Winchester, in the church of Westminster. Ranulph, bishop of Chichester, died, who at one time was the official of Norwich, and afterwards prior of the same church. He was succeeded by Radulph de Neville, who had been previously made chanceller by the consent of the whole kingdom, and who was the most faithful keeper and bearer of the king's seal. He was elected about the feast of all Saints, in this year, but not consecrated till the year after. The same year, on an opportunity afforded by a wrestling-match at the hospital of Saint James, in London, a great quarrel and disturbance arose, which, by the agency of the devil, became so violent, that one of the noblest citizens of London, a man eminent for his birth and property, was hung, to his great confusion and disgrace, out of mere spite, because he had undertaken the task of exciting a sedition and great tumult in the city, and had inflicted injury upon the abbot of Westminster. And this hanging of him was brought about by Hubert de Burgh, at the time justiciary of England, and by Falcas, who was at that time a powerful regulator of the affairs of the kingdom, out of spite. On which account, although this exciter of sedition, whose name was Constantine, was guilty, and deserved hanging, yet the citizens of London ever afterwards detested the justiciary, and Falcas, as subse-

quent events plainly showed, and as will be related in order at the proper time.

The king, seduced by evil counsels, seeks excuses for not regarding the liberties which have been promised. So, when he breaks his agreement, Louis, king of France, does the same.

A.D. 1223. King Henry held his court at Oxford, and afterwards, on the day week after the Epiphany, he came to London, and held a conference with the barons, at which he was requested by the archbishop of Canterbury and the other nobles to confirm their liberties and free customs, for the sake of which war was waged against his father; and, as the archbishop clearly demonstrated, the king could not avoid doing this, as on the withdrawal of Louis from England he had sworn, and all the nobility of the kingdom had sworn with him, that they would observe all the liberties which were registered in the deed, and would cause them to be observed by every one. When William de Briwere, who was one of the counsellors of the king, heard this, he, answering on behalf of the king, said, "The liberties which you are asking for are not bound to be observed as of right, because they were extorted by violence." But the archbishop was indignant at this expression, and reproved him, saying, "William, if you really loved the king, you would not hinder the peace of the kingdom." But when the king saw that the archbishop was moved to anger, he said, "We have all sworn to those liberties, and we are all bound to observe what we have sworn to." And immediately the king held a council to consider the matter, and sent letters to all the viscounts of the kingdom to cause inquisition to be made by twelve knights or lawyers in each county as to what liberties existed in England in the time of his grandfather, and when they had completed their inquisition, they were to send it to London to the king, by a fortnight after Easter. The same year, William Mareschal, earl of Pembroke, went to Ireland; but when Leoline heard this, he took two castles belonging to that earl by the strong hand, and beheaded all those whom he found in them. But afterwards, the earl, having collected a numerous army in England, manfully recovered those castles, and retaliated on the Welch for the slaughter they had made. The same year, the Sunday letter being A, in the eighth cycle, Easter day fell on the twenty-third of April, on Saint George's day. The same year, on the

eleventh of August, Philip, king of France, died, who having succeeded to the kingdom in the lifetime of his father, Louis, and in the fifteenth year of his age, had reigned forty-four years. And his death was clearly heralded by a fiery and hairy comet, which appeared a short time before. He was succeeded by his son Louis. And when his death had become generally known, Henry, king of England, sent the archbishop of Canterbury with three bishops to Louis, who had been already crowned king, with instructions to demand steadily from him that he would restore him Normandy and the other countries beyond the sea, as he had sworn to do on the occasion of his withdrawal from the kingdom of England, when peace was made between him and the king of England and all his nobles. Louis replied to this, and said that he was the rightful possessor of Normandy and those countries, as he was prepared to prove in his court, if the king of England chose to come there and abide by the law there laid down. He also added, that the oath which had been taken in England had been violated on the part of the king of England, when his prisoners who had been taken at Lincoln were put to a very heavy ransom, and the count de la Perche slain. "But I," said Louis, "have neither exacted of my prisoners an observance of the oaths which were taken long since to my father, Philip, and which they were bound to observe towards me, nor did I retain them as hostages, but I dismissed them all in peace; and as for the liberties of the kingdom of England, of which his father and he himself have been violators in contempt of their oaths, and for which the barons waged a just war, and which at my departure were granted, and were sworn to by all parties, it has come to pass that only those most scandalous laws have been brought back to their previous condition, and that even worse laws than those have been generally established throughout the whole kingdom of England, nor does my lord archbishop even maintain, the liberties of the holy church, which at his coronation he swore that he would maintain inviolably. So that it is he who first broke his covenant, who is a perjured and unjust man, and not I."

But when the archbishop and the bishops who were with him heard this, as they were not able to obtain any other answer, they returned to their country in confusion, to report what had been said to them to the king of England.

The same year also, John de Bresnes, king of Jerusalem, and

the superior master of the hospital of Saint John, came to England, about a week after the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul, to entreat assistance and reinforcements for the Holy Land. About the same time, there died Master Stephen of Apulia, bishop of Exeter, about the time of the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, and William de Cornhulle, bishop of Chester, about the same time.

The same year, Leoline, feeling more sure of his power, and being in great strength, made many irruptions into the territories of his neighbours, while William Mareschal was absent in Ireland. For, when Leoline heard of his absence, he took two of his castles with the strong hand, not the same castles which he had taken before: but some Englishmen, namely, Hugh de Lacy and his followers, adhered to this same Leoline, out of hatred to king Henry, and opposing him, and exciting frequent insurrections, and making constant expeditions against the king, they endeavoured to compel, first of all, William Mareschal the elder, and afterwards William the younger, and some others of the king's barons, to surrender. And as their warlike courage promised their future success, judging by the past events of the war, they irreverently wasted all the borders with fire. But the whole region being now excited against those wrong-doers, by force compelled them and all their followers to surrender. And as for the chief enemies, they were put to the rout by the hostile army, and could never again recover from that disaster.

The castle of Bedford is taken, and those prisoners who are taken in it are hung.

A.D. 1224. King Henry the Third, at the Nativity of the Lord, held his court at Northampton, in the presence of Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, and some of his suffragan bishops, and a great body of knights. But the earl of Chester, with his brethren conspirators, held his festival at Leicester, and with great contumacy intimated to the king that unless he desisted from the enterprise that he had commenced, requiring his castles, and adhering to the councils of Hubert de Burgh, who bore himself as his superior, the whole body of nobles in England would, with one accord, rise up against him in a hostile manner, and would compel him to humble himself, whether he would or not. But on the morrow, after the solemnization of mass, the archbishop of Canterbury and

his suffragans, clad in their albs, with their tapers lighted, pronounced sentence of excommunication universally against all disturbers of the king and kingdom, and against all violent invaders of the church. But in the meantime the king had effectually concerted measures by means of which he might be able to bridle their insolence with the strong hand, secretly sending messengers bearing the royal letters, so that he might collect all his forces in a powerful manner. And the adversaries of the king, seeing this, feared that confusion was prepared for them on every side, and deliberating singly on their own individual defection from the conspiracy, they all came to Northampton to the king, and, beginning with the earl of Chester, they all surrendered their castles, municipal towns, honours, and wardships to the king, which appeared at all to belong to his crown. Nevertheless, a concealed ill-will on the part of these nobles against the king still remained, because he was not willing, at their importunity, to remove from his magistracy Hubert de Burgh, the justiciary, who was governing the republic in a manner inconsistent with what was becoming or advantageous for the kingdom. But the king, though, by the assistance of the church, he had delivered his castles to him with great caution, nevertheless did not win over to himself the hearts of his barons to the bond of charity. And when Louis, who was now king of France, and established on the throne of his kingdom, was by his spies informed of this fact, he took confidence from the divisions of the kingdom of England; and in order to hasten its desolation, he led a large army to Rupell, in order either by force or by bribes to reduce that place under his authority. And when Falcas heard this, because he had already hated the king, he called him a fool and a madman, and urged Louis boldly to follow up the enterprise which he had begun, as he himself would stir up war in England with some of the nobles, who were all willing to unite for that purpose.

Falcas therefore, being now prepared to rebel, took, as if there were a state of hostile war, one of the justiciaries of the king, by name Henry de Braybrooke, who was travelling along the king's high road in peace, and carried him off, and shut him up in his castle of Bedford; and as this was immediately reported to Louis, he attacked the garrison of Rupell with the more confidence, and the citizens, when they heard that war was already smoking in England, and they were, as one

might say, abandoned by the king, and defrauded of the money which had been promised to them, by him from whom they had hoped to receive all comfort, they with great bitterness of spirit surrendered themselves and their city to king Louis. Then the king placed men on whom he could rely, both in the city and in the castle, about the beginning of autumn, and consequently before the assumption of the blessed Virgin Mary, and expelling the garrisons of the king of England, he compelled nearly the whole of Poitou to submit to his authority, as he wished. But when the king of England heard that Falcas had by force taken and thrown into prison his own justiciary, and when others of his justiciaries, who held courts of justice, complained to him of the plundering conduct of this same Falcas, he uttered some violent threats, and, with all the men whom he had assembled at the council of Northampton, he hastened to besiege Bedford; while Falcas was traversing all the neighbouring districts like a traitor. At length, after a succession of attacks continued for about two months, the castle was taken manfully and by force, and the enemies of the king who were taken in it, both knights and esquires to the number of nearly a hundred, were ignominiously hung on gallows which had been prepared for them. In the mean time, Falcas wandered about at night, and by a thousand windings and artifices endeavoured to escape. He could not, however, escape the king's hands. He was taken prisoner by the king's guards, and they who had taken him, passing by Bedford, showed him his brother William de Breaut, exposed in the open air, with a number of other carcasses; and then he was conveyed to London, and committed to the custody of the bishop, till it should be decided what should be done with such a man. So then the blessed Paul covered under the wings of his church the captive Falcas, who lay trembling there, and who had formerly destroyed his church at Bedford, for the sake of building the castle at Bedford. But afterwards, when the day of his trial came, he was not condemned to death, because at one period, during the war, he had adhered faithfully to the king and served him; but he was made to abjure England as his country, and to depart never to return.

But his wife, because she had never approved of his tyranny, nor indeed consented to any matrimonial connection with him, and his son Thomas, also remained without any injury, free from punishment as from guilt. And Falcas him-

self went to the court of Rome, as he knew that he could by means of money easily win that over to his side, whatever his cause might be. But his designs were not permitted by God or by the saints, on whom he had inflicted so many injuries, to arrive at a happy consummation.

This Falcas was the cause of miserable ruin, that is to say, of death, poverty, and infamy to many of the nobles of England. One of whom I may name more especially, a man of illustrious nobility, John Gisford, a man of illustrious family, and great beauty of person, who fell at the siege of Bedford castle by a bolt from an arbalist, while fighting manfully for the king his lord.

The same year, master Alexander Savenesby was consecrated bishop of Chester, at Rome, by the lord pope Honorius, on Easter day. William, nephew of William de Bruere the elder, was consecrated bishop of Exeter; and Radulph de Neville was consecrated bishop of Chichester, by the lord Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, on the Sunday after Easter. This year also, a tax of two shillings on every hide of land was granted to the lord king, both by the prelates and laity throughout all England, for his great labours and expenses. In the mean time, the king caused the castle of Bedford, of which we have spoken, to be levelled with the ground.

A fifteenth is extorted from the Anglican church. Baldwin, emperor of Constantinople, is hanged by his daughter.

A.D. 1225. King Henry, at the Nativity of our Lord, held his court at Westminster, in the presence of the clergy and laity, and nobles of his kingdom. The same year, a general exaction of one-fifteenth part of all moveables and chattels was levied throughout the whole of England on all ecclesiastical persons, whether belonging to religious orders or the secular clergy. The general liberties, both of the forests and of all other liberties, were proclaimed, although they had as yet nothing stable or solid about them.

Richard, the brother of the king, having been knighted, and made earl of Cornwall, put to sea on Palm Sunday, with William, earl of Salisbury, his uncle, and Philip de Albiney, and some other nobles, and sailed for Gascony, and after a prosperous voyage landed at Bourdeaux. The same year, John, bishop of Ely, who had formerly been abbot of Fountain Abbey, died, and was succeeded by Godfrey de Bulgo, arch-

deacon of Norwich, who was consecrated at Westminster, on the day of the Apostles Peter and Paul.

The same year, Baldwin, count of Flanders, who was also emperor of Constantinople, after a pilgrimage of a year returned to Flanders, having received the homage, and fealty, and submission of many cities. But his daughter and heiress adhering to Louis, king of France, as her guardian, put in practice all kinds of intrigues for the purpose of destroying her father; and disregarding the relationship to her parent, she at last arrested him, and caused him to be hung.

About this time, too, the earl of Salisbury, who had staid some time in the territories of Gascony with Richard, earl of Cornwall, escaped with difficulty from incalculable peril at sea, and in a wonderful manner reached the land in safety. And not long afterwards, this same earl died. But his wife, the countess Ela, after the death of her husband, rejected every suitor, and chose to continue in a life of chastity, in a religious house, which she herself had built from its foundations; and after the lapse of a few years, she took on herself the gait and veil of a nun.

Ch. IX.—From A.D. 1226 to A.D. 1232.

Louis of France persecutes the Albigenses—The pope excommunicates the emperor—War between the pope and emperor—The pilgrims are allowed free access to Jerusalem—The duke of Saxony takes refuge in England—Hubert de Burgh loses the king's favour.

A.D. 1226. King Henry the Third, at the Nativity of our Lord, celebrated his feast, at Winchester; and after it was over, he went to Marlborough, where he was seized with a severe illness, so that he lay with his life quite despaired of for several days. In the meantime, the period arrived for the council which had been fixed beforehand to be held at Westminster, on the festival of Saint Hilary, where the king, with the clergy and nobles of his kingdom, were bound to appear, to hear the commands of the lord pope. Accordingly, many bishops being assembled in the before-mentioned place, with other prelates, and a large body of laymen, Master Otho, the nuncio of the lord pope, recited the letters openly, in the presence of all; in which the pope spake of the scandal and most inveterate disgrace of the holy Roman church, to wit, the

brand of covetousness, which is called the root of all evils, and which is most especially shown in this—that no one can transact any business in the Roman court, except at the expense of vast sums of money, and large presents. But since the poverty of the Romans is the cause of this scandal and infamy, her natural children ought to relieve the wants of their mother, "because," said the letters, "unless we were to receive presents from you, and from other good and honourable men, we should be in want of the very necessaries of life, which would be a circumstance altogether unsuited to the Roman dignity. Accordingly, with a view to the complete eradication of this scandal, we, by the advice of our brethren, the cardinals of the holy Roman church, have provided a certain form, to which, if ye will agree, ye will be able to deliver your mother from scandal, and to obtain justice in the Roman court without a display of presents. And the form which we have provided is this: In the first place, we demand that two prebends be given to us from each cathedral church, one from the portion of the bishop, the other from that of the chapter, and in like manner, in the case of convents, where the abbot and the brotherhood have two distinct shares, we require as much as belongs to one monk, after an equal apportionment of the property of the brethren has been made from the convent, and an equal share from the abbot."

These propositions then having been made in this manner, Master Otho, on the part of the lord pope, tried to persuade the prelates to consent to them, dwelling much on the aforesaid inconveniences, which are mentioned in that letter. But the bishops and prelates of the churches hearing these things, retired aside to confer together, and after they had deliberated for some time on these proposals, they agreed to deliver their answer by the mouth of Master John, archdeacon of Bedford, as their spokesman, who accordingly came into the presence of Master Otho, and replied in these words:—

"My lord! the things which you propose do especially affect the king of England, and generally, too, they affect all the patrons of churches throughout the kingdom, archbishops and their suffragans, and a countless number of prelates of England. As, therefore, the king is absent through sickness, and as the archbishops, some of the bishops, and other prelates of churches, are absent, we have no power and no right to reply to you in their absence." And after this had

been said, John Marischal, and other messengers of the king, who held baronies in chief of the king, arrived, bearing a positive order that no one should bind any lay-fee of his to the Roman church, by which measure the king might be deprived of the service which was his due; and thus they all returned home again. About the same time, William Longsword, earl of Salisbury, having been tossed about by a tempest and the waves of the sea, took to his bed with severe sickness. But the bishop coming in, who had been summoned for the purpose of receiving his confession, entered, bearing the body of our Lord, to give it as a viaticum to the earl, at his entreaty; and the earl, weeping, and lamenting, and heaving sobs from the bottom of his heart, and being entirely naked except his drawers, leaped out of bed, having a halter round his neck, and threw himself on his face on the floor before him who came bringing the body of Christ, and testifying against himself as a traitor to his Creator, moved all the bystanders to sobs and tears, and would not rise nor move from the place till he had made full confession of all his sins, and with an ever-flowing stream of tears had received the communion of the life-giving sacrament. And persevering thus for some days, in the bitterness of his repentance, he a short time afterwards happily breathed forth his contrite spirit. But it happened that when his corpse was being carried out about a mile to burial, from the castle to the new church, the wax tapers, which, according to custom, were lighted, and borne with the cross, though there was a heavy fall of rain, and violent gusts of wind, could not be extinguished; so that, as it happened likewise in the case of the blessed Hugo, bishop of Lincoln, and confessor, they plainly showed that the earl, who had repented so bitterly of his sins, had his place among the sons of light. This year also a master from Rome was sent from the lord pope to the country of Gaul, to fill the office of legate in that country, and when he arrived there, he immediately demanded that the same honours should be conceded by the French to him that the legate Otho received from the English; but his demands were denied to his face: that, however, he might not appear to have been wholly unsuccessful, he caused a general preaching to be delivered throughout the whole district over which his power as legate extended, on the subject of taking up the cross against the count of Toulouse. But Louis, king of the French, having obtained a papal prohibi-

tion addressed to the king of England, to forbid his invading his territories in a hostile manner while he was absent, and fighting in the cause of God, embarked in a crusade against the Albigenses. And having collected a very numerous army, because all those who had assumed the cross joined him, and were compelled to follow his expedition, he behaved in a very arrogant manner. And while he besieged and blockaded the city of Avignon all round, he stormed it by a stratagem devised by himself, and made himself master of it. But the success of his stratagem was not long-lived; for by the management of the earl of Champagne, who, as evil fame reports, was a paramour of queen Blanche, king Louis died of poison.

About the same time, Falcas, owing to the intrigues of the Roman court, which had been bribed by gifts and promises, to expedite his business for him, which he had managed chiefly by the agency of his clerk, Robert Passelewe, an Englishman by birth, as he was returning towards England with the object of a second time disturbing the king and kingdom, was poisoned, and so suddenly ended his wicked life at Saint Cyriac. The same year also, Richard de Marais, a man in manners and example resembling king John, who had made him bishop of Durham, died at Burgh, on the first of May, after he had distressed the monks by innumerable tyrannies, leaving his church encumbered with debts amounting to nearly forty thousand marks. He was succeeded by Richard of Salisbury, a postulate, who at that time was successively elected to the government of three cathedral churches. The same year, the following bishops died; Benedict of Rochester, and Pandulph of Norwich. Pandulph was succeeded by Thomas de Blondville, a clerk of the king's exchequer, through the effectual interposition of Hubert, the justiciary; and he received consecration from Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, on the Sunday next before the consecration of the Lord.

The charters of liberties are cancelled after the collection of the fifteenth—Pope Honorius the Third dies, and is succeeded by Gregory the Ninth—Earl Richard returns from the parts of Gascony.

A.D. 1227. King Henry the Third celebrated the feast of the Nativity of the Lord, at Reading. And at the same Christmas season, that there might not seem to be anything delightful in the world without some admixture of pain, William, earl

of Essex died, to the grief and lamentation of all men, a youth of the greatest liberality and munificence in making presents. After this event, the king, who was by this time behaving tyrannically, came to London, where he attacked the citizens with a cruel calumny, saying, that they, to his great injury, had given to Louis, king of France, who was now dead, (and whom they had for a long time cherished in their bosoms, as it were, as an enemy to him), five thousand marks of silver at his departure. On which account the same citizens were compelled, by the advice of evil councillors, to pay the king the same sum of money, which was not done without the sighs and curses of many men. And he took from them likewise the fifteenth part of all their moveables and of all their substance, which had been formerly granted to him throughout all England. And from the burgesses of Northampton he took twelve hundred pounds as an aid, besides the fifteenth which all men universally paid throughout the whole kingdom of England, without any profit or increase of the kingdom following. Likewise all men of the religious orders, and all beneficed clerks were compelled to give the fifteenth of all their goods, both of ecclesiastical and lay property; nor did the appeal to the lord pope, which was interposed, do them any good, because it was suggested to the pope, on the king's part, that that collection was made for the restoration of the kingdom of England, which care appeared now to belong particularly to him; and so he, who it had been hoped would have turned out a shepherd and a father, became an ally of the wolves against his own natural flock. Ela, countess of Salisbury, the widow of William Longsword, transferred the Carthusian monks, who had been placed by her husband at Heythrop, to Hinton, in the diocese of Bath.

The same year, when the king was now easy on the subject of the fifteenth that was paid or was to be paid, having convened a council at Oxford, in the month of February, he gave notice before them all that he was now of legal age, so that being for the future released from guardianship, he should himself take the chief part in regulating his royal affairs; and so he, who at first had as a governor and guardian, William Marischal, as long as he lived, and after his death, Peter, bishop of Winchester, now shook off the counsels of Hubert de Burgh, the justiciary of the kingdom, and discarded the advice and the authority of the bishops and of his friends, who

had been, as it were, pedagogues to the king, to such a degree, that he removed them all from his court. And in the same melancholy line of conduct, the king also, despising his various oaths, and having violated every treaty, caused all the charters of all the provinces of the kingdom of England, on the subject of the liberties of the forest, to be cancelled and annulled, after they had been in use throughout the whole realm for two years, alleging the following as his reason for such a proceeding; that all these charters and liberties had been granted generally, and signed on written deeds, while he himself was only a child and under guardianship, and while he had no power of his own person or over his seal, on which account that which had been established without reason ought to be void of effect. On this a great murmuring arose in the council, and most bitter indignation, that the counsel of malignant advisers and the childish levity of a prince should at one breath blow away and dissipate a regulation of such importance, on the procuring the ratification of which so much diligence was expended, so much blood shed, and so much money lavished; and yet there was no one who was able to resist with effect, because the party of the wrong-doers was the strongest. All men, however, suspected that the justiciary was the author of this confusion; for from that time forth he was united to the king in such close intimacy, that he thought none of the councillors of the kingdom, except him, of any account whatever.

At this time, too, notice was given to the men of religious orders and to others, who wished to enjoy their liberties, to procure the charters to be sealed anew with the king's seal, knowing that the king considered the ancient charters to be of no account. And for the renewal of these charters they were compelled to pay, not according to the faculty granted by the seals, according to custom, but whatever the justiciary chose to levy.

The same year, pope Honorius the Third died, and was succeeded by Gregory the Ninth, bishop of Ostia, on the eighteenth of March. Gregory, the same year, established the order of the Minors, and drew up, and gave them a certain code of regulations, as brother Francis, the original founder and principal of the order, died the same year. And when he was despised by men, it is said that a great crowd of birds flocked to his preaching. And after he had breathed forth

his blessed soul, there were found on his body, that is on his side, and hands and feet, five fresh wounds, resembling those of the Crucified One.

The same year, in the month of May, Richard, the brother of king Henry, came to England, on his return from Gascony. About the same time, Henry de Sandford, archdeacon of Canterbury, was elected to the bishopric of Rochester, and received consecration from Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury. In this year also, on the fifth of February, Hubert, justiciary of England, was girded by the king with the sword of the county of Kent. Also, in those days, a great expedition of pilgrims towards the Holy Land took place, and the affairs of the cross prospered, and would have come to a fortunate termination, if the lord emperor, who had embarked on board his ships for the purpose of crossing the sea, had not, after he had been at sea only four days, been compelled to return on account of sickness. This year likewise, a quarrel arose between Alexander, bishop of Chester, and his canons at Lichfield on the one side, and the prior and convent of Coventry on the other, with respect to the forms of election and certain other articles, which were very injurious to both parties.

The contention between the monks of Coventry and the canons of Lichfield about the election of a bishop is terminated.

A.D. 1228. Henry, king of England, celebrated the feast of the Nativity of the Lord with great solemnity at York; and departing from that city, he hastened directly to London. On which journey he convicted some measures of corn, wine, and beer, as being false, and ordered them to be burnt. This year also, the election of Master William Scot, bishop elect of Durham, was annulled, because the king desired it. And Richard, bishop of Salisbury, was translated to that bishopric at his request. And after his translation, just on the confines of the past and the ensuing year, that is to say, just about the feast of the Advent of the Lord, and between that and Christmas, the canons of Salisbury, discussing their election, formally elected Master Robert de Bingham, a canon of that same church, to be their bishop. This year also, the contention between the monks of Coventry and the canons of Lichfield, on the subject of the election of a bishop, was terminated at Rome, by a definitive sentence, on the terms that, for the future, the two parties should elect the bishop alternately, observing this rule,

however, that the prior of Coventry should always have the first voice in the election. By which sentence the monks appear to have lost a good deal of their rights, inasmuch as they had previously always elected the pontiffs without any consent on the part of the canons. The same year, the lord emperor of Constantinople paid the debt of human nature, leaving as his heir a little son, not equal to sustaining the imperial dignity. About that time, the pope fulminated a sentence of excommunication against the lord emperor, on account of his delays and excuses for not crossing the sea, as he had sworn to do; and he caused the sentence to be published in different countries; in consequence of which attack, the emperor excited a powerful insurrection against the pope. The king of France sent a military expedition of no inconsiderable strength against the count of Toulouse. This year also, Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, who had removed the relics of the blessed Thomas the Martyr, and placed them with great magnificence in a golden chest, and had appointed that the festival of the same martyr should be solemnly observed, departed from his state of banishment in this world to enjoy the well-deserved fellowship of his predecessor, the blessed Thomas, on the sixth of July, and was buried at Canterbury, on the ninth day of the same month.

This year, the Welch burst out and did no small damage to the dwellers on their frontier, but were defeated by the king, with the justiciary Hubert, who collected a numerous army, and, though with some difficulty, established a castle on the borders. But the Welch plotted against it, and having obtained a favourable opportunity, took it, and levelled it to the ground; from which event they called that castle Hubert's Folly.

In the course of this year, the lord Frederic, the emperor, entered the Mediterranean sea, in order to discharge to the Lord his vow of pilgrimage, and, on the vigil of the Nativity of the blessed Mary, he landed at Acre, when the clergy of the land and the people came forth to meet him, and received him with great honour, as a man of his rank was entitled to be received. Many, however, looked upon him with suspicion, by reason of the severe sentence which had been fulminated against him. Then the emperor addressed a bitter complaint to the whole army, that the pope had unjustly pronounced a sentence against him, because severe illness had compelled him to return. But the soldan of Babylon, when he heard of his

arrival, sent him some most valuable presents. And when the lord emperor had landed at Acre, he found there the principal armies of the Christian population, the duke de Lanburg, the patriarch of Jerusalem, the archbishops of Nazareth and Cæsarea, and the English bishops of Winchester and Exeter; also the master of the Hospital, and of the Teutonic order, who had under their command eight hundred foreign knights, and about ten thousand men-at-arms.

This year, a bishop from Armenia Major came to England, by way of pilgrimage, for the purpose of praying at the holy places in England, and he brought with him letters of testimonial from the lord the pope, recommendatory of his person, and of the object of his journey. And when, for the sake of prayer, he had arrived at the tomb of Saint Alban, the protomartyr of the English, among other marvellous things which he, by an interpreter, related to those who questioned him, he said that a man who saw Christ in the flesh is still alive, because Christ, when he was being led to the death of the cross, had said to him, "I choose you to tarry till I come a second time." On which account it is supposed that he will live till the Lord comes to the great judgment; and while he was speaking, being questioned about the conception of the blessed Virgin, as to whether the oriental church solemnized that festival or not, he replied, that the church of Armenia recognised the festivals of three conceptions at least, namely, the conception of Christ, which is singularly privileged, because it was consummated by the Holy Spirit without any stain being contracted by her who conceived; also, the conception of the blessed Mary the Virgin, and the conception of the blessed John the Baptist, because of the angelic intervention which occurred respecting it. Nevertheless, in the oriental church, the two last festivals are not celebrated with the same solemnity as the first.

In the course of this same year, Eustace, bishop of London, died, in whose place the canons elected Roger, surnamed the Black. About the same time, Godfrey, bishop of Ely, died, and was succeeded by Hugh, the abbot of Saint Edmund's, who was canonically elected.

The pope endeavours to supplant the emperor Frederic, who therefore returns to his country.

A.D. 1229. King Henry the Third, at the festival of the

Nativity of our Lord, held his court at Oxford, where the bishop of Bordeaux came to him, having been sent by the nobles of Gascony, Aquitaine, and Poitou. There also came to him formal messengers from Normandy, who all united in the common suggestion that the lord the king should come without fear to those lands beyond the sea, as he might be assured that the nobles of these provinces would stand by him unchangeably, for his recovery of all his rights which he had lost there. But when Hubert, the justiciary, heard this, he postponed the matter to a future time, till a more favourable opportunity should arise. And the messengers receiving no other reply, returned to their own country like men deceived. About the same time, pope Gregory, being indignant that the emperor Frederic, as if to show that he was in no fear of his sentence, undertook the direction of the affairs of the church in the Holy Land, and having no hope that he would return to the unity of the church, determined to depose him, and to appoint some one else to the imperial dignity in his stead. Accordingly he did appoint John de Bresne, the general of the papal army, and bestowed on him abundantly all the assistance that the Roman church could bestow in the way of treasures and arms, and indulgences from sins, and admonitions to prelates. And when the emperor was informed of this, he quickly and prudently made peace with the soldan, that that bad news might not reach his ears first, and made a lasting truce and peace with him, to the honour and advantage of the church; and having accepted the crown of the kingdom of Jerusalem, he prepared ships to return to his own country; and bidding farewell to the Holy Land, he went, for the sake of offering up his prayers with all humility, unarmed, and with a small retinue, to the fords of Jordan, where, through the good offices of the soldan of Babylon, he escaped from some snares prepared against him by some of his household, whom he thought his friends, on which account he always afterwards hated the Templars as suspected persons, and considered the soldan as his best friend, acknowledging fidelity in the infidels, and detesting the unfaithfulness of the faithful; and so he embarked on board ship, and after a fair voyage landed in his own country, where he was received with joy, and in a short time by his imperial authority he boldly restored to his faithful adherents all the territories which had been taken from them, wreaking condign vengeance on the invaders.

About the same time, Stephen, the chaplain of the lord the pope, for the purpose of replenishing the exhausted treasury of the pope, and overthrowing the aforesaid emperor Frederic, exacted, and with the sanction of the king, extorted the entire tithes of ecclesiastical things, without making any deduction for expenses, throughout all England, Ireland, and Wales; owing to which proceeding, England, being thus stripped in many ways of its property, began in a miserable manner to feel the pressure of want, and was unable to recover itself. The same year, Master Robert de Bingham, bishop elect of Salisbury, received consecration at Shaftesbury. He pursued the building of his new church with no small energy, and brought it to a successful termination. This year, also, as the king and prior, and convent of Canterbury were at variance with respect to the election of successor to the archbishopric, the election of Walter, a monk of Canterbury, having been set aside by the management of Alexander de Stanesby, bishop of Chester, and Master Henry de Sanford, bishop of Rochester, and Master John de Hotoft, archdeacon of Bedford, Master Richard, surnamed the Great, the chancellor of Lincoln, was elected archbishop at the court of Rome, and was consecrated in his own church. And there were consecrated with him at the same time, by the bishop of Rochester, Master Roger, bishop elect of London, and Master Hugh, bishop elect of Ely, on the tenth of June. The same year, Martin de Pateshull, dean of Saint Paul's, in London, died, on the fifteenth of December, a man of wonderful prudence, and very thoroughly acquainted with the laws of the kingdom. At this time there landed in England Henry Mauclerc, count of Brittany, a man of incalculable cunning, in order to conduct the king of England in safety to the countries beyond the sea. But this measure was still delayed till the calm weather of spring should arrive. The same year, Richard, the archbishop, received the pall, which had been transmitted to him by the lord the pope.

The emperor is absolved. King Henry goes to Brittany. The duke of Saxony comes to England.

A.D. 1230. King Henry, at the feast of the Nativity of the Lord, held his court at York, with the king of Scotland, whom he had invited to that festival, in the presence of the archbishop of that city, and several of the nobles of the land. It happened the same year, namely, on the day of the con-

version of Saint Paul, in the church of Saint Paul of London, that when the bishop of that city was standing in that cathedral, clothed in his robes, before the greater altar, for the purpose of the solemn celebration of the mass, according to custom, in the presence of a large body of laity there assembled, on a sudden a dense body of clouds collected in the sky, and a wonderful darkening of the sun took place, so that each individual could scarcely distinctly recognise his companion. And immediately there was a terrible rattling of thunder and a blaze of lightning, that the whole church tower and all appeared to be thrown down, and an intolerable stench arose. And when this happened, the clergy and laity went out in a body in great haste, the bishop alone, with one deacon, remaining by the altar.

The same year, the city of Jerusalem was restored to the emperor Frederic, and to the Christian population, with the crown of the kingdom of Jerusalem; and the emperor was crowned in that city. And of the manner and time of his coronation, he, with a view to give them pleasure, certified the king of England and the other princes by elegant letters, sealed with seals of gold, which contained the statement of which I will here give the heads:—

"The soldan of Babylon, as had been before settled, has restored the city of Jerusalem to the Christian population and form of worship; and the whole country is free in every direction, so that free access to the holy places is open to the Christian pilgrims. Moreover, the city of Bethlehem is restored, and likewise all the territory which lies between Jerusalem and that city. Also the city of Nazareth, and all the territory which lies between Acre and that city, and the whole district of Tyre, which is very fruitful, and very desirable for the Christians. So too is the city of Sidon, which is commonly called Sacra, with the whole of its plain, and all its belongings, which was of great use to the Saracens especially, as it has a desirable harbour, and as the adjacent land is very fertile, and as arms and provisions, and many necessaries used to be conveyed from thence to the city of Damascus, and from Damascus to Babylon. And although we are permitted to rebuild the city of Jerusalem better than it was ever built before, according to the agreement, and also the castle of Joppa, the castle of Cæsarea, the castle of Sidon, and the castle of Saint Mary, belonging to the Teutonic order, which

the brethren of that house have begun to build in the mountain land of Acre, a permission which has never before been granted to the Christians at the time of any truce whatever. Nevertheless the soldan is bound not to restore or build any buildings or castles before the end of this truce for ten years, which is now made between us and him for that period. And accordingly, on the Lord's day, which was the eighteenth day of February lately past, we, to the glory of Christ, who, as on that day, rose again from the dead, did on both sides establish this agreement by our mutual oaths, and we ourselves wore one crown in Jerusalem. And thus the day-spring from on high hath visited us. But because this world is always wont to mingle bitter things with sweet ones, when we returned and arrived in our empire, having with difficulty effected an entrance into our own country, we crushed our enemies, whom the pope the father had exalted to our injury, and we, though with difficulty, quelled a sedition which sprang up, and if this matter had not called us back in such great haste, the constitution of the church of God would have been wonderfully exalted and firmly established by the grace of God."

When this letter reached the different princes, and was afterwards published among the people, they glorified God, who does not permit those who serve him to be hindered or confounded. The same year, during the season of Lent, the lord the emperor, having put an end to all disorders in the empire, spared neither his own enemies, nor the kinsmen of the pope, whom he found rebelling against his authority. And when John de Bresne saw this, fearing to fall into the hands of the emperor, he fled into the countries on this side of the Alps, nor could the entreaties of the pope recall him. Therefore, by the interposition of dignified friends, the quarrel between the chief shepherd and the chief sovereign, which had been very injurious to the church, was appeased.

About the same time, William de Brause, a noble and powerful man, was secretly murdered without trial by Leoline, prince of North Wales. And the same year, on the requisition of the king, the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and priors throughout all England, gave the king no small sum of money, that by means of it he might recover those rights in foreign countries of which his father had been deprived. Alas! that exaction of money, and that of the pope affecting the tithes

of the church, met with a similar fate. And for the sake of the same object, the citizens of London were compelled to submit to a very heavy impost. The Jews also, in all haste, paid the king one-third part of all their property. In the course of the same year, the king, having collected a large army, embarked on board ship on the last day of April, and landed in Brittany, at Saint Maloes, on the third of May. The same year, an eclipse of the sun took place early in the morning, which was very unusual. About this time, the nobles of France, who were previously at variance with one another, were reconciled. And when they had assembled with horses and arms, all those persons who owed the king military service came with him into Brittany, in order to check the invasion of the king of England, who was delaying a long time in the city of Angus with the count of Brittany, and many other Britons, who had sworn fealty to him. About the same time, Raymond de Burgh was drowned in the river Loire. About the same time, the duke of Saxony, a most accomplished knight, whom the lord the pope was proposing to raise to the imperial dignity, fled before the face of the emperor Frederic, who pursued him, and came to London, where he awaited the return of king Henry from Brittany. At this time also, Fulk Paganel and William his brother, two men of noble birth in Normandy, with some others, whom they brought with them, came to the king of England in Brittany, having left their castles and all their territories, and became adherents of his as long as he remained in Brittany.

About the same time, the lord emperor came to Rome, and when he had exhausted all his treasury in gifts to the lord pope, he was solemnly absolved, and the same day they both feasted in the same palace with joy and cheerfulness. In these days also, the king of England, after he had lain a long time in Brittany, and had wasted his days in idleness, and had squandered an incalculable amount of money, many of his nobles having died, and many being wasted by famine and weakness, and reduced to the extremity of want, returned ingloriously to England; among these nobles, Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, died. There still, however, remained behind the king in Brittany, Ranulph, earl of Chester, William Marischal, William, earl of Albemarle, with several other knights, till they had entirely exhausted their treasures.

This year also, an eclipse of the moon took place, scarcely any of its brilliancy remaining.

A quarrel arises between the king and Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, about Tunbridge Castle. Richard dies.

A.D. 1231. Henry, king of England, at the Nativity of the Lord, held his court at Lambeth; Hubert, justiciary of England, supplying him with all necessary things, and treating him with great courtesy. About the same time, a quarrel arose between the king and Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, about Tunbridge castle, and some other lands, with the town also of Tunbridge, and all its belongings, which were said to appertain to the church of Canterbury.

The same year, in the month of April, Richard, the king's brother, espoused Isabella, countess of Gloucester, widow of Gilbert de Clare, who was lately dead, and sister of William Marischal, earl of Pembroke; and the nuptials were hardly completed before the same earl William died, and was buried in London, in the church of the New Temple, near his father, on the fifteenth of April. About that time a truce was established between the king of France and the king of England, and when it was settled, then the earl of Chester and the others whom the king of England had sent into Brittany, returned to England. But in the month of July, Peter, bishop of Winchester, having nobly discharged for a space of nearly five years his vow of pilgrimage in the Holy Land, returned into England on the first of August, and coming to Winchester, was received with a solemn procession in his cathedral church.

That same year, archbishop Richard went to Rome, on the matter which I have already mentioned, and having arranged the affair according to his wish, returned, and died at Saint Gemma, in the house of the Minor brothers, three days' journey on this side of Rome; and when he died, the dispute in which he had been concerned and had succeeded died too.

At this time the king proposed to marry the sister of the king of Scotland, to the great indignation of all his earls and barons. For it was not becoming, as they said, for the king to marry the younger daughter, when Hubert, the justiciary, had the elder daughter for his wife. But as the king was against his will thwarted in this matter by means of the count of Brittany, who was the king's guardian at the time, he gave the said earl, who made him many promises, but performed

none of them, five thousand marks of silver, which was nearly all that he had left after his past losses.

Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, being dead, the monks of Canterbury determined with one accord to demand as his successor, Radulph de Neville, bishop of Chichester, and chancellor of the king, because he was very faithful to both king and kingdom, and an unshaken pillar of the truth. But after this demand of theirs was intimated and made known to the lord pope, he having made a diligent inquiry of master Simon de Langton into the character of the man, fearing the zeal of that faithful man, lest he should hereafter endeavour to deliver the kingdom of England, which he loved with a sincere heart, from the yoke of tribute under which it was bound, made them answer that he was a man hasty in word and presumptuous, and not such as to be worthy of such pre-eminence. And that the monks might be the more willing to abandon their proposal, he hardly granted them permission to elect or demand any other archbishop they chose.

About the same time, some persons whom the intolerable yoke of the Romans oppressed above measure, having by some means or other obtained letters from the king, carried off the corn belonging to the Romans, and took in a hostile manner a Roman of the name of Cintius, a canon of the church of Saint Paul's, in London, and after a few days, they allowed him to depart, after having stripped him of everything. But when this conduct came to the knowledge of the king, by the pope's making a complaint of it, he attributed the whole of the guilt to Hubert, the justiciary; and from that time forth, as if some one of the Romans had been his brother, he persecuted most mercilessly Hubert, the justiciary, who had often powerfully assisted the king himself in many of his troubles about obtaining the kingdom, as the following history will deduce to those who are inclined to read it.

Master John Blund is elected archbishop of Canterbury, the election of the former John having been annulled. Hubert de Burgh is exposed to great persecution.

A.D. 1232. Henry the Third, king of England, at the festival of the Nativity of our Lord, was at Winchester, and Peter, the bishop of that city, provided both the king and his train with all things necessary, and gave them garments suited to

the festival, and other presents. About the same time, because of the exceeding expense which he had been at in Brittany, the king demanded some money, as an aid, both from the knights and prelates. About the same time, John, the prior of the church of Canterbury, was elected to the archbishopric of Canterbury, by the monks of that church; and when he had been presented to the king, and accepted by him, he set out for Rome, in order to obtain from the Apostolic See a confirmation of his election, which had been regularly decided. About the same time, when Henry, bishop of Rochester, had been conferring holy orders on some candidates on the sabbath, when the anthem, "Come ye that thirst, to the waters," is chaunted, at Sittingbourne, in the presence of the archbishop elect of Canterbury, who was on the point of crossing the Alps, and with all the clergy and laity standing by, he addressed a sermon to them, protesting confidently, and saying, "Rejoice all ye brethren in the Lord, knowing that beyond a doubt, that in one and the same day, both Richard, formerly king of England, and Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, have been released from purgatory, with a chaplain too, of the archbishop, being about to depart and appear before the face of the Divine Majesty, and on that day they were the only three who were released from the penal places. And you may give the most ample and unhesitating belief to my words, because this has been now for the third time revealed in a vision to me and to no other person; and that so distinctly, that every doubt and uncertainty is wholly removed from my mind."

The same year, John, the prior of Canterbury, who had been elected archbishop, came to Rome, to procure from the lord pope the confirmation of his election. But because the pope saw that he was very old, and simple, and not at all calculated for such a dignity, he persuaded him to yield to the spirit of meekness, because he thought that he was a holy and thoroughly religious man: and he cheerfully, and in the spirit of humility, renounced the election which had been made. Then the pope gave leave to those monks, whom he thought not entirely discreet, to elect some one else, such an one as they might be able to give a share of their burden to, and to whom they might commit the care of his flock with assurance of his competency. About that time, Leoline, prince of Wales, invaded the territories of the barons of England, and began,

according to his custom, to occupy himself in burning and plundering. But the king having made a careful estimate of how much money was contained in the royal treasury, found that there was much less deposited there than he had supposed. Therefore, he required a strict account from his ministers, and deposed Ranulph, surnamed the Breton, the treasurer of his chamber, from his office, and, throwing him into prison, compelled him to purchase his release at a high price. And in all these matters he relied on the advice of the bishop of Winchester, and very angrily removed from his office Hubert de Burgh, justiciary of the kingdom, although he had a charter of the king to guarantee him the perpetual enjoyment of his dignity; and the king appointed in his stead Stephen de Seagrave, on the twenty-ninth of July. And he demanded an account of his treasures, and he levied against Hubert the most enormous accusations, charging him even with *lése majesté;* and, as the king now attacked him, many others rose up against him, and accused him of many things, among whom the citizens of London, impeaching him, as it were, of wickedness, in the matter of the hanging of Constantine, their fellow citizen, required his blood at his hands, with great earnestness demanding that justice should be done them for so great an injury. But when Hubert heard of all this, he fled to the church of Merton, and concealed himself there among the canons.

The same year, in the course of the autumn, Master John Blund, a student at Oxford, and a reader in theology, was elected to the archbishopric of Canterbury, and having been received as such by the king, he went with some monks of Canterbury to Rome, to procure the confirmation of his election from the Apostolic See. About the same time, the king, because of the debts for which he was still bound to the count of Brittany, and which had been contracted in consequence of his interfering in the affairs of Brittany, procured the grant of the fortieth part of all their moveables from the bishops, abbots, priors, secular clergy, and laity, to be extorted in the condition in which they then were at the time of harvest which was then at hand, about the day of the feast of Saint Michael; and he did this by the advice of Stephen de Seagrave. About the same time, Hubert, knowing the violence of the king's anger, would not venture to appear in his presence on the day which had been appointed him. Then the king, being angry,

signified to the mayor of London, when the hour of evening was just at hand, that the moment that he received the king's letters, he should take to himself all the citizens of the city who were capable of bearing arms, and go to Merton and drag out Hubert de Burgh from that church, dead or alive, and bring him before him. But the mayor having sounded the common call, marched thither in armour with the people of the city, intending to obey the king's command. And when Hubert heard this, he prostrated himself in prayer before the great altar, and commended his body and soul to God. And while the armed citizens were rushing there in a body, it was suggested to the king, that if he violated the peace of the church for the purpose of oppressing Hubert, who had been formerly his tutor, and who was known as a faithful subject to nearly all the countries on this side of the Alps; "Then," said his adviser, "nearly all men, and especially the nations of France, will rise up against you with reproaches and accusations, and perhaps, in conjunction with the avenging church itself, will wage war against you." And when he had heard and thoroughly comprehended this, he promptly recalled the furious citizens before any sedition actually broke out.

After these events, Luke, the archbishop of Dublin, who had a grateful recollection of the benefits which Hubert had conferred on him, comforted him in the Lord, and, with many entreaties, prevailed on the king to grant Hubert a truce, that he might have time to deliberate how he might make a good answer to the accusations brought against him; and with some difficulty he obtained leave for him to have time given him till the week after the Epiphany. Then Hubert, being informed of these circumstances by letters of the king, took his way to Saint Edmund's Bury, where his wife, Margaret, was staying, to seek consolation in his tribulation at the tomb of that glorious king and martyr; and passing through Essex, he stopped at a town which belonged to the bishop of Norwich. And when this was told to the king, he became violently angry, fearing that if Hubert departed in this way he might cause confusion in his kingdom, on which account he repented of what he had done, and sent after him a knight named Godfrey de Granecumbe, with three hundred armed men, commanding them, on pain of being hanged, to take him prisoner, and bring him back, and to place him in confinement in the Tower of London. But they went with all speed, and found Hubert

in a certain chapel close to the house in which he was dwelling, holding the cross in one hand and the body of the Lord in the other; for he had been forewarned of the arrival of those who had been seeking his life, and, accordingly, rising from his bed on which he was asleep, he took refuge in the chapel. But Godfrey, with his armed companions, having entered the chapel, ordered him, speaking for the king himself, to quit the chapel and come to London, to confer with the king. But Hubert replied that he was too much afraid of the anger of the king, and that, therefore, he could by no means venture to quit the sanctuary. But Godfrey and his accomplices tore the cross and the body of Christ from his hands, and binding him with chains, led him to London, and threw him in his chains into the Tower. But when the bishop of London heard this, he complained bitterly to the king of such a scandalous violation of the church, and by his boldness and firmness he prevailed to have Hubert conducted back to the chapel in which he had been arrested. Therefore, the king caused the chapel to be surrounded, strictly commanding the viscounts of Hereford and Essex, with a sufficient force of guards, on pain of being hanged, to take care that he did not escape by any contrivance, and to watch diligently to prevent his receiving any food. Hubert, therefore, seeing that he was threatened with a most shameful death, of his own accord quitted the chapel and surrendered himself to the viscounts, who were watching him; for he said that he would rather make trial of the king's mercy than waste away by detestable famine.

About the same time, the king levied throughout all England a tax of one fortieth of all the apparent moveables as they existed on the day after the feast of Saint Matthew, in the sixteenth year of his reign; employing in this levy his royal guards, Peter de Taney, William de Coleworthe, and Adam Fitzwilliam. About the same time, Ranulf, earl of Chester and Lincoln, died, at Wallingford, on the twenty-eighth of October. And when the news of his death reached Hubert de Burgh, and when he was told that one of his greatest enemies was dead, he sighed and groaned deeply, and said, "May God be merciful to his soul." And then, asking for a psaltery, he stood before the cross, and though fasting, he, without once pausing, played a psalm entirely through, for the soul of the aforesaid earl. About the same time, too, the

king, hearing that Hubert had deposited a great portion of his wealth in the New Temple, under the custody of the Templars, seized upon it all, saying that it all, and more too, had been dishonestly and stealthily taken from his treasury.

This year, also, pope Gregory appointed visitors to the religious brotherhoods established throughout the world. The same year, Roger, bishop of London, being accused with others of withholding the revenues which belonged to the Romans, or, at all events, of conniving at their being withheld, went to the Apostolic See for the purpose of clearing himself, and establishing his innocence. But after great exertion, and having been plundered, and having his coffers exhausted at the court while labouring to effect his object, he at last returned home, after great suffering, quite unsuccessful. And not long afterwards, being indignant that those usurious Christians whom he call Caersins,[1] should dwell in his city, and should exercise their usurious trade, palliating it under various names, he endeavoured to drive them from his diocese. But as they resisted, being supported by the patronage of the Roman court, after many annoyances which they inflicted on him, they compelled him to keep silence. The same year, Ela, countess of Salisbury, founded a convent of nuns at Laycock.

Ch. X.—From A.D. 1233 to A.D. 1239.

Disputes between the king and some of the bishops—Discontent of some of the nobles—Death of the earl of Pembroke in Ireland—The pope Gregory preaches a new crusade—Henry marries Eleanor of Provence—He summons a council of his nobles—They grant him money—Cordova is recovered from the Saracens—Quarrels between the scholars of Oxford and Rome—Baldwin, emperor of Constantinople, comes to England—Death of Edward the Third—The emperor Frederic is excommunicated.

The king demands an account from Peter, bishop of Winchester. Also from Stephen de Segrave, and from Robert Passelewe.

A.D. 1233. Henry the Third, king of England, held his court at Christmas, at Worcester, when, by the advice of Peter,

[1] This name appears derived from Caours, a town in Piedmont, the inhabitants of which, like the Lombards, in general were great money dealers in the middle ages.

bishop of Winchester, he removed all the natural servants of his court from their offices, and appointed Poictevins and foreigners to their places instead. He expelled, in a most contemptuous manner, William de Rodune, a knight, who held the office of the great mareschal in the king's court, at which Richard, the mareschal, was very indignant. Also the same king Henry, in compliance with the dictates of that same councillor, removed Walter, surnamed Mauclerk, bishop of Carlisle, from the office of treasurer, and exacted a hundred pounds of him, and also by force deprived him of certain wardships which he had granted to him, and confirmed him in by charter. And he cast off all his councillors, both bishops and earls, and barons, and the nobles of his kingdom, with such precipitation, that he trusted no one, except the bishop who has been already mentioned, as if he worshipped him as a god; and with the exception also of his dear friend, Peter de Rivallis. Owing to which it happened that, having expelled the keepers of the castles throughout nearly all England, the king committed them all to the custody of the same Peter. Afterwards, this Peter, bishop of Winchester, united himself in fellowship with Stephen de Segrave, a man very ill-affected both to the kingdom and the church, who had given evil counsel to Master Stephen, the pope's chaplain, when he was about to collect the tithe of the churches of England, not to make an end with the prelates of England, but carefully to reserve the tenth when it was entirely collected, for the pope; in consequence of which detestable counsel the church suffered incalculable injury in many ways. For owing to this, the sum that was collected reached nearly double its usual amount, and what was worse, the number and value of the churches and prebends, and all the revenues of the kingdom of England were revealed to the cupidity of the Roman court, which led it to be more and more intent upon plundering the revenues. And a regular agreement was made between these two Stephens, that, as a reward for that treachery, Stephen de Segrave should obtain an indulgence from the Apostolic See, for the use of his son, who was one of the secular clergy, and permission to enjoy freely as many benefices as he might be able to procure for him. But that dishonesty, which had been so wickedly contrived to the injury of the commonwealth, was baulked of its success. For this same clerk, the son of Stephen de Segrave, who has been

often mentioned, in a short time ended his life by the vengeance of God.

To these men there was added, Robert, surnamed Passelewe, who, in conjunction with his master, Falcas, was at Rome, contriving injury to the king and kingdom, with all his exertions, and the expenditure of no small quantity of money. He was the keeper of the king's treasury, under Peter de Rivallis, and then it came to pass that the reins of the whole kingdom were committed to men of foreign and ignoble birth, to the exclusion of all others. Therefore there rose up among the nobles of England a second Mattathias as it were, a man of noble birth, and a most gallant soldier, Earl Richard, the king's marshal, who was excited by a zeal for justice, and constantly blamed the simplicity of the foolish king. And this earl was joined by Gilbert Basset, by Wavin, and Philip his brother, and by Richard Siward. And besides the causes of discontent already mentioned, it added fuel to the flame, that, seduced by the advice of the foreigners, and also of some of the native English who have been mentioned, and who by their blandishments and flatteries increased his folly, the king unjustly, and without form of trial, deprived the aforesaid Gilbert Basset of the manor of Netheraven, in the county of Wiltshire, and, having stripped him of it by force, invested Peter de Malolac, a Poictevin, with it. And as the aforesaid earl Richard thought this injury not one that touched himself alone, but a public one also, he repeatedly appealed to the king by the bishops, the clergy, the preaching brothers, the Minor brothers, and also by his peers, to deal with the aforesaid Gilbert Basset, and his other natural subjects in the kingdom in a lawful manner, according to the laws and customs of the kingdom, and not to follow the evil counsels of foreigners and malignants such as have been named. But to their prayers and admonitions the king paid not the least attention, but was rather moved to greater anger by them, and drove the aforesaid earl and all his adherents into Wales, and banished them, giving up all their estates and possessions to plunder, and confiscating all their property. And as the urgent necessity of the case compelled the aforesaid knights to consider of a remedy, they chose rather manfully to resist such injurious conduct, and to fight for their country, than to submit to an unjust and arbitrary loss of their inheritance. And although it seemed possible that they might by chance be forced to

attack even the person of the king, this they were unwilling to do, but they injured his adherents by plunder, and spoiling, and fire, and every means which they had in their power, during the whole of the summer and winter that the war lasted.

The same year, on the twenty-third of March, there was a terrible thunder-storm, which was followed by such an inundation of rain lasting the whole summer, that it everywhere broke up the preserves, and fish ponds, and mill streams, throughout nearly the whole of England, and tore up the mills from their foundations. And in the arable lands, and fertile orchards, and other places, which were quite unusual, springs burst forth, and streams ran in all directions, producing small fishes; the mill streams, though unused to it, becoming adapted to support them.

The same year, on the eighth of April, about the first hour of the day, four spurious suns appeared in heaven, besides the real one, marked with some circles which intersected them in a marvellous manner, in the district which lies beyond the borders of Herefordshire and Worcestershire; and this prodigy was followed by a great slaughter on the confines of Wales, in the country which lies on the borders, and by lamentable conflagrations in Ireland.

This year Warin Basset died at the siege and in the assault of Cardiff Castle. About the same time, the election of Master John Blund was annulled at Rome, for the bishop of Winchester had written on his behalf to the lord the emperor, begging him to condescend to assist the said John, and to procure that he might receive his promotion without any of the hindrances to which others who had been elected to the same dignity had been exposed. But the pope, who did not love the emperor with sincerity of heart, did not grant his request, but alleging a fictitious pretext for annulling his election, he made a violent objection to the said John, because he had obtained two benefices to which cure of souls was annexed without any dispensation, which, as he stated, were a sufficient reason for annulling his election, and so the friendship and request of the bishop of Winchester did him more harm than good. About the same time, Edmond of Abingdon was elected archbishop. About the same time, earl Richard, perceiving that he was destitute of allies, formed a confederacy with Leoline, and the other nobles of that country,

and the two bound themselves to one another by mutual oaths. At this time also, that is to say, on the day after the festival of the blessed Mary, many warlike men landed at Dover, coming from foreign countries, and went to Gloucester to the king. Then the king being surrounded by them, and by many other troops likewise, advanced a numerous army towards the city of Hereford. At this time also, Walter, bishop of Carlisle, having received some injuries at the king's hand, embarked on board a ship at Dover, with the purpose of crossing the sea. But some of the king's servants came up, who turned him and his companions out of the vessel, and positively forbade them, in the king's name, from quitting the kingdom without his permission.

About the same time, Roger, bishop of London, landed at Dover, on his return from the court of Rome; and he, seeing the injury that had been done to the aforesaid bishop, excommunicated all those who had laid violent hands upon him, and going from Dover to the king, he found him before the city of Hereford, with his army, and then, in the presence of the king and of some of the bishops, he repeated the sentence which he had pronounced on those who had offered this violence to the bishop of Carlisle, in spite of the king murmuring and prohibiting him from pronouncing such a sentence. But all the bishops who were present approved of the conduct of the bishop of London. About the same time, the king, by the advice of Peter, bishop of Winchester, defied the mareschal, by the mouth of the bishop of Saint David's.

At this time also, Hubert, who was detained in prison in the castle of Devizes, having been forewarned that bishop Peter had proposed to put him to death by famine, threw himself, of his own accord, from the top of the wall into the fosse, and entered the church, from which he was forcibly dragged by the keepers of the castle. But as the bishop, the diocesan of Salisbury, reclaimed him boldly, he was brought back into the church, and after a short time he was carried off from thence by the adherents of the mareschal, and properly equipped with knightly arms, and conducted into Wales, where, on the thirtieth of October, he joined the enemies of the king. About the same time, the king, one night, suffered a heavy loss, and was thrown into great confusion at Grosmund, by an unexpected sally made by the enemy. And a short time afterwards a severe battle took place in front of

Monmouth castle, where, on the side of the mareschal, the young Thomas Siward was taken prisoner, a very gallant knight; and on the king's side there were taken fifteen knights and a great number of esquires. These events took place on Saint Catharine's day. The same year, the king built a house in London, for those converts who abandoned the errors of Judaism, and, for the redemption of his own soul and that of his father, assigned them for ever a sufficient provision for the necessaries of life out of certain revenues. And again, being seized by a similar zeal for God, he built at his own expense a noble hospital at Oxford, not far from the bridge, for pilgrims and infirm people, who might be passing through those parts.

The noble knight, Richard, earl of Pembroke, is slain in Ireland. Edmund, having been consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, reconciles his brother Gilbert, and likewise other nobles of the kingdom, to the king.

A.D. 1234. King Henry the Third, at the festival of the Nativity of the Lord, held his court at Gloucester. The war which had begun the year before, was terminated this year. A truce was made between the king and the earl, who has been mentioned, to last from the Purification till Easter. During which period, Richard, earl of Pembroke, crossed the sea to Ireland, and with great earnestness demanded of the great justiciary, and of the other nobles of Ireland, that homage should be done, and an oath of fealty taken to him, and that the castles should be surrendered to him, positively declaring that he would never quit the country till the castles had been given up to him. But the nobles of Ireland being indignant at this, united together to resist him without any delay, and with all their energy prepared their forces to withstand him. But on a certain day, the position of affairs requiring such a step, the courage of the aforesaid earl encountered them in battle without waiting for the assistance of his partizans; and nearly all the troops whom he had with him at the first onset, deserted their general, and left him alone on the field, and sought safety for themselves in flight, so that the aforesaid earl, after having slain many men, received a mortal wound, and so his enemies became victorious and took him prisoner, and conducted him back to his own camp, where he died in a few days. And thus the comfort of the English, which it

was hoped would have had breathing time, owing to the valour of this earl, was suddenly clouded by a dark fate. In the meantime, while the relics of this tempest were still lasting, Master Edmund, of Abingdon, on the Sunday on which the anthem, "Rejoice, O Jerusalem," is chaunted, that is to say, on the second of April, was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, by Roger, bishop of London, at Canterbury. And the same day, he received the pallium from the hands of Henry, bishop of Rochester. And he found such favour in the eyes of the king, that by his entreaty, (receiving the counsel of the foreigners and rivals of Hubert, who has been mentioned above) he reconciled to the king all the nobles who had been adherents of the mareschal, and also Hubert himself, and when they had been reconciled to him, and when Albert, the brother of Richard the mareschal, who had been slain in Ireland, as has been already mentioned, had been liberally invested with his brother's inheritance, and when the king had discarded and given to confusion all his former councillors, the whole war was entirely put an end to about Ascension day.

The same year, on that frontier of the empire which touches the district of Germany, not far from the sea, some new heretics, called Canines, were defeated, and entirely destroyed from under heaven by the edge of the sword. This year also, the eyes of the king were opened, and by the account of those worthy of credit, he was certified of the faith and constancy of earl Richard, mareschal, and of the treason that had been wrought against him by certain forged letters sent into Ireland, and accordingly he required an account of his treasury and his seal, which had been wickedly taken care of, to be rendered to him by Peter, bishop of Winchester, and Peter de Rivallis, and Stephen de Segrave, and Robert Passelewe. But they, fearing the wrath of the king, at once withdrew, and flying to the peace of the church, the bishop and Peter Rivallis concealed themselves in the cathedral church of Winchester. But Stephen de Segrave lay hid in the church of Saint Mary, which is an abbey for monks, where he openly protested that he was and had been a clerk. But Robert took refuge in some secret hiding place, so that they who sought for him failed in the anxious search which they made, and he was scarcely safe in a cell of the New Temple, in which he had taken refuge. But Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, a man of marvellous sanctity and mildness, eagerly desiring the

peace and honour of the king and kingdom, exerted himself as much as possible, going to and fro between the two parties repeatedly, in order to establish peace between the king and his natural subjects. And the king, knowing that he was a holy and just man, greatly inclined his mind to his prayers. At last, by the agency of money, united to the entreaties of the pontiff, he obtained the king's clemency for the before-mentioned knights. And thus the whole tempest, in the deceitful revolution of human affairs, cleared out all the court and palace.

The same year, as his conduct had well deserved, the count of Brittany was put to confusion by the king of France, and he was only spared by the royal mercy from being punished by a shameful execution, because of his noble birth; for, after he had deceived the king of England by all kinds of treason, he attempted to circumvent the king of France likewise by a similar dishonesty. But the king of England took from that traitor all the estates and possessions which he owned in England. And when the said count, being a crafty and treacherous man, heard of this, namely, that he had fallen on both sides into the snares which he himself had spread, he became, from having been a noble count, a most infamous pirate, laying wait for the merchants of England who had dealings in many waters, and causing great hindrances to many of them. The same year, the king perceiving that his simplicity was frequently imposed upon by many people, adopting wiser counsel, took Hugh de Pateshulle, a clerk, whose prudence and fidelity he had experienced beyond all question, when he had received from the viscounts the payments which had been agreed upon, and promoted him to be his chief treasurer and councillor, saying to him, "Because you have been faithful over a few things which were entrusted to you, I will make you over many things. Your father was a noble and faithful man, a man of great authority; follow, I beseech you, the example of your father."

At this time also, a violent contest arose between the pope and the Romans, in consequence of which the pope, with his cardinals, withdrew to Perugia, where he abode some time.

This year also, the island of Majorca (which is so called to distinguish it from a smaller island in the neighbourhood, which is named Minorca, both which islands are situated in the Mediterranean sea, between Spain and the dominions of

the king of Morocco) was taken. And it was taken by the king of Arragon and the citizens of Marseilles, and restored to Christian worship. This year also, Hugh Folioth, bishop of Hereford, died, and was succeeded by Master de Robert Meidenestanes, who received consecration from Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury.

Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, dies. Robert Grossetête succeeds him. Isabella, the king's sister, is demanded as empress.

A.D. 1235. King Henry the Third, at the feast of the Nativity of the Lord, held his court at Westminster. The same year, seven Jews were brought before the king at Westminster, who, a year before, had stolen a child at Norwich, and kept him out of the sight of the Christians, and circumcised him, calling him Jeremiah, and intending, as it was said, to crucify him at the solemnity of Easter. But being convicted of this in the king's presence, they confessed the truth of the matter, and so remained in custody and in prison, at his pleasure, as far as their life and limbs were concerned.

This year, Hugh de Wells, bishop of Lincoln, died, on the eighth of February, and was buried at Lincoln, in his cathedral church, and was succeeded by Robert, surnamed Grossetête, who received consecration at Reading, from Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury. The same year, William, abbot of St. Alban's, died, on the day of Saint Matthias the Apostle, after he had governed his church with vigour twenty years and three months. He was succeeded by John, prior of Hertford, which was a chapelry belonging to the church of Saint Alban's. About this time too, Henry de Sandford, bishop of Rochester, died, on the twenty-fourth of February.

This year too, which is the tenth year after the truce for ten years in the land of promise had been established between Frederic, emperor of Rome, and the soldan of Babylon, a solemn preaching for the assumption of the cross took place throughout the whole world, which professed the Christian faith, at the warning and desire of pope Gregory before-mentioned. For he sent letters written with his own hand, by the Minor brothers and preaching brothers, to all parts of the world, addressed to the prelates, and to all who were learned in theology, and skilful in the art of preaching, and the affair of the cross prospered in their hands.

This year also, after Easter, the emperor Frederic sent am-

bassadors to England, and demanded of the lord king Henry, that his sister, Isabella, might be given to him for his wife. Accordingly, the king having taken counsel on this subject with his friends, sent her to the emperor with the ambassadors, who were all men of tried worth. And Frederic received her with due respect, and married her on the day of Pentecost, which was on the twenty-seventh of May.

The same year, the king sent formal ambassadors into Provence, to espouse Eleanor, the daughter of the count of Provence, in his name. And they, having arranged the marriage contract at Tarascon, on Saint Clement's day, caused her to be wedded in the king's name, by Robert de Muchegers, a knight, as if the king himself had been present. And the ceremony was subsequently repeated at Vienne, on the fifteenth of December.

This year also, Cordova, a noble city in Spain, was taken by the king of Castile, the brother of Miramolin, with an immense number of the infidels being slain in the battle.

The same year, at Advent, Robert Fitz-Walter died. About the same time, Peter, bishop of Winchester, went to Rome, by the command of the lord of the pope. The decretals of Gregory were drawn up in a compendious abridgment. At this point the chronicles of Roger of Windsor end.

Henry the Third, king of England, marries Eleanor, daughter of the count of Provence. Discord arises between the pope and the emperor.

A.D. 1236. King Henry the Third held his court at Christmas, at Winchester. The same year, king Henry the Third married Eleanor, the daughter of Raymond, count of Provence, and having espoused her at Canterbury, he celebrated his nuptials at Westminster, on the day of Saint Fabian and Saint Sebastian. In the same year, on the sixteenth of August, Thomas de Blondeville, bishop of Norwich, died, and was succeeded by Radulph, on the day of the Apostles Saint Simon and Saint Jude. The same year, Master Walter de Cantilupe was elected bishop of Worcester. Thomas, abbot of Evesham, died, on the tenth of December, and was succeeded by Richard, prior of Hurley, who was elected on the twenty-fifth of September, and who, on the first Sunday in advent next following, received the benediction at Heywood from the bishop of Co-

ventry, and was solemnly installed in the church of Evesham, on the day after the feast of the blessed Nicholas.

In these days, king Henry the Third, for the salvation of his own soul and that of his queen, and that God might crown a happy beginning by a fortunate end, by giving him a fruitful offspring, in a council held at Merton, granted and established some good new laws, and ordered them to be for ever inviolably observed throughout his kingdom. As to what laws or customs in the length of time that had elapsed had fallen into disuse, and what were injurious, a diligent investigation may be fully formed by examining the writing which was drawn upon the subject.

About the same time, such a vast inundation of continued rain fell for about three months, as no one recollected having ever seen before. About the same time, a very disastrous quarrel arose between the lord and emperor Frederic, and the men of Italy, who are commonly known to be from ancient times an appurtenance of the emperor. And, because the lord the pope undisguisedly favoured the side of the Italians, and especially the Milanese, whose character was abroad for many heresies, and usurious and simoniacal practices, he day by day lost the devotion of many of the faithful. The same year, a dispute arose in the city of Orleans between the clergy and the citizens, and as both sides rushed to arms, a civil and intestine war sprung up between them, and as the citizens got the better, after much bloodshed, a great many of the scholars of noble birth were slain and drowned in the river Loire. But their relations took a bitter revenge soon after, and required the blood of the slain at the hands of the citizens. And the whole city was placed under an interdict by the bishop of that city, and the whole kingdom of France was violently disturbed, till, at last, the sedition was checked and quelled by the prudence of some great men.

About the same time, there arose a grievous schism between the Roman and the great churches, so that, at the command of the pope, many persons, especially in the kingdom of France, assumed the sign of the cross for the purpose of conquering the Greeks. About this time also, the heretical depravity of those persons who are commonly called Paterines, or Bugarians, prevailed, and especially in the countries beyond the Alps, in such a degree, that they ventured to contaminate with their contagion the purity of the faith in the territories

of France and Flanders. But by the diligent ministration and unwearied preaching of the divines of the orders of Minors and Preachers, and especially of Master Robert, a brother of the order of Preachers, surnamed Bugre, they were converted from that error, and their superstition was confused and refuted, and those who refused to be converted Robert caused to breathe forth their miserable souls in the fire.

In those days also, a great slaughter of the Jews took place in the countries of Italy, so that many of them fled for refuge to France and England. At that time also, the noble knight, William de Albiney, died. Also about the same time, the lord Frederic, the emperor, sent formal ambassadors to the king of England, to demand, with great earnestness, a considerable sum of money, which the king had promised him with his sister. This year also, a great many large springs burst out, and unusual streams, full of river fish. And the day after the festival of the blessed Martin, and also the day week after, a violent storm of wind, accompanied by noise as if of thunder, raised up the waves of the sea, and causing them to exceed their usual bounds, so that on the borders of the sea, and in the marshes, as for instance at Wisbeach, and other similar places, boats were lost, and much cattle, and a great number of human beings perished. About this time too, the bishop of Winchester returned from the countries beyond the sea.

Pecuniary aid is required, and amendment promised.

A.D. 1237. King Henry held his court at Christmas, at Winchester; and immediately afterwards he sent letters from the king through all the provinces of England, ordering all the subjects of the English crown, that is to say, the archbishops, bishops, abbots, installed priors, counts and barons, to meet, without any omission or excuse, on the day week after the Epiphany, at London, to consider of royal matters affecting the whole kingdom. And the nobles having received this command, immediately obeyed the royal order, believing that they should have to discuss some messages from the pope or emperor, affecting the general state of affairs. Accordingly, on the appointed day the whole body of the nobles of the kingdom met at London; and when they had taken their seats in the palace of the monastery, to listen to the king's wishes, William de Rale, one of the secular clergy, who was an intimate friend of the king, rose up in the midst of them,

in whose mouth the king had put his own words, which he was to propose to his nobles, and said: "The lord the king wishes you to know that he is destitute of treasures, without the support of which the kingdom cannot be secure. For he has lavished great sums in the expenses of his sister, the empress. Much, too, has been lost in the custody of several keepers, whom he has trusted like himself, and who have dealt with what was entrusted to them in a manner very different from what was proper or expedient. But, whatever he may have have done before, for the future discarding foreigners and their counsels, the false nature of which he has found out to his own loss, he will incline to the counsels of his natural subjects. Therefore he earnestly requests of you pecuniary assistance, in order that the constitution of the kingdom may be confirmed by the royal treasury." But when all had heard this speech with indignation, a murmur, mingled with groans and grief, sounded through the hall, that the king's simplicity had been so often aroused, while the abuse had been always found to redound to the injury of the commonwealth. And also because money was so frequently extorted from them as if they had been slaves of the lowest class, without their deriving any advantage from it. But when the king found that this was the case, desiring to appease this murmur, he promised with an oath that he would never again provoke the nobles of his realm by doing them injury or molest them, or eat away their property by similar exactions, provided they would now grant him a thirtieth part of the moveables throughout England; and he promised of his own accord to observe inviolably from that time forward the liberties granted by magna charta to his faithful subjects. And because he seemed to be not entirely himself, out of the operation of the sentence which the archbishop, in concert with all the bishops of England, had pronounced against all the violators of the aforesaid charter, which he, being led away by evil counsel, had in some degree violated; lest he might be suspected for the future, he caused the archbishop publicly to repeat the sentence before alluded to, against all the violators of the said charter, and all who spoke against it; in such a way that if he, on account of any rancour which he entertained, had failed to observe it, he would be liable to the heaviest curse of the sentence thus pronounced. And the consequence of this conduct was, that he pacified the hearts of his hearers. And ac-

cordingly, on these conditions, a thirtieth part of the moveables of the kingdom was cheerfully granted to him for the restoration of his exhausted treasury, each man being allowed first to reserve his gold and silver plate, and his horse and arms, to be used in the cause of the commonwealth, if need should be.

This year, Leoline, prince of North Wales, was struck with palsy, and became very ill. Therefore, before the news of this circumstance got abroad, he sent the bishops of Hereford and Chester to the king of England, earnestly entreating, for the Lord's sake, that he might be reconciled to the king in all sincerity of heart, from that time forward, and be allied to him in all indissoluble friendship, under some certain agreement. For he considered the weakness of his principality, and also of his own person, and the unpopularity of his sons, Griffin and David, and calculated that if he were dead their counsels would be disordered, and then the principality, being divided against itself, according to the saying in the Gospel, would be exposed to great desolation. But many of the nobles of Wales would not admit this, and embittered the heart of Leoline to his own misery, till he became weary of his life.

About the same time, Richard, the heir of the earl of Gloucester, secretly married Margaret, the daughter of Hubert de Burgh, earl of Kent, by the management of that same earl and his wife Margaret, on which account the wrath of the king became exceedingly hot against the earl, and he laboured with all his might to procure a divorce between them, as he proposed to marry the said Richard to another wife. The same year, the lord Frederic, the emperor, with a view to quelling the seditious disturbances which frequently arise in the court of Rome, caused another senator to be created.

About the same time, the lord the pope summoned the earl of Brittany to his council, knowing that he was a warlike man, and one of great experience in the stratagems of war, and very able. But when this earl had replenished his empty coffers with the pope's treasures, he sought for excuses, asserting that he did not dare attack the brave and powerful emperor, lest he might find himself overwhelmed with his mighty power. But that, if the lord the pope chose to send him to subdue the enemies of the cross, as he ought rather to desire, in that case he was prepared to obey the commands

of his father. But he had already assumed the cross, and according to the vow which he took upon himself when he assumed the cross, he was bound to cross the sea. But when the pope heard this, feigning to be caught by the tricks of the layman, he dismissed him in peace.

In those days the bishop of Worcester and Norwich went the way of all flesh; and so the monks of Worcester elected Master Walter de Cantelupe their bishop, whom the lord pope accepted with difficulty, and consecrated bishop. And the canons of Norwich elected their prior, as a religious and discreet man, to be their bishop. And because his election, though regularly proceeded in, offended the king, it was annulled on account of some ridiculous exceptions, not without some guilt of conscience being incurred. About this time, also, John de Bresne, of immortal memory, formerly king of Jerusalem, and who had nearly obtained the crown of the empire of Constantinople, was removed from among men. Likewise brother Jordan, the prior of the order of the Preaching brothers, a man of venerable life, was drowned in the Mediterranean sea, and so departed from his place of banishment in this world, to the country of eternal brightness, where he is believed to be reckoned in the company of the blessed saints. In those days, also, brother Dominic, of the order of Preachers, and the holy brother Francis, of the order of Minors, were canonized, and reckoned in the college of saints, as their holy merits well deserved, by pope Gregory, who was favourable to these new orders.

The same year, Richard, bishop of Durham, who had previously ruled two bishoprics, Chichester and Salisbury, on the second day of the week of the Passion of our Lord, departed to the Lord, at Tarrant, in Wiltshire, and was buried in a church of a monastery which he had founded. But the monks of Durham, having sought aid from above, unanimously elected their prior, a discreet and religious man, to be their bishop. About that time, John, earl of Chester, surnamed the Scot, died, of poison it was said, and the bishop of Lincoln, having been attacked by the same kind of disease, was with difficulty recalled from the gates of death. About this time, the king began to repent of having conferred such numerous and great honours on his brother Richard, and on Gilbert Mareschal, and some others, who appeared to him to be ungrateful; and, accordingly, he sent secret ambassadors, friends on whom he

could rely to Rome to the pope, requesting him earnestly to condescend, without delay, to send some one as a legate into England, which appeared to be an especially proper object of his care, who might re-establish the constitution of the kingdom, which was in danger. Therefore, Master Otho, the cardinal deacon of Saint Nicholas, in the Tullian prison, came to England as legate, about the day of the feast of the blessed Mary Magdalene, and subsequently, on the day week after the feast of the blessed Martin, he held a solemn council at London, in the church of Saint Paul, which lasted three days without interruption, and all the prelates of England and Wales being assembled, and the lords archbishops of Canterbury and York sitting on the first and second seat of honour on the right hand of the legate himself, many things were discussed bearing on the reformation of the constitution of the church of England, and some old customs were altered. And that the legate might not seem to have done nothing at all, or to have come to London without any reformation of the church, he ordered, under formidable penalties, that the churches which had not been dedicated should be dedicated. But the week before Christmas, Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, crossed the sea to go to Rome, on some business relating to his own church.

About this time, that most wealthy and celebrated city, Cordova, in Spain, having been taken from the Saracens by the most valiant and Christian king Alfonso, king of Castile, was restored to Christian worship.

A quarrel having arisen between the scholars of Oxford and the Romans, the cook of the legate is slain. The queen of Scotland dies. Baldwin, emperor of Constantinople, comes to England.

A.D. 1238. The king, at the feast of the Nativity of the Lord, held his court at Westminster, where, the day after the Epiphany, the king gave Eleanor, his sister, countess of Pembroke, in marriage to Simon de Montfort. On account of which, earl Richard was very indignant, and the whole of the kingdom was in great agitation in consequence. Afterwards, about the time of the feast of Saint Hilary next ensuing, king Henry, without taking the advice of his barons, married Richard de Clare, son of the earl of Gloucester, to Matilda, daughter of the earl of Lincoln, at which the indignation of earl Richard became very great, as did that of nearly all the

nobles of England; nearly all of whom met, with their horses and arms, at Southwark, the day week after the feast of Saint Hilary, intending to attack Simon de Montfort and the earl of Lincoln, and so the peace of the whole kingdom was disturbed. But this disturbance was appeased by the prudence of lord Otho, at that time legate, and by William Valentine, who, at the very time that the confusion was at its height, arrived from foreign parts; and the earl of Lincoln and Simon de Montfort were removed from the king's councils. The same year, the lord legate Otho spent the feast of Easter at Lincoln, and a fortnight after Easter he left that city and travelled through Oxford, and staid at Oseney, where, as his household provoked the clerical scholars of that town to quarrels and railing, a fight took place between them, so that while the scholars attacked the Romans, and the Romans resisted, the cook of the lord legate was slain on the spot, and many persons on each side were mortally wounded. And then, the aforesaid legate, having been besieged by the clerical scholars till the hour of vespers, in his fear ascended the tower of the church, and sent secretly to the king, who was at that time at Abingdon, earnestly entreating him to release him from his blockade; and the next day the king, by means of his soldiers, conducted him to Wallingford, where he publicly excommunicated all who had insulted him in this way, and denounced them as persons deprived of every office or benefice, and published their names as lawless men. And likewise, he placed all the churches in Oxford under an interdict, and suspended all study in that city. And he caused these sentences to be published, and execution of them to be demanded, in the church of Saint Frediswide at Oxford, with great solemnity, by the agency of the bishop of Winchester, and the abbots of Evesham and Abingdon, on the day after the feast of Saint Philip and Saint James, the clergy and laity having been convened. But the king, because of this infraction of his peace, caused Master Odo of Kilkenny, who was said to have been present at the insult offered to the legate, to be arrested, with eighteen other scholars, and to be thrust into prison, their clerical privileges being entirely suspended; and thus the scholars were dispersed and study suspended at Oxford for the whole summer. At length the abbot and canons of Oseney, and the regent masters of Oxford, with unshod feet, uncovered heads, their upper garments stripped off and ungirt, with

many humble petitions, besought pardon of the legate, and so, at last, they went through the middle of the city of London to the palace of the bishop of Durham, where the legate was at that time being entertained, and thus they obtained pardon, study being restored at Oxford, and the before-named sentences relaxed.

About this time died Joanna, queen of Scotland, and sister of the king, who had come to England to visit the king, her brother; and she was buried at Tarrant, in a house of nuns, on the fourth of March. This year also, sentence was given in favour of the monks of Rochester, by the lord the pope, in the controversy which had arisen between the archbishop and those monks concerning the election of their bishop. And the bishop whom they had elected, namely, Master Richard of Wendover, was confirmed on Saint Cuthbert's day.

About the same time, Baldwin, emperor of Constantinople, having been expelled from the Greek empire, came to France and England to obtain useful counsel and assistance for the recovery of his rights, from the French and English sovereigns, as they were his friends and kinsmen. And he brought with him the crown of thorns, which the Jews plaited and placed on the head of Jesus Christ when they crucified him.

The same year also, the lord the king of England sent a military aid to the emperor Frederic, to enable him to subdue his rebellious subjects in Italy, under the command of William the elect of Valence, Henry de Trubleville, a celebrated knight; and William Hardel, a clerk, under whose orders the English army, being well paid by the king, fought gallantly for the lord the emperor throughout the whole summer, not without doing great mischief to the Lombards, who were rebelling against the empire, on which account the pope conceived great indignation against the English.

About the same time, the soldan of the Persians, who was a most mighty prince, and very friendly to the lord the emperor, and of whom confident hopes were entertained that he would some day or other receive the sacrament of baptism, went the way of all flesh.

This year also, Simon de Montfort transferred himself to the Roman court, where, after he had lavished a vast sum of money, he prevailed on the lord the pope to grant a ratification of the marriage which, not without some injury to his conscience, he had contracted with Eleanor, sister of king Henry

the Third. For she had made a solemn vow, before archbishop Edmund, of continuing in chastity all her life.

About the same time, while the lord the emperor was contriving the blockade around Milan, nearly all the princes of the world taking example from the king of England, sent him military aid, but as he could not succeed, he transferred the siege to Brixen, the citizens of which town were unwearied in the assistance they gave the Milanese.

The same year, Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, returned from the court of Rome, and at the same time the prior and convent of Canterbury were in a state of great confusion, on which account the prior being, as it were, deposed by the legate, entered the Carthusian order with some of his brethren. Then another prior having been elected in an irregular manner, the prior elect, and the electors, and the whole convent were placed under an interdict, and excommunicated by the archbishop. This year also, Peter, bishop of Winchester, died; and when the king heard of that event, he used all the exertion in his power to incline the hearts of the monks of Winchester to the election of William, the elect of Valence, so as to promote him to that bishopric. But the monks seeing that he was a foreigner, and an object of suspicion to the nobles of the kingdom, and that it would be in his power easily to do injury to the kingdom; as the brother of this same elect was count of Flanders, and, if by any chance the two should contrive to the overthrow of the kingdom, one would assist the other,—altogether refused to consent,—on which account the king incessantly endeavoured to inflict annoyance and injury of every sort on them, but they preferred suffering persecution for justice' sake, rather than elect as pastor of their souls a man who was acceptable to the king alone, quite unequal to the pastoral duties, unfit in character, habits, and learning, a foreigner by birth, and infamous for the blood that he had shed against the purity of their consciences. Therefore, the monks dissembling, during a truce which they had obtained from the king, elected William de Rolle, a discreet man, and one very intimate with the king, whom they thought that the king would be not at all desirous to reject. But when this came to the knowledge of the king, he was very angry, and would neither receive the election nor the bishop elect, nay, he even discarded this same William, bishop elect, from his council and intimacy. And with similar violence he de-

prived the bishop of Chichester, whom the monks in a pious spirit demanded, of his office of chancellor, and excluded him from his friendship. Moreover, having sent to Rome the Master Simon Norman, and Alexander, one of the secular clergy, two professional legists, he, not without a great expenditure, procured the election to be annulled by the authority of the lord the pope. The same year, about the time of the feast of Saint Matthew, a certain wicked pretended priest, feigning himself to be out of his mind, in order to explore some secret retreats in the court of the king, one night secretly entered the palace of Woodstock by the window, while the king and queen were in another chamber, the divine mercy protecting them as they were asleep that night; but in consequence of the outcry of a most pious and noble lady, Margaret Byset by name, who, according to her custom, was sitting up playing on her psaltery, and of other damsels likewise, whom he found in the chamber which he had entered, he was seized: and afterwards being put in chains, he confessed with his wicked mouth that he had been sent thither to murder the king and queen. After a short period, he was torn asunder by horses, at Coventry, and divided limb by limb into four portions, and the portions were sent to all the chief cities of the kingdom, to be parted and hung up in memory of such a great crime.

At this time, Simon de Montfort returned from the countries beyond the Alps, and was immediately made the chief councillor of the king. About the same time, William, the elect of Valence, went to Rome, having been summoned by the lord the pope, whom his fame had reached, because he was a fearless and prudent man in warlike affairs. And by the management of the pope, he was demanded in the court of Rome, as the elect of Liege; so, however, that he was still to be called Valentine elect, and to be so only with some change of title, being for the future to be styled the Elect of Liege, and the Procurator of Valence, so as to avoid all misapplication of words. Oh! the monstrous ambition of human blindness! He still aspired also to the bishopric of Winchester, the king favouring him with all his might, not because he had respect to the pontifical office, but for the sake of the temporal emolument.

About this time, a certain barbarian nation of incalculable number, called the Tartars, devastated the northern countries of

the East, spreading great destruction, and striking all the Christian princes and people with great fear.

This year too, the lord Otho, the legate, summoned all the abbots of the Black order to London, to consider of the reformation of the order of Saint Benedict.

This year too, that great and famous city in Spain, which is called Valentia Magna, was taken and restored to Christian worship.

About the same time, the following conventual churches, in the diocese of Lincoln, were dedicated by the bishop of Lincoln, according to the statutes of the council, held at London, namely, in the fens, Ramsey, and Burgh, and Sawtrey; the church at Ramsey on the twenty-second of September, that at Sawtrey the same week, and the church of Burgh on the twenty-eighth of September.

The same year, Baldwin, emperor of Constantinople, returned to Greece, accompanied by a numerous army, to demand back his inheritance by force of arms from the Greeks, who had expelled him from the empire. But the divine favour was wanting to his enterprise,—for a great number of the French in his army perished.

In those days, the fame of the blessed Robert, formerly hermit, was much spoken of, as his tomb sweated forth oil. The same year, the bishop elect of Rochester was consecrated at Canterbury, on the day after the feast of Saint Edmund, in the church of Saint Gregory (because the archbishop had suspended the cathedral of Canterbury from the celebration of divine service). The archbishop being assisted by the Masters Robert Black, bishop of London, Robert Grossetête, bishop of Lincoln, the lord Hugo, bishop of Ely, and the lord Ralph de Neville, bishop of Chichester, and Master Simon de Langton, archdeacon of Canterbury, and a great number of other illustrious nobles, the proper request having been previously sent by Richard, prior of Rochester; and he was installed at Rochester on Saint Andrew's day.

Edward, the eldest son of king Henry the Third, is born. The emperor Frederic is excommunicated by pope Gregory the Ninth.

A.D. 1239. The king celebrated the feast of the Nativity of the Lord at Winchester. On Stephen's day, Alexander, bishop of Coventry, died at Andover; and, at the request of the king, William de Rale was unanimously elected to the

bishopric, by the monks of Coventry and canons of Lichfield, assembled in the chapter-house at Coventry, and he, suspending the confirmation of his election, was also elected bishop of Norwich, as the election of Simon, prior of Norwich, had been cancelled; and he was subsequently consecrated to that bishopric. And then, the aforesaid monks and canons of Coventry and Lichfield having assembled a second time to make an election, although they were not unanimous at first, still, though disagreeing, were, by the interposition of the king's entreaties, brought to unanimity, and then they elected Hugo de Pateshull, the treasurer of the king's exchequer, and his election was confirmed at the end of the year. The same year, a man was apprehended who confessed that he had been guilty of the crime of *lése majesté*, in concert with the other traitor who had been torn to pieces at the tails of horses the year before, and he asserted that some of the nobles of England, and especially Ranulph Briton, dean of Wimborne, were accomplices in that crime. But afterwards, making voluntary confession against himself that he had spoken falsely, he was dragged at the tail of a horse to London to the gallows, and there hanged by judicial sentence.

The same year, Edward, called Longshanks, the eldest son of the lord Henry, the king, and Eleanor, the queen, was born at Westminster, on the seventeenth of June, late at night, being the vigil of Saint Marcus and Saint Marcellanus, and he was called Edward, which name he received after the glorious king and confessor, Edward, whose glorious body rests in the church of Saint Peter, at Westminster. And, four days afterwards, the lord Otho, who was at that time legate, baptized him in the church of the convent, and he was borne to the font by the lords Robert, bishop of London; William, bishop of Carlisle, William, bishop elect of Norwich, the lord Richard, brother of the king, and earl of Cornwall, Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, Henry de Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex, Simon Norman, archdeacon of Norwich, Peter de Malolac, Almaric, earl of Saint Amand, the countess of Pembroke, and the wife of Bertram de Krieil; and, the same day, he was confirmed by Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury; and the couriers who conveyed the news of his birth to the princes who lived on the borders of the kingdom of England, and to the nobles of England, returned home loaded with precious gifts.

The same year, on Palm Sunday, the emperor Frederic was excommunicated by pope Gregory the Ninth, for certain reasons delivered in writing, and the lord the pope commanded this sentence to be promulgated, with the reasons alleged for it, in every country, by all the prelates in every church under their authority, having the bells rung and the tapers lighted with all due solemnity.

This year, too, the elect of Valence and Liege died at Viterbo, on his return from the court of Rome. Also, Master Robert de Meidenestan, bishop of Hereford, abdicating his bishopric of his own accord, on the seventeenth of December, assumed the habit of the Minor Brothers at Oxford. This year, William of Saint John and Henry de Trubleville died. On the twelfth of June an eclipse of the sun took place, which lasted from the third hour till the sixth hour.

About this time the cardinal of Ostia flourished, who composed the book which is called "Copiosa."

The same year, the lord the emperor wrote to the senators and people of Rome, asserting that he greatly marvelled at this, that they had permitted him, the chief prince of princes, to be excommunicated in their city. He also wrote elegant and long letters to the cardinals, and all Christian nobles, but especially to king Henry, and his brother Richard, earl of Cornwall, his brothers-in-law, excusing himself in many particulars, and bringing a variety of accusations against the lord the pope, and affirming that he was in all things willing and ready to obey the pope, and that he had sent formal ambassadors to convey this assurance to him, but that the pope, being aware of this beforehand, in great haste, on purpose to do so, before the ambassadors could arrive, had fulminated this sentence against him.

The same year, the legate entered the kingdom of the king of Scotland, but did not cross the sea. As, however, no one offered any objection, he collected from all the prelates and beneficed clergy a thirteenth part of their revenues, and transmitted it to the lord the pope. About the same time, the lord the pope wrote a very long letter to the archbishops of Canterbury and York, complaining greatly of the illegal conduct of the emperor, and imputing to him the guilt of heresy. And he wrote not only to those archbishops, but also to the legate, to publish that letter throughout all the lands which were under his authority, and subject to him as legate, adding, that

that same Frederic, the emperor, was at that moment invading, in a hostile manner, the possessions of the church, and, with wicked daring, making himself master of them, like an avowed enemy of the church.

This same year, those who had assumed the cross assembled together, at Lyons especially, a numerous army from the kingdom of France, consisting of the noblest men of the realm, to consider what road it was most desirable to take to reach the Holy Land. And when they had consulted on the subject, some thought it the safest and shortest way to go across the sea, sailing from Marseilles towards the east. And when the lord the emperor heard this, he wrote to them to persuade them, in a friendly manner, not to feel annoyed at having to wait for him till he had put an end to the quarrel and discord which had arisen between him and his father, the lord the pope, and had chastised the rebels in Italy. He also proposed, and firmly promised, to be their general and captain, and to provide them with effectual comfort and help. But they being, as is the manner of Frenchmen, impetuous and boastful, were unwilling to adopt the advice of the emperor, or to withdraw from the design which they had now begun to put in execution, because they had collected provisions, hired ships, and bade farewell to their friends. And when the emperor ascertained this, he was vexed at the unchangeable determination of the French; however, he ordered all the ports and roads of passage throughout his dominions to be freely open to them, and forbade any hindrance to be offered to them.

In those days also, Hubert de Burgh, earl of Kent, was violently accused before the king and the whole court of London, where, after a long discussion, in order that the anger of the king, which had been very violent against him, might be appeased, it was decided that he should surrender his four most important castles to the lord the king, and then be allowed, with the king's good will, to retain possession of the rest. The names of the castles which he resigned were these—Black Castle, Grosmund, Scenefritz, and Hatfield.

About the same time, the king thrust a prior into the priory of Winchester, who was a Breton by birth, and unwelcome to the convent, in order by his means, as he had appointed him, to incline the hearts of the monks to comply with his wishes in the matter of the election of their bishop; but he only exasperated them all the more by this proceeding.

In these days, that most opulent island, Sardinia, became subject to the emperor, and was there bestowed by the emperor on his son.

The same year, Alexander, king of Scotland, espoused Maria, the daughter of Engelram de Couci, a noble baron of France. This year, too, William de Rale, bishop elect of Norwich, was consecrated, and admitted to his diocese, in the church of Saint Paul, London, by archbishop Edmund. This year also, an agreement was come to at Northampton, in which earl Richard, and William the mareschal, and a great many other nobles of England, swore that, without seeking any more for excuses for delay, they would set out that very year on an expedition to Jerusalem. This year too, the lord the emperor marched towards Rome, and took Viterbo, and made himself master of great part of the adjacent country, and demanded that a general council should be held, that he might openly demonstrate his innocence before it, and clear and re-establish his character.

About the same time, on the ninth of August, the church of the convent of Abingdon was dedicated. And also, at the same time, the churches of Evesham, Gloucester, Tewkesbury, Winchcomb, Pershore, Alcester, and many others in the realm of England, were dedicated, according to the statutes of the council held at London. This year, too, about the time of the feast of Saint Michael, a valiant knight, named Radulph de Thony, died at sea.

Ch. XI.—From A.D. 1240 to A.D. 1244.

Leoline, prince of North Wales, dies—His succession is disputed by his sons—Many knights leave England for the Holy Land, under prince Richard—Peace between the Christians and Saracens—King Henry invades Wales—Great disturbances in France—The king of France proposes terms of peace to Henry, who refuses them—Great quarrels between the emperor and the pope; between the kings of England and Scotland; and between the Welch and English.

King Henry causes an oath of fealty to be taken to his son Edward throughout the whole of England.

A.D. 1240. At the feast of the Nativity of the Lord, king Henry held his court at Winchester, where he invested Baldwin de

Riparies, on Christmas day, with the belt of a knight, and gave him the earldom of the Isle of Wight. At the same time, the election of Hugo de Pateshull, bishop elect of Coventry, was confirmed. This year, also, Isabella, countess of Gloucester, and wife of earl Richard, died in childbed, and was greatly lamented. Also about the same time, in the month of February, there appeared a comet in the west, which sent out its rays towards the east.

About the same time, Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, prepared to undertake an expedition to Jerusalem.

Just at this time, too, Leoline, prince of North Wales, died, on the thirteenth of April; and after his death a quarrel arose between his two sons, Griffith, the elder, who claimed the principality on that account, and David, who was the younger, but the legitimate son, and the nephew of the king of England by his sister, and who claimed the supreme power for these reasons which he alleged, through whose quarrels the whole country of Wales was thrown into confusion and devastated, and made desolate, according to the saying in the gospel, "Every kingdom divided against itself, shall be made desolate." At last, however, by the intervention of friends, a time and place was appointed for establishing a reconciliation between them; and Griffith came to the place peaceably, in the hopes of obtaining peace, under the guidance of Richard, bishop of Bangor, and a great many other venerable men. But David treacherously took Griffith prisoner, and then shamelessly committed him to custody in prison; on which account the aforesaid bishop addressed a bitter complaint to the king of England, and fulminated an anathema against David.

This year, too, the king caused an oath of fealty to his son Edward to be taken by the citizens of London, and by many other nobles of the kingdom.

About the same time, too, many of the crusaders were absolved by the Preaching Brothers, and by the Minors, having obtained their absolution by sums of money, to the great scandal of the church and of those orders. Also, on Ascension day, the church of the New Temple in London was dedicated. William, earl de Warenne, died in London, on the twenty-second of May. This year, too, Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, by a large expenditure of money, procured a privilege which was most welcome both to the king and to the priesthood, that if a cathedral church was vacant six

months, having lost its pastor, the vacancy should be provided for by the archbishop of the diocese. But because this appeared to redound to the prejudice and loss of the royal dignity, it was subsequently annulled, in consequence of a second expenditure of money. On which account the archbishop, when he saw that justice was so manifestly vacillating, and that all his labours were wasted, grieved inconsolably, and refusing to receive consolation, began from that time forth to think of going into voluntary exile.

This year, too, the emperor, being in great wrath, and preparing to take great vengeance because of the extensive defamation with which the lord the pope had blackened his name in all Christian countries, hastened to Rome with a powerful army, took Viterbo, and subdued the adjacent country, and reduced the patrimony of the Roman church under his own power, on which account the Roman church fell into great confusion and desolation. The same year, Thomas, count of Flanders, uncle of the queen, came into England; and the king immediately went to meet him with great eagerness, and bestowed on him an annual revenue of considerable yearly amount, for his homage. This year, too, the queen of France had a daughter.

About the same time, the army of the French crusaders, wishing to make an attack on the Saracens in the Holy Land at Gathre, was defeated, routed, and a great part of it taken; and of the prisoners some were committed to prison at Damascus, some at Babylon, and some at Gathre itself. On the twenty-third of May, William, earl de Warenne, died in London. Richard, earl of Gloucester, bidding farewell to his friends, prepared for his expedition to Jerusalem, and with him went many of the nobles of the kingdom of England. The emperor wrote the king an elegant letter, in which he reproached the king that, to the injury of his kingdom and authority, he had permitted his land to be pauperised by the papal inquisitors, and him the emperor to be formally excommunicated, when he had a more reasonable excuse than any other Christian prince of resisting the lord the pope, inasmuch as he was the brother-in-law of the lord the emperor. The king of France received earl Richard with great honour, and supplied him in a magnificent manner with all things necessary on his passage, and conducted him safely to Marseilles, with all his retinue, where he embarked on board ship, in opposition to the prohibition of the pope.

A general council was convoked to be held at the ensuing Easter. This year, also, on the first of July, Hugo de Pateshulle, the king's treasurer, was consecrated bishop of Chester, and William de Haverhulle, canon of the church of Saint Paul's, in London, was appointed treasurer in the room of the aforesaid Hugo. The same year, on the day of Saint Mary Magdalene, John, earl of Lincoln, died. Money was extorted, by various arguments, from many persons, chiefly from those belonging to religious orders, for the use of the pope; which, however, was no advantage, but rather an injury to him, inasmuch as it all went to the emperor. The abbots who addressed a complaint to the king on this subject, received desolation instead of comfort; on which account the legate behaved with still more violence to them. Raymond, count of Provence, the father of the queens of France and England, met earl Richard with joy, and aided him liberally, as far as he could, with both assistance and counsel, as he was about to cross the sea.

But when Leoline, prince of North Wales, died, a quarrel arose, and having arisen, continued for some time, between his sons, Griffith and David. At last, as has been already mentioned, David by treachery took Griffith prisoner, whom he had peaceably invited to a conference, and having taken him, he threw him into prison. On which account, Master Richard, bishop of Bangor, under whose guidance the aforesaid Griffith had come to the conference, departed like an exile from Wales, having first of all pronounced an anathema against David. But Griffith secretly intimated to the king to liberate him by the strong hand from prison, and from subjection to his brother; and promised that in that case he would cheerfully become his liege subject, and would hold of him the territories which belonged to him of hereditary right; and that, moreover, he would give the king no small sum of money. But the bishop of Bangor a second time addressed most bitter complaints to the king respecting this treason, and the injustice which has been already mentioned. And the king, being violently indignant at this, gently exhorted his nephew to make satisfaction for, and to amend these things, that he might not be forced himself to stretch out the hand of vengeance.

On Saint Bartholomew's day, Master Peter of Eaglebank was elected bishop of Hereford, who had been formerly one

of the clergy of William, the elect of Valence; and his election was brought about by the solicitude of the king. And Peter, without any delay, and without meeting with any difficulty, because he was received by the king as one acceptable to him, was soon after consecrated in the presence of the king himself.

About the same time, Master Albert, a native of Cologne, was consecrated archbishop of Armagh, at Westminster. On the day of Saint Remigius, the church of Saint Paul was dedicated at London. And about the same time, the queen brought forth a daughter, and her name was called Margaret, because when she was in the pains of labour she had invoked Saint Margaret, and also because the sister of the queen, that is to say, the queen of France, was called by that name. This year, too, a man of noble birth and great experience in the laws of the kingdom, Thomas de Multon, knight, died. And about the same time, a friend and relation of the lord the pope came into England, the Master Peter Rubeus, who passed rapidly through England, and coming to Scotland, collected with great energy one-twentieth of everything in that country for the use of the pope. About the same time, Master Peter de Supion, being sent into Ireland diligently to collect the same twentieth in that country, carried off all he could from thence, like a genuine inquisitor of the pope. And the booty which he collected is said to have amounted to the number of fifteen hundred marks and more. But the collection of Peter Rubeus, which he extorted from the Scotch territories, is supposed to have reached the double of this sum. And subsequently, returning through England, he looked into all the houses of the religious orders with a new spirit, and exacted money for the use of the pope with exceeding strictness, compelling them to swear that they would keep that oath as a secret of the confessional for half a year. By which conduct he turned aside the hearts of the faithful from any devotion and affection towards the church of Rome, and wounded them with great anguish.

About this time too, the legate was recalled by a letter written with the pope's own hand, and severely admonished to return with all the speed he could to the Roman court, and to arrive there before the assembling of a general council, in order that the brethren, when they had their accustomed deliberation before hand, might discuss with him the imminent ruin and inevitable danger of the church, now that the em-

peror was thus invading its inheritance. The same year, Maurice, the justiciary of Ireland, came to London to the king, that, without any particle of malice or concealed hatred, he might be reconciled to earl Gilbert, the mareschal, and prove his innocence of the death of earl Richard, the mareschal, who had been slain in Ireland.

About the same time, the king of Connaught came to London to the king, and both the kings settled their business as they wished.

About the same time, the monks of Durham having gone to Rome, through the management of their enemies, found that they could effect nothing, so staying there to no purpose, they wasted away in sickness and sorrow, and four of them died with their secular clergy and servants. And when their prior heard this he grieved exceedingly, and of his own accord renounced the election that had taken place in his own case.

About the same time, the emperor, seeing that the pope had summoned a council to effect his deposition, because the said pope had called in the secular arm, and especially the aid of the public enemies of the empire against him, and had altered the form of the summons, given in a manner different from any previous one, repented of having given his consent to the summoning of a council. Accordingly, he retracted, and intimated to the king of England to warn all the prelates of his kingdom, on the part of the emperor, not to attend that general council, since the emperor would not grant or allow them any safe conduct for their persons or property through his dominions, and refused to commit his own just cause to a doubtful tribunal over which his chief enemy was to preside. On the other hand, the lord the pope wrote, signifying to the same prelates to disregard the threats of men, and obediently second their spiritual father, and not neglect to hasten all of them to this council at the time appointed. So the bishops being perplexed in spirit, hesitated as to what they ought to do. And while the wheel of fortune was thus proceeding rapidly in its course through this world, the lord Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, who, of his own accord, had gone into banishment at Pontigny, took to his bed, being attacked with severe sickness. In the mean time, earl Richard, who had recommended himself to the prayers of all the brethren of all the religious orders in England, by the grace of God, and owing to the efficacy of the prayers of the faithful, after a fair voyage, landed

at Acre, and within two days after he landed, he caused public proclamation to be made by the voice of the crier, that no one, of whatever nation he might be, need depart from the Holy Land for want of money, but might faithfully fight for God under his orders, and receiving pay from himself. But when the Saracens heard this, although the king of Navarre and the count of Brittany had retreated shamefully, they began to fear the prudence and power of this earl exceedingly, both because his name, Richard, was still an omen to the Saracens of a dreadful enemy, and also because he was very rich in gold and silver; thirdly, because he was the brother-in-law of the emperor, and closely connected in the bonds of friendship with him; fourthly, because he was the brother of the most illustrious king of England; and lastly, because he was count of Poitou, and earl of Cornwall. On account of all which circumstances, he afterwards made a peace, which was honourable to the whole church, and indeed to all Christendom, and such as no one in our time has ever been able to obtain, as the following history will clearly show. And while, under the ruling influence of God, all these events were taking place, Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, was removed from Pontigny for the sake of enjoying a better climate; but being very ill at Socisy, he bequeathed his body to the monks of Pontigny, and went the way of all flesh; and the Lord condescended to work great miracles at his tomb, to such a degree, that even now the fame of the blessed confessor Edmund deservedly illuminates all the Cisalpine countries with its brightness. And the aforesaid archbishop Edmund departed from this world to the Father, on the eighteenth of November.

In those days, some of the bishops of the kingdom of England and some of the abbots crossed the sea, in order that if a passage of any kind, either by land or sea, were open to them to reach the council, they might hasten thither, and satisfy the apostolic commands. This year, Master Peter de Eaglebank was consecrated bishop of Hereford, at Saint Paul's, in London. And the same year, by a repeated instance of God's kindness to the kingdom of the Franks, the crown of thorns of the Saviour, which the Jews had formerly plaited and placed on his head when they crucified him, was brought to France.

About the same time, the Christian captives, who were kept in chains at Damascus, Babylon, and Gathre, were treated in a

merciless manner by the Saracens. But the king of Navarre, who is also the count of Champagne, and likewise the count of Brittany, knowing the prudence and magnificence of earl Richard, and being excited by envy, and grieving that Richard, whom the English looked upon as a boy, and of no experience in warlike expeditions, should obtain what they, with all their Frenchmen, had never been able to bring to the desired result, made a treacherous peace with the lord of Gathre, on condition that he would allow his captives to depart in freedom, though in reality he had no power over them, that so they might avoid seeming to have done nothing whatever in the Holy Land. And immediately before the liberation of their allies, that is to say, of the French prisoners, they secretly and hastily embarked on board ship at Joppa to return to their own country. And by this conduct they revealed their treachery beyond all denial to the whole world, when they desired to appropriate to themselves the credit that belonged to others.

This year also, John, the son of Robert, a noble and powerful man, and one of the principal barons of the north country, died.

The general council is hindered, the prelates being taken. Archbishop Edmund is distinguished by miracles. Peace is re-established between the Christians and Saracens.

A.D. 1241, which is the twenty-fifth year of the reign of king Henry the Third, the said king held his court, at Christmas, at Westminster, near London, where a great many of the nobles of the kingdom celebrated the festival of the Nativity with him. But, on the fourth day after Christmas, the legate being recalled by the pope, bade farewell to the prelates of England, and proceeded to the coast to journey across the Alps. And the king conducted him with excessive pomp and magnificence to the sea-shore, with the sound of trumpets, and an innumerable train of nobles accompanying him, and prelates and secular clergy; and, on the day after the feast of the Epiphany, he embarked on board ship at Dover to cross the sea, having changed his scarlet vestments. But he left both the kingdom and church of England in a very desolate state, and most especially was the church of Canterbury, which is well known to be the metropolitan see of England, in a state of irregular disorder, as if he had come, not for its consolation, but for its desolation.

About that time, Peter of Savoy, the uncle of the queen, came to England, and the king going to meet him with great solemnity, besides the earldom of Richmond which he had previously conferred on him, gave him many valuable presents, and made him president of his council. But on the day of Saint Edward, which the king kept with great solemnity, according to his custom, he invested Peter himself with the belt of knighthood, and fifteen other youths, that he might signalize his apprenticeship by a more solemn observance than usual. And the same day, he celebrated his own festival, as though it had been a feast for the wedding of the emperor, with a vast number of guests, in the great palace of Westminster.

About the same time, Master Nicolas de Farnham was elected bishop of Durham, a man of eminent virtue and learning, and was, though not without difficuly, received as such by the king and all the people, and soon had his election confirmed.

The same year, too, the Jews were compelled to submit to a most terrible ransom, under the penalty of death or exile, and paid the king twenty thousand marks. But when the spring season and the fine weather came, William de Fortibus, earl of Albemarle, Peter de Malolac, and many other nobles of the kingdom of England, set out on the expedition to Jerusalem with great magnificence. The holy cross, too, was this year brought to the kingdom of France, and received at Paris with such solemnity and devotion as no one remembered ever to have seen before. The new walls which had been built round the Tower of London, fell down, as they had done the year that had just elapsed, and on the same night, to the astonishment of many.

This year also, the lord emperor, fearing the danger which might threaten him, if the swarm of the pope, who was so exceedingly hostile to him, should meet in the council which was just at hand, changed his mind, and wrote to the different princes, and, with especial intimacy, to the king of England, to entreat him diligently to exhort the prelates of his kingdom not to go to a council which was an object of suspicion to him, knowing that a free passage through the imperial dominions was utterly denied by land and by sea to their persons or possessions. And the lord the pope wrote earnestly to the same prelates, desiring them to lay aside all fear of the threats of an excommunicated emperor, and come boldly to the coun-

cil. In the meantime, Faleuce, a most opulent city, which the emperor himself had now been besieging for a year, was taken by storm.

About this time, too, the solemn fame and illustrious memory of the venerable Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, whose body rests at Pontigny, was celebrated gloriously throughout all the countries on this side of the Alps, on account of the numerous miracles wrought by his body, the wonders of which would require a special treatise. At this time, too, the monks of Canterbury deservedly obtained the benefit of absolution from the lord the pope. About the same time, too, the monks of Winchester, because they steadily persisted in desiring William, bishop of Norwich, for their pastor, suffered enormous persecution, owing to the intrigues of their prior, who had been thrust upon them, who was a native of Brittany, enduring it manfully for the sake of Christ and the maintenance of justice.

In these days, the king caused the character of Boniface, the elect of Balais, to be greatly magnified and commended, in order to make him appear deserving of being promoted to the archbishopric of Canterbury, or to the bishopric of Winchester. But as the affair was not ultimately carried out, it was forgotten with equal rapidity to that with which it had been pushed forward, though his claims were strengthened by the testimony of many of the prelates.

At the beginning of the summer, Otho, who had formerly been legate in England, and the legate in France, took with them an immense number of prelates, and embarked on board ship at the city of Genoa, in order to reach the council in safety, under the guidance of the Genoese. And by way of giving them encouragement, the pope himself had sent one legate, who had received from this same pope power to absolve from all their sins all those who exposed themselves to the impending danger. But when they had all committed themselves to the vast sea, the imperial pirates met them, who took them all prisoners miserably, and drowned many of them, or else shamelessly murdered them. And those whom they took alive, they dragged over long tracts of sea, exposing them to be scorched by the intolerable heat, and guarding them in chains and strict custody, they brought them to Naples, where, by command of the emperor, they were thrown into prison, to the disgrace and infamy of the whole church. And this

unhappy meeting of the two fleets took place on the day of Saint Mark the Evangelist. In the meantime, too, the papal collectors, namely Peter Rubeus, a kinsman and intimate friend of the lord the pope (for that was the title put at the head of his letters), and Peter de Supen, were indefatigably labouring throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland, by all sorts of arguments, to collect money for the necessities of the lord the pope, the king, under the guidance of evil councillors, permitting all their proceedings. In those times, too, every one was absolved who pleased, being invested with the cross, for the sake of money, both the Minor Brothers and the Preaching Brothers preaching and recommending that step by command of the pope; so that many of those who assumed the cross to-day, were on the morrow, for the payment of money, absolved from their vow, to the great astonishment of many persons.

The same year, on the twenty-eighth of May, Gilbert Mareschal, earl of Pembroke, died outside the city of Hereford, having had many of his limbs broken in a tournament, where the knights unhappily were vying with one another in contests of strength; and his body was conveyed to London to be buried. And after his death, because all tournaments were prohibited by the king, and because no special leave had been obtained for this one, Walter, the brother of earl Gilbert, had great difficulty in obtaining from the king the inheritance that belonged to him.

About the same time, the king of France conferred on his brother, Alfonzo, the county of Poitou, and formally, with all due solemnity, invested him with the belt of a knight, to the exclusion of count Richard, who was at that time fighting for God in the Holy Land. About this time too, the aforesaid count Richard made a truce with the soldan of Babylon, on condition that all the French who were detained prisoners should be restored to liberty; and that Jerusalem also, and the neighbouring places, and many other cities and castles, should be left in freedom and peace, with other conditions such as were honourable and advantageous to the Christians, as is contained in the letter of this same count. At the beginning of which business, the king of Navarre, who is also count of Champagne and Brittany, and other men, remarkable for their seditious conduct, wickedly and treacherously betook themselves to secret flight, embarking on board ship at Joppa, to

return to their own country, having done no good in the Holy Land, and so they, privily and unexpectedly, fled away in the silence of the night from the face of the Lord, leaving their French brethren in chains and in prison.

This year too, Griffith, the eldest son of Leoline, who had come peaceably to the council convened by his brother David, and who, having been treacherously arrested, was detained in his brother's prison, addressed a humble supplication to the king, by the interposition of Richard, bishop of Bangor, begging him to have pity on him and deliver him from his brother's hands, and promising, out of gratitude, to hold of the king himself all those his territories which properly belonged to him of hereditary right. Accordingly, with a view to his release, the king kindly wrote to David, entreating him in his brother's behalf; but as his requests were disregarded, he prepared arms, and having collected a numerous army, he marched his standards into Wales, in a hostile manner; and as on his march, Griffith, the son of Madoc, one of the princes of Wales, and several of the nobles on the borders of Wales, received him peaceably, so that he passed without any hindrance in his march through that district, which had now been visited by a continual drought for four months, he so frightened David and all his adherents, to such a degree, that he not only released his brother Griffith, and gave him his liberty, but even went in his own person, humbly and submissively, to the king, offering to submit the whole dispute between them to the investigation of the king's court. Henry therefore, having terminated this affair according to his wishes, sent Griffith, who had been released from his brother's prison, as a prisoner of his own, to the Tower of London, till he should decide what was to be done with him, and bound David by heavy sureties to come to London, to answer before his court to all the accusations that should be brought against him; and so the king returned home victoriously and with joy, without any blood having been shed.

At this time, count Richard, having brought the affairs of the Holy Land to a fortunate and glorious termination, and having established a treaty of truce and peace by formal writings and oaths interchanged on each side, embarked on board ship to return home, and after a long and dangerous voyage, landed at Trapes, in Sicily. And there the officers of the emperor, and keepers of the harbour, met him with

great reverence, and received him with all possible respect, as they had been commanded to do by their lord the emperor.

The same year, the lord the king caused a golden bier to be made in the city of London, to contain the relics of the glorious king and confessor, Edward, in a most glorious manner, and at his own expense. About the same time, the daughter of the count of Brittany died at Bristol, where she had been a long time detained in most strict custody in prison. About this time too, pope Gregory the Ninth, as if he were unable to support the grief which entered his soul, from the misfortunes which he heard of on all sides, and which he had brought upon himself, died on the twenty-third of August, at the age of nearly a hundred years.

About the same time, the French, who had been liberated by the exertions of count Richard, and had been honourably provided with horses and garments, and all things necessary for their expedition, arrived with joy in their own country. But the count himself staid some time with the lord the emperor, for the sake of mutual acquaintance and conversation, which they had both long desired, refreshing both his body and his spirit; and if death had not removed the lord the pope from the world, he would by his influence have restored peace to the church. But while the cardinals, according to their custom, were shut up in conclave, deliberating on the election of a pope, Master Robert de Somerkote, one of the cardinals, died, and Godfrey of Milan was elected pope, who assumed the name of Celestine; but when he had scarcely filled the papal chair seventeen days, he went the way of all flesh. On the day of Saint Fides there was an eclipse of the sun, as if the powers of heaven seemed to be showing their correspondence with the state of the church. The same year also, the kingdom of England was bereaved of some illustrious nobles, and the church of some distinguished prelates. For, besides our supreme Roman prelates, that is, besides the two popes, who departed this life, there also died in England, Roger, of pious memory, bishop of London, on the twenty-eighth of September, and Hugh, bishop of Chester, on the seventh of December, besides William, earl of Albemarle, and the earl mareschal, William, of whom mention has been made already. There also died on the eighth of November, Stephen de Segrave, who filled the office of justiciary, and about Easter, that noble and powerful lord, Walter de Lacy,

died in Ireland. Besides these, there died, Gilbert Basset, a knight of noble birth, and of great fame in arms, John Basset, the prime forester in England, Robert Marmion, Peter de Bruis, and Guiscard Leydet. There also died, either while tarrying in the Holy Land, as pilgrims, or in going thither, or returning from thence, Eudes, the brother of count Richard, Hamo, surnamed Peccham, Baldwin de Betun, John Fitzjohn, the seneschal of the aforesaid count, John de Beauchamp, a most accomplished knight, Gerard de Furnival, and many others, whose names are indelibly recorded in the book of life as faithful soldiers of God, and worshippers of his footsteps.

The same year, Isabella, empress of the Romans, and sister of the king of England, the hope and singular glory of the English, died in childbirth, on the first of December. And when the emperor had announced this event in a mournful letter to the lord the king of England, at the end of the letter he tempered his grief, as it were, speaking thus: "There remains to me, by the bounty of the Almighty, a royal offspring, so that there arise a king and queen, in the sight of their father, to be the witnesses of their mother." For the emperor had had by his wife a happy offspring, to wit, a son and a daughter.

That year was one of pestilence and disturbance to the kingdom of England, and of great disaster to the Holy Land, because the Templars attacked the Hospitallers in a hostile manner, and could not be reconciled to them by all the diligence and exertions of count Richard; moreover, to the church of Rome it was so unfavourable and injurious, that after the pope had died and another been elected in his stead, who also was taken from this world after a few days, all the brethren becoming divided in their persons, and hearts, and places, attacked one another.

Peter of Savoy, earl of Richmond, resigns the noble castles, which he had received from the king, to the custody of the king.

A.D. 1242, which is the twenty-sixth year of the reign of King Henry the Third. The said king held his court at Christmas, at Westminster, in his great palace, as he was accustomed to, in great tranquillity; and when he had remained there a fortnight, the news of the arrival of earl Richard, who was returning from the Holy Land, got abroad. And when

this was known, Peter Savoy, earl of Richmond, like a discreet and circumspect man, prudently resigned into the king's hand the most eminent and famous castles of the kingdom, of which he had received the guardianship. For he was well aware that the nobles of England had conceived great indignation at his sudden elevation, on which account he greatly feared the arrival of the earl. Moreover, this prudence on the part of Peter greatly allayed the anger of many of those who were discontented. The same year, a great sedition arose in Poitou, which subsequently produced great ruin, and a deadly quarrel, and war, and irreparable damage: for the count de la Marche, at the instigation of Isabella, whom the French call the most impious Jezebel, being his own wife and the mother of the king of England,—lifted up his heel against his lord the king of France; for he was very indignant that Alfonso, the brother of the king of France, and count of Poitou, since the king of France had lately conferred that county on him, had demanded due homage of him; on which account the said count de la Marche answered saucily, with haughtiness and abuse, and refused him what he demanded as his right. Accordingly, on this account, there went up no light complaint to the king of France, and the count was warned to amend that insolence. But though he was repeatedly admonished, he disdained to do so, and adopting the advice of his wife, he intimated to the king of England to come to Poitou, not with any great retinue of English, but armed only with a large sum of money, and then he would make over to him all his territories beyond the sea. But the king, by the advice of the Poitevins, a race always ready for treachery, gave credence to his proposals, and agreed to it, and prepared for his passage, with much treasure, and in a single vessel, and could not be delayed by either the advice or entreaties of any of his friends or natural subjects. In those days, the lord the king wrote to all the nobles of England, strictly charging them all to assemble together in a body, in London, on the Tuesday next before the Purification of the blessed Virgin Mary, to discuss important affairs of the kingdom, which admitted of no delay. Moreover, at this time, the king being certified of the arrival of his brother, earl Richard, went to the sea coast to meet him with great joy, attended by a numerous retinue; and receiving him with joy and honour, rushed with brotherly affection into his embrace, and shed tears of exultation. And remaining

together for many days, they comforted one another with interchange of conversation, and refreshed themselves with feasting. In the meantime, the Poitevins did not cease to stir up and animate the king by letters and embassies not to delay to cross the sea and come over to them, as he should then recover all his rights, and all his territories beyond the sea, without any hindrance or opposition. But when the feast of the Purification, and the day of the general parliament[1] was at hand, the whole nobility of England, both prelates and lay peers, met at Westminster; and it was already known to all of them that the count de la Marche, and the other nobles of Poitou, who were at all times notorious for their treasonable disposition, had invited the king to come to their protection, accompanied by no military array, but provided with money alone: as if they thought nothing of the military power of England, but wanted only his money. For already the king of France had attacked them in a hostile manner, as undisguised traitors. Therefore, murmurs sounded among the English, and they conceived no slight indignation at this circumstance, that the king had seriously given credence and consent to such a suggestion. But when they were met together, the king with great earnestness demanded of them money, by means of which to get possession of his territories beyond the sea. And as he would not be turned from the design which he had conceived, either by the prayers or advice of his faithful and natural subjects, the council was dissolved with great indignation. But the king had addressed all the prelates separately, asking what each of them was willing to give him, practising the maxims of Roman cunning; and though he could not bind them all when assembled together, he weakened them individually, so as to make them yield to his will, and thus broke their consistency; and so a large sum of money was granted him by the prelates; and after that, he distributed a large portion of it among those knights whom he knew to be in need, to induce them to cross the sea with him.

But when the king of France had received certain information of the crossing of the sea by the king of England, he fortified the sea-coast and the adjacent districts, especially Roupel, and other parts on the sea-border looking towards Poitou and Guienne, with a powerful army.

About the same time, the earl of Salisbury landed at Dover,

[1] This is the first time the word Parliament occurs in this History.

on his return from the Holy Land. But when earl Richard saw that there were no means of turning the king from his design, he agreed to cross the sea with him, and prepared in a magnificent manner for the passage. And encouraged by his example, many other nobles prepared to make the passage, in company with the king and the aforesaid earl. The guardianship of the kingdom, therefore, being entrusted to Walter, archbishop of York, because he was considered a man of singular discretion and fidelity among all the nobles of the kingdom; the lord the king, accompanied by his queen, and by his brother, earl Richard, with seven other earls, and about three hundred knights, embarked on board ship, on the fifteenth of May, and set sail, steering his course towards Bourdeaux.

About this time, Alexander, king of Scotland, married Margaret, the daughter of Ingelram de Coucy, a powerful and cruel baron of the kingdom of France. But while the lord the king was passing his time in the countries beyond the sea, a certain nobleman, an Irishman by birth, namely, William de Marais, who was a banished man, and a fugitive on account of some crime of which he was accused, seized on the island of Lundy, which is not far from Bristol, where he practised all kind of robbery and piracy. At last, being taken prisoner, with seventeen of his companions, he was sentenced to a cruel death, and, by command of the king, he and his seventeen companions were all dragged at the tails of horses to London, and there hanged on a gallows. And his father, one of the most powerful nobles of Ireland, by name Godfrey de Marais, when he heard this, fled into Scotland, though he could scarcely find a safe refuge even there; and wasting away through agitation and grief, he soon afterwards ended his miserable life by a wished-for death. About the same time, several nobles died, namely, Gilbert de Gaunt, Baldwin Wak, Philip de Kyne, and in the north, Roger Bertram, with several other illustrious men, departed this life, and were discharged from all human distresses. There died also, the earl of Warwick, a man of great power, and very illustrious family. About the same time too, one of the sons of the emperor Frederic, by name Henry, who, as his evil conduct well deserved, had been for a long time kept in prison by command of his father, breathed forth his miserable life. For it is said, that he himself, being weary of his life, did with his own hand miserably slay himself;

About this time, the most pious and accomplished king of France, being moved by the spirit of mercy and peace, offered the lord the king of England excellent conditions of peace, because he was his kinsman, and because the queen, his wife, was sister of the queen of England. But the king of England, being led away by the false promises of the count de la Marche, utterly refused them, asserting that he would never reject the advice of the said count, whom, according to his usual custom, he called his father. And immediately, in a rash and hostile manner, he defied the king of France himself. Therefore, the king of France repented of having thus humbled himself to the king of England, and unfolding the oriflamme, he made a vigorous attack on all the territories which belonged to the count de la Marche; and in a short time the war was so successful in his hand, that he had crushed his enemies, and brought hostilities to a wished-for end; for he had already occupied the castle of Frontigniac, which appeared to the Poitevins to be impregnable, and in it he took prisoners, the son of the count de la Marche, and a hundred knights. After that, he took the castle called Movent. And after that, day after day, he took other castles and cities, and all their inhabitants, illustrious citizens and knights, voluntarily submitted to his power. At last he came to a city very rich in vineyards, which is called Taillebourg, and which rejoices in a river, which is called the Tarente; and while the king of France was there, the king of England came in close order of battle to the other side of the river, and the two armies were so near that they could see one another's flags and standards, and there the king of England was saved from the danger of a disorderly battle by the energy of earl Richard. Accordingly, king Henry fled with prudence and good fortune, and came to Saintonges; but the king of France pursued him without delay, and a very fierce battle took place between the French and English, outside of the city, in which the French, though against their will, were forced to confess that the English gained the most honour.

But as the army of the king of France was increasing every day, like a lake which grows in consequence of torrents which pour into it, a sedition arose in the city, in consequence of which evil reports got abroad, and so the king of England fled disgracefully, and retreated with all expedition to Blaye, where for some days he was detained by illness. So when

the count de la Marche heard this, being stung with grief in his heart, he sent the count of Brittany to the king of France, to be a mediator and an intercessor for peace. And so, though with great difficulty, he was admitted to peace by the king of France, on very severe conditions, being forced to abandon the king of England, after he had drained him of his treasures, and injured his honour.

After these events, Reginald de Pontibus, and (following his example) William, surnamed the Archbishop, and the viscount de Thouars, and many other nobles of Poitou, who nevertheless had craftily, or one might say treacherously, received all the money of the king of England that they could get, now flew to shelter themselves under the wing of the king of France.

At this time, too, Richard, abbot of Evesham, died, surnamed the Stout, having been a monk of Westminster, and a prudent and wise man, learned and accomplished in all civil and canon law; and he died at Ryolan; at which the king was greatly grieved, because he was his principal councillor, and at one time had filled the office of chancellor. And while the king of England was disquieted by all these troubles, Eleanor, queen of England, was remaining at Bordeaux, being near the time of her confinement; and she did not quit that city till she had brought forth a daughter, to whom was given the name of Beatrice, in compliment to the countess of the province of Guienne, whose name was also Beatrice. And the child was born the day after the feast of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist.

At the same time, a circumstance occurred which the English do not relate without jesting and derision, though not unmingled with indignation. A certain woman, of singularly enormous size, whose carcase, the inheritance of many worms, was sufficient to load an empty litter, I mean the countess of Byarde, with her son Gaston, and fifty knights, being prompted by a covetous desire for money, in which she knew that the king of England abounded, came to him, and made an agreement that her knights should fight for the king for pay, and for this she was to receive thirteen pounds sterling regularly paid every day. But the aforesaid gigantic woman, or her son, or her body of knights, which for a long time remained with the king, to his great cost, never did the king any service, but were rather an injury to him, and at last they deserted him ridiculously.

Meantime the king of France, having taken counsel with his nobles, because he saw that his military enterprises all prospered in his hands, according to his wishes, proposed to pursue the king of England in a hostile manner, without losing any time, as far as Blaye, because he knew that he was now deserted by all the forces of the Poitevins, and deprived of all comfort, and descending rapidly to the abyss of despair; and from Blaye to Bordeaux, if he departed in that direction, and to continue the war with unwearied diligence till its termination. And lo! the Lord pitying the king, the Lord who giveth salvation to kings, when and how he wills, that Henry might not appear to have recommended himself in vain to the prayers of the men of the religious orders on his retreat, threw the hearts of the French, who were giving way to absurd pride, into confusion, by permitting seeds of division and dissension to arise among them. For some of them said that it would not be for the advantage of the French that the king of England should be taken prisoner or crushed, lest perchance England should be subjected to the yoke of France. And if that were to happen then, if even the noblest of the French were oppressed by the king, what refuge would be open to those who were forced to fly? and would not the English be in the same case if they were oppressed? "For," said they, "when England was placed under an interdict, we have seen France open the bosom of refuge and protection to the bishops and many of the nobles of England, as, for instance, to Robert Fitzwalter, and England did the same to Reginald, count of Boulogne." And those who spoke in this way, were among those whom earl Richard had redeemed in the Holy Land; and when others of the French had heard their arguments, they accused them of treason; and so a dissension arose, and they were nearly having recourse to civil war. Besides, a great want of provisions, and especially of water, oppressed their army, which was numerous, in a miserable manner, so that as their want of all kinds of food grew greater, they became swoln, and wasted away with sickness, and being afflicted and exhausted with various miseries, expired. For their fellow citizens of the province had closed up the mouths of the wells, and had polluted and poisoned the rivers and fountains, had ploughed up the meadows and pasture lands, and, having driven away the cattle, had removed to a distance all their supplies and all their crops. Accordingly, when they drank the waters, both horses and

men perished; and as the dog-days were just at hand, those who were sick laid down, and speedily died, being destitute of all comfort and rest, and having no attendance or medicine. And in this way upwards of eighty nobles of the French army, who were entitled to bear standards, died, and of the infantry about twenty thousand. And as the king of France at the same time was very ill, great fear and despair seized upon the French, who said that the alms of the king of England had undone them. For they were greatly afraid that their own king, because he was tender and delicate, and, indeed, that they themselves, too, might be overwhelmed with sudden death, and the example of strong men who were overtaken by death; increased their fear. For at the same time there died Robert Malet, a baron of Normandy, a man of the greatest valour in arms, and worthy of extraordinary praise. There also died at the same place, and of the same pestilence, Richard de Beaumont, one of the most nobly born of all the French, and greatly distinguished by gallant exploits.

Therefore, as the fates were adverse to him, the king of France was compelled to beg a truce of five years from the king of England, being desirous to return with all speed into France, where he might be able to enjoy a better climate, and the truce was accordingly, and, indeed, joyfully granted to him when he requested it. Having, therefore, received the homage of the nobles of Poitou, and having placed garrisons of his own natural and loyal subjects in their castles and cities, to command them, and keep them for him, the king returned to France; and being soon restored to perfect health, he commanded the men of Poitou, who had been surrendered on conditions of extremity, to be kept in close custody, and while there a condition was imposed upon them that they should not give their daughters in marriage, nor go from one city to another, without leave of the French. Also the count de la Marche, being accused and impeached of treason that same year, before the king of France, was with difficulty saved from the infliction of an ignominious death. But he became a sort of prodigy in the eyes of all men; a sign that is to be pointed at and ridiculed, and hissed at by all men, because he had so wickedly betrayed the king of England, who rashly trusted in him. From that time forth, then, the prodigal anxiety of the king of England was released from its burthens, though before that time he was accustomed foolishly to dis-

tribute among the Poitevins seven thousand marks every year, for their shadow of homage and useless service.

The same year, that is to say, on the day after the feast of Saint Michael, the conventual church of Waltham was dedicated by William, bishop of Norwich, with all due solemnity, many of the bishops and prelates assisting. At this time also, a scutage was exacted, and twenty shillings were granted and collected from each knight's fee for the use of the king in his necessity. But when the king had passed on peaceably as far as Bourdeaux, and as, now that there was a truce made between the king of France and himself, he was spending a great deal of time uselessly there, and going to great expense, some of the English nobles, who were by this time becoming very poor, and greatly involved in debt, asked leave to return to their own country, but could not obtain it. But, at the same time, earl Richard, without having received any distinct permission, did withdraw, and, returning to his own country, suffered many dangers by sea, and was scarcely saved from shipwreck, being driven on a dry island not far from Cornwall, where he vowed a vow to the Lord that he would found a house for religious men, of the Cistercian order, which vow he afterwards faithfully fulfilled. About the same time, that noble man, Richard de Burgh, who had great estates and possessions in Ireland, died. And the same year, Hugo de Lacy, a most celebrated warrior in Ireland, whose wars and conquests would require a special treatise, departed this life. About this time, too, Robert, bishop of Lincoln, a man most deeply skilled in the Latin and Greek languages, translated most accurately the testaments of the twelve patriarchs from Greek into Latin, which, through the envy of the Jews, had been for a long time unknown and concealed, and had not come to the knowledge of Jerome, or of any other translator; for in them were found manifest prophecies of the Saviour.

The same year, on the first of December, died Jocelin, bishop of Bath, full of days. And when the feast of Saint Michael was at hand, the abbots of the Cistercian order were not permitted to cross the sea to their general chapter, because in this same year, when entreated by the king, they refused him any assistance from the profits of their exhibition of wool. This year then passed by, sufficiently fruitful and productive, and peaceful to England itself, but full of war and injury to the countries beyond the sea belonging to the kingdom of

England, full of suspicion to the Holy Land, pregnant with fear to the empire, turbulent as far as the whole church was concerned (since the papal chair was still vacant), and also to the brethren, who were separated from one another both in their situations and their hearts, so that scarcely seven or eight of them remained at Rome.

The king of England delaying uselessly at Bourdeaux, money is collected in England for his use.

A.D. 1243, which is the twenty-seventh of the reign of king Henry the Third, the king was at Bourdeaux, not that he kept a Christmas feast there, but he wintered there, dawdling away his time unprofitably. And though the countess de Bearde, and Gerard, her son, and the men of Guienne, extorted from the king, whom they held to his promise, daily expenses according to their pleasure, and no inconsiderable sum as pay, yet neither the king nor the English thought of any warlike enterprise, except that, to avoid the imputation of doing nothing, they made themselves masters of some small towns on the borders of the district of Bourdeaux, which rebelled against them, and laid siege to a monastery which is called Verrines, in which some rebels had taken refuge; where, while one of the familiar councillors of the king, by name John Maunsel, one of the secular clergy, was attacking the besieged with more animosity than all the rest, he was struck down by a blow from a stone, so as to be nearly killed, and wounded, too, with an arrow, so that he with difficulty escaped falling into the hands of his enemies. And because he had so cheerfully exposed himself to danger of death for the king's honour, though he was admitted to his familiarity before, he was more so now, and though rich before, he became richer now, so that he deservedly attained to the level of the nobles and chiefs of the land; and most abundant revenues were bestowed upon him.

About the same time, the monks of Coventry, having received information of the death of the abbot of Evesham, who was also bishop elect of Coventry, with the consent of some of the canons of Lichfield, elected their precentor, the lord William of Mont Pestle, a holy man, of high character and great learning, to be the bishop and shepherd of their souls; but the lord the king, according to his established custom, wishing rather to promote some one else to be bishop,

immediately opposed his election, refusing to receive either the election or the person elected. And as some of the canons of Lichfield ranged themselves on his side, and as there was a great strife on the subject, each side incurred strange and extravagant losses, to the amount of two hundred and forty-five pounds.

About the same time, there came five guardians of the harbours, and some persons who sold wine and victuals, and they who depended wholly on the king's pay, all earnestly pressing the king for the payments that were due to them. Moreover, the people of Bourdeaux, to whom the king owed incalculable sums, no longer allowed him, although then master, to have his reins free, but his own city of Bourdeaux was already a prison to him, and they hemmed him in and worried him so, that he felt great bitterness of soul. Now, therefore, although it was too late, the lord the king, repenting of not having listened to the counsels of his natural-born English subjects, longed to feel happy again in the security of England, and to satiate himself with the luxuries of Westminster. From that time forth, therefore, he thought of returning to the harbour of England, and, by the active and discreet exertions of his ministers, a truce was established, which was signed on, and commenced from, the day of Saint Gregory. But the count of Brittany, like a crafty man, and one more wily than any fox, pretending that he was not aware of it, turned pirate on the sea, and occupied himself with plunder, and stripped many persons of much property, especially merchants, who, relying on the above-mentioned truce, passed through his territories. And when, in consequence of the complaints of the king of England, the knowledge of this came to the ears of the most pious king of France, he said, "Ha! how often have I reproved that traitor, and yet, though convicted, he does not amend his ways, but pretends that he is ignorant of what has taken place; but that his own dishonesty may be no protection to him, the spoiler shall be spoiled, and what he has taken away shall be restored to the lord the king of England." And this was done. Moreover, the spoiler was pronounced infamous, and condemned to just punishment

About this time, the cardinals assembled to elect a pope, and they intimated to the emperor, that he had, in no small degree, blackened his own reputation throughout all Christendom. For it was commonly said, that the emperor himself

had hindered the election of a pope, and the advantage of the church, by keeping some of the cardinals and some prelates in prison. And at the foot of their message they added, that he ought to release those whom he was detaining, and above all, cardinal Otho, that he might be present at the election, and that the election might take place according to his wish, and to the honour, and peace, and exaltation of the kingdom. And the emperor being influenced by these words, allowed the aforesaid cardinal Otho, and also the prelates, whom he had rashly detained, to depart in freedom. But when Otho had arrived among the brethren who were waiting for him, and when they had all discussed together the election of a pope, Satan sowed discord among them, so that they could not agree, nor adopt any unanimous opinion. On which account, the cardinal Otho being ashamed and perplexed, proposed to return to the emperor's prison, because the cardinals had violated the promise which they had given to him when he released them from prison. And when this was made known to the emperor, he was pleased at the good faith of Otho, and signified to him that he looked upon him, and always would look upon him, not only as a free man, but as a friend. Therefore, having collected a numerous army, the emperor laid waste the city of Aubigny, which especially belonged to the Roman church, and threatened the cardinals to level everything which was the property of the Roman church with the ground, unless they would at once, without making any more difficulties, agreed in the election of a pope. And he ordered the senator of the city, and others who were his friends, to shut the electors up, and guard them closely with an armed force, and not to permit them to depart till they had created a pope. Moreover, the king of France, with the university of his kingdom, transmitted a most vigorous letter, containing a demand, couched in warlike and imperious language, to the cardinals, by a formal ambassador, advising them to provide for the church, without any loss of time or delay. Accordingly, they being alarmed at such commands, determined, when they were assembled a second time, after having invoked the favour of the Holy Spirit, to proceed to the election of a pope at an appointed time, not waiting for a regular day, and rejecting all the hindrances of the devil. Now that in those days many men were doubting whether the papal powers, during the vacancy of the see, devolved on the college of cardinals or

not, we are fully assured by some letters which were sent to the abbot of Wardun, which begin thus, "Richard, by the divine mercy, bishop of Ostia and Velletri, John of the title of Saint Praxedes, Stephen of the title of Saint Lorenzo, in Lucina, Stephen of the title of Saint Maria, in Cosmedin, the church of the Saints Cosmo and Damian, Otho of Saint Nicholas, in the Julian prison, cardinals of the holy Roman church, to the religious man the abbot of Wardun, greeting, in the Lord," &c. And in some subsequent passages it is said, "We, however, in whom the power resides, while the apostolic see is vacant," &c.

At that time the king of England, after he had wasted a long time in Guienne, having entrusted the guardianship of that province, which they call the seneschalship, to Nicholas de Mueles, a prudent and royal knight, returned poor, landless, and inglorious, to England, and crossed the sea home. And in compliance with the king's command, a great number of the nobles of England met him, and were exposed to a long and painful, tedious and costly delay on the coast. At last, when he arrived in safety, they received him reverently, and both prelates and nobles did him honour with presents of priceless value, and when he came to London, he ordered the streets to be adorned with curtains and lamps, and the churches too with a vast number of other ornaments. And as the festival of Saint Edward was at hand, on the thirteenth of October, he came with joy to Westminster, a great body of people coming to meet him in procession, in festive garments, with trumpets and ringing of bells, and a prodigious number of lighted torches. The same year, about the time of the feast of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist, after many discussions, and much affliction of the church of Rome, which had suffered through the sudden death of pope Gregory, and the very lamentable decease of Master Robert Somerkote, the cardinal, and many other blows of adverse fortune, the cardinals being assembled together, out of fear of the emperor, elected cardinal Senebald pope, a Genoese by birth, and a man of great accomplishments and learning in the decretals and canon law, but no despiser of money. And he was created at Anagni, and he assumed the name of Innocent the Fourth, and he was confirmed on the day of the Apostles Peter and Paul, and when he had been confirmed, he immediately ratified the sentence that had been pronounced by his predecessor Gregory against the emperor Frederic. On which account,

the emperor, when he found the result contrary to his hopes, broke out into most violent anger, and intimated to the Romans that it was to their own great prejudice that a pope had been created anywhere else but at Rome, and still more so that he had ratified the sentence of pope Gregory. Therefore, the emperor immediately began to prepare troubles for the new pope, and he practised devices of various kinds, and placed strict guards on the entrances to all roads and harbours, and built gallies to go to sea, to prevent any carriers of bulls from passing, or from conveying money to the pope, to his injury; so that the severity of the emperor spared not even Preachers or Minors who carried any writings, or communications, or messages.

About the same time, the Templars besieged the Hospitallers in a hostile way at Acre, and to show their contempt for them, and by way of insult to them, shamelessly broke the truce which had been wisely made by earl Richard with the soldan of Babylon, by the advice of the Hospitallers themselves, and were not afraid to attack the soldan himself, having formed confederacies with other soldans, and hoping to find faith in infidels. And in consequence of this conduct, the fulfilment of that threat of the burning Gospel seemed to be at hand, "Every kingdom divided against itself, shall be made desolate."

About this time, when the bishop of Lincoln had, in an over-impetuous and unbecoming manner, deposed the abbot of Bardency, and when this same abbot had appealed to the chapter of Canterbury, who, according to their privileges, had the power of terminating all quarrels that arose in the province of Canterbury during the vacancy of the papal see, the aforesaid bishop would not wait for the result of the appeal, for which proceeding the chapter excommunicated him. But the bishop sent messengers to the pope, who was by this time elected, and, though the measure scarcely saved the rights of each party, after a caution as to his future conduct received absolution. The bishop of Norwich having been elected to the bishopric of Winchester, was confirmed in it, and Boniface was confirmed in the archbishopric of Canterbury.

About this time, that is to say, on the fourteenth of November, Beatrice, wife of the count of Provence, and mother of the queens of France and England, a woman of singular beauty, came into England, on the invitation of the king, who provided for her whole journey with great magnificence and

at enormous expense. And the king himself came down to the coast with a number of nobles to meet her, and received her joyfully, solemnising her arrival by the distribution of precious gifts, and the lighting of a countless number of torches, and the ringing of bells, and the clang of trumpets. And she brought with her her daughter, Senechia, who was to be married to earl Richard. But when she reached London, which was on the day week after the feast of Saint Martin, then, by the king's command, all the mud and every obstacle was removed out of the streets, and the whole city was brilliantly draped with cloths and curtains. And on Saint Clement's day, earl Richard espoused his wife, the aforesaid Senechia, the daughter of Raymond, count of Provence, and the aforesaid countess Beatrice, and sister of the queens of France and England, at Westminster. And at this marriage there was such a number of guests entertained, and such a general exultation of nuptial joy exhibited, that that general festival, which made the God Hymen himself marvel, would require a special treatise.

And while the world, that conjuror of many forms, was agitating mortals in this manner, a certain person, having the garb of religion only, a pretended and fictitious monk, by name John, who, being supported only by the royal authority, had rashly usurped the name and office of the prior of the cathedral church at Winchester, after he had disturbed that noble church, and the chapter of that church, in various manners, and by all kinds of distresses, met in the act great injury and scandal, yielded up his miserable life, and went to receive the due reward of his ways. But the king increasing his violence day by day, forbade every one from receiving in hospitality William de Rale, "who has falsely," said he, "caused himself to be proclaimed bishop of Winchester," or to have any mercantile dealings with him, or to supply him with any provisions or necessaries, or to assist him in any of these particulars, since he deserved to be accounted an enemy of the king, and indeed of the commonwealth. But the aforesaid bishop William went to Winchester to visit his church; but the mayor of that city, and some of his fellow-citizens, being forewarned of this, and animated by the commands of the king himself, shut all the gates of the city against him. And the bishop coming barefoot to one of the gates of the city, after he, being accompanied by his priests and secular clergy, had addressed others who were outside

of the city, and entreated a passage from them that he might enter his church in peace, addressed the same entreaty, with all humility, to those who were above the gates on the ramparts. But as the mayor and many of the citizens, and the king's ministers, refused this, and steadily opposed him, the bishop laid the whole city, and the cathedral church, and all the other churches, under an interdict, and pronounced a sentence of anathema against all the monks who were followers or partisans of the prior, who had been intruded into the see by the king's authority, though he was now dead, as has been already mentioned.

About the same time, in consequence of the conduct of the imperial ministers, who oppressed the people of Viterbo intolerably, the whole city of Viterbo and the adjacent country was brought over to the Roman side, by the instrumentality of Reiner, cardinal of Viterbo, who was a partizan of the pope. And at the same time, many noble and powerful men shook off their allegiance to the emperor, who, having done so, came to hate him, raising their heads against him, and threatening him that they would pursue him to the death. Therefore, the emperor humbling himself, according to that saying of David, "Fill their faces with disgrace, and they shall seek thy name, O Lord," offered conditions of peace to the church, agreeing to swear willingly to abide by the censures of the church, and to make satisfaction for the injuries which he had inflicted on it, provided that he was first informed in what he had injured it, and also of what satisfaction was required of him, and of all other circumstances. And as this was refused him, he raged more than ever against the church, and against all persons connected with it. And, among other tyrannical actions he caused two brethren of the order of Preachers, and the same number of the order of Minors, to be thrown into prison, because they were convicted of having carried letters between the princes and nobles, to the injury of the emperor and the empire; and they died in prison, because of the severity of their treatment.

About the same time, a report of the inhuman Tartars, and of the destruction that they spread everywhere, pervaded not only the countries of the east, but the inland regions, and even the western kingdoms, so as to reach all the countries of the world, and alarm them exceedingly; so that the prophecy of the blessed Methodius appeared manifestly reaching its full accomplishment.

About the same time, some persons, especially in Germany, affirming that they had chosen the habit and life of religious persons of both sexes, but especially females, professed chastity and simplicity of life, and bound themselves to God by separate vows. And the women, whom we generally call Beguins, were so increased in number, that in one single city, namely, Cologne, they are said to have amounted to more than a thousand.

And about this time, the heretics were multiplied, especially in the Ultramontane countries, and particularly that sect of heretics which we call the Paterini, who in times gone by had lain concealed, and when they were detected, were punished by painful deaths. But now, without blushing or fearing ecclesiastical punishment or censure, they burst forth into public, holding up their heads, so that many people, on account of the various novel kinds of tribulation which arose in the world from day to day, believed that the end of the world was at hand, in which the Lord will thunder out in the threatenings of the Gospel, saying, "Nation will rise against nation," &c.

This year then passed by, having been one of danger to the church, pregnant with storms to the kingdom of England, yet tolerably fertile and fruitful, bringing with it the death of many nobles in Christendom, and many tumults; full of wars for the Italians; beheld with suspicion by the Holy Land, and productive of schism between the Templars and Hospitallers, and of great scandal.

About a great entertainment of earl Richard at Wallingford.

A.D. 1244, which is the twenty-eighth of the reign of king Henry the Third, the said king was at the feast of the Nativity of the Lord, at Wallingford, as a guest of his brother, the earl Richard, where they feasted with exceeding magnificence, having invited nearly all the nobles of the kingdom; and then at London, the marriage which had been begun was duly consummated, so that the rest of their thoughts should run on the nuptial feast. And there were present there, besides the nobles of England, whom it would take too long to enumerate, Beatrice, countess of Provence, and her daughter, Senechia, a mother-in-law and new bride, of exceeding beauty. And the king took exceeding pains to exhibit himself as cheerful and pleasant to them. At last, when the solemnities of this festival were terminated, the king, accompanied by the aforesaid

countess Beatrice, with many noble persons of England and Provence, of both sexes, when the feast of the Circumcision of the Lord drew near, hastened to London, and there he solemnized the festival of Saint Edward, with wonderful sumptuousness, at Westminster, in the presence and sight of the strangers of Provence, and especially displayed the magnificence of his own palace. And when this festival was over, the countess before mentioned, directing her course towards the sea-coast, returned to her native country, the king, with a numerous retinue of his subjects, attending her slowly, as far as the sea-shore. But before she re-embarked on board ship at Dover, that mortals may never find the joys of this world unmixed, she was met by the bearers of doleful news, who told her that Raymond, count of Provence, her husband, had been stricken by an incurable disease, and was looking for nothing but death, a man who, in all its distresses, had afforded effectual protection to the church of Rome, and done much injury to the emperors. And when the lord the king Henry heard this, he grieved inconsolably, and (which was all that he could do), with prayers and alms, besought the mercy of God for him.

About the same time, the pope, relying too much on the king's simplicity and patience, sent into England a new extorter of money, not invested with the insignia of a legate, but fortified with unheard-of powers, by name Martin, who immediately betook himself to the usual abode of all the papal legates, and nuncios, and secular clergy; that is to say, to the New Temple in London, and without delay displayed his power of receiving revenues, and extorting money in all kinds of ways, and practised it diligently, to the great distress of many hearts, and to the wounding of men's consciences. For he had the power of prohibiting all collation to benefices, until satisfaction should be made to him according to his wish. And, despising all scanty revenues as so many husks, he laid rapacious hands on all rich booty. He had also power of excommunicating, suspending, and punishing in various ways, and just as he pleased, all who resisted his will, though it might have been a mere hasty action; just as if on that very day he had, according to established custom, produced authentic bulls, drawn up in the papal chancery. On which account it was said by some people, and not without reason, that he had brought over a great many papers sealed with a

bull,* but not filled up, for him to fill up himself as he pleased; but I would hope that this was not the case. Accordingly, the aforesaid Master Martin began to exact presents on all sides from the prelates, in an imperious manner, such as desirable palfreys and precious vessels, and to extort them even by force (especially from those who belonged to any religious orders) for his own use; (for that man prays foolishly who forgets himself,) and for the use of the pope he extorted sums of money, and prebends to which men had been already elected, using this odious additional form of words, "notwithstanding any privilege to the contrary," &c. And as a certain rich prebend at Salisbury was vacant, the aforesaid Master Martin, a diligent searcher out of such things, laid his greedy and hooked hands upon it, and without consulting, or, I may rather say against the expressed wish of the bishop of that see, he conferred it on a young man, a nephew of the lord the pope. And in a similar manner the unwearied Master Martin before-mentioned conferred other benefices on the kinsmen of the pope, of whom there were an astonishing number, not without causing great astonishment to many persons of experience. For many people believed, and, because they believed, hoped that the Roman court, having been so repeatedly chastised by God, would, in some degree, at least, check its accustomed avarice by the bridle of moderation. But the day week after the feast of the Purification of the blessed Virgin Mary, the vessel of pride, and the fuel of all the quarrels which had arisen between the lord the pope and the emperor, died, namely, John de Colonna, cardinal of Rome. He was a man of great renown as a warrior, and eminent for his high birth, among all the cardinals, and of great fame and power, as the possessor of many castles and palaces, and of large treasures and revenues.

About the same time, Master Roger, the precentor of Salisbury, was confirmed in the bishopric of Bath. Also, a certain monk, taken from the bosom of the church of Evesham, was duly elected and created abbot of that same church. The same year, too, the venerable father the bishop of Chichester, Radulph de Neville, chancellor of England, a pillar of truth, in whose power the whole kingdom was, and the very pedestal of fidelity, terminated his temporal life, and departed to an

* The bull, strictly speaking, was a leaden seal affixed to the papal documents.

everlasting one, in London, in his own noble palace, which he had built from its foundations, not far from the New Temple and the house of converts, on the first of February. About the same time, the cardinal Otho, who had formerly been legate in England, was made bishop of Portsmouth. Also, in those days, William, bishop of Winchester, being indignant at the annoyances which were offered him by the king from day to day, and which were constantly increasing, as he was abiding and lying hid, as it were, at Southwark, in the house of the canons there, on the twentieth of February, fled away in a clandestine manner, early in the morning, and embarked on board a ship in the port of London, to go into voluntary exile in France, where he might enjoy an asylum in secure peace; and sailing down the Thames, he soon arrived in the open sea, and, before his flight had become known to the king, he had landed safe in the harbour of Saint Valori. From thence he proceeded to the town of Abbeville, and there he met a formal messenger of the most pious king of France, who, on the part of his lord the king, received the bishop with joy and a most cheerful countenance, promising him the king's protection in all matters, and comfort in every tribulation. And the messenger ordered, by the king's command, that the mayor of Abbeville should prepare the whole commune and the whole city to defend the bishop, if by chance any persons on the part of the king of England should pursue him with a view to injure him, so that, having recourse even to arms if there were need, they might fight vigorously for the bishop against all who should oppose them. And the bishop of Winchester going into banishment in this way, the fame of the king of England was blackened in no moderate degree throughout all Cisalpine countries; for the French, who were always rivals of the English, deriving matter from this event for uttering wicked reproaches, said: "Ah! ah! see how the king of England, who is inactive and impotent against all the enemies of his kingdom, persecutes and proscribes all his holy bishops. At one time it was the blessed Thomas, and not long ago the glorious Edmund, both of whom were archbishops of Canterbury, and at the present time he does not permit the bishop of Winchester, who has served him a long time with diligence and fidelity, to enter his church, or to rejoice in the peace of his kingdom, preferring to promote foreigners and strangers." And when this became known to Boniface, archbishop elect of

Canterbury, he, grieving for the disrepute of the king of England, reproved the king on this point, in an amicable epistle, and earnestly advised him to recall the aforesaid bishop, and admit him to his former friendship and intimacy, and permit him to re-enter on his bishopric, and freely to exercise his episcopal office, and to enjoy his privileges and his temporal possessions, lest it might turn out ill for the king himself, and for his kingdom. And soon afterwards, the lord the pope himself wrote most earnestly to the king, urging him to recall the bishop to his friendship, and to open to him the breast of mercy. Moreover, the lord the pope wrote to the queen of England an elegant letter, in the superscription of which, and also in its contents, he asserts that she is his kinswoman (how she was so is unknown, but perhaps he said so craftily to make her more favourable to his request); and he anxiously exhorted her to appease the king's severity, and to endeavour to mitigate his rancour against the bishop of Winchester. For the pope argued in an etymological manner on the name "woman;" for she is called woman (*mulier*), from softening her master (*molliens herum*). And in return for this liberal excitive of his beneficence, and for the paternal solicitude which the lord the pope so anxiously displayed for the promotion and peace of the bishop, the aforesaid bishop of Winchester (that it might be impossible to accuse him of ingratitude) is said to have paid to the lord the pope more than six thousand marks, and the lord the pope, that he might not be accused of being disdainful, is said not to have refused one penny of the money.

And while the world was agitating mankind with all these disturbances, Griffith, the eldest son of Leoline, prince of North Wales, now dead, who was detained as a prisoner in the Tower of London, being greatly grieved, and wearied by his long confinement, to which he was unaccustomed, considered carefully how he might be able to escape from this imprisonment. Accordingly, one night, having deceived the guards, he, by plaiting and knotting, made a long rope out of pieces of torn linen, and carpets, and napkins, by which he endeavoured to let himself down perpendicularly from the top of the tower; but after he had dropped some distance, the rope broke, and he fell and broke his neck, and so died; for he was a man of great size, and very heavy. About the same time, a most bloody engagement took place in the Holy Land between

the Saracens and those worst of all Saracens, the Chorosmines, and all the Christians who were able to bear arms, and a terrible slaughter, and one to be lamented throughout all ages, took place, and the masters of the Temple and the Hospital were both taken and led into captivity, and so were nearly all the Templars and Hospitallers, and other brethren of the different orders, so that the house of the Germans of Saint Lazarus, and nearly all the nobles of the Holy Land, either fell in battle, or were oppressed in captivity by the Saracens. For the soldan of Babylon, whom the Templars had attacked, having broken the treaty of truce which had been entered into by earl Richard, in revenge for such an injury, urged on the Chorosmines to their extermination. But the Tartars had previously repelled the aforesaid Chorosmines from their territories with the edge of the sword, and so the miserable Christians became, as their sins had well deserved, the prey of robbers and plunderers. This melancholy battle then, so ruinous and disgraceful to the church of Christ, took place under an unhappy star, between Ascalon and Gazara, on Saint Luke's day. And while the whole human race was thus in agitation and disorder in Syria, the divine power also raged against human affairs throughout England and its borders. Therefore, the Roman church, laying aside all shame in the time of our new pope, Innocent the Fourth, in a manner very contrary to the hopes which we had entertained, ceased not, by daily measures, to extort revenues in an unwise manner, not departing at all from the path of his predecessors, but rather making his hand heavier upon all men. Therefore, the murmur which had been long conceived and suppressed in the hearts of the English, now, although late, burst forth into open complaints, and men, as if labouring to speak, were not able to contain themselves any longer; for their patience was sluggish, and their humility produced no advantage, but was rather injurious to them, and the insatiable wantonness of Rome took advantage of it. Accordingly, the nobles of the whole kingdom assembled together, and made a vigorous representation to the king on the subject, asserting that it was better to die than any longer to submit to such enormities; for it was not their intention, nor that of their predecessors, when they conferred estates on men of religious orders, and other places built out of pious considerations, to give them merely to be distributed at the pope's pleasure among Italians,

who were unknown to the kingdom, men notoriously polluted with simony and usury, and every kind of vice, and who took no care to preach or to exercise hospitality towards the faithful in Christ. The king, therefore, being excited to no slight anger, and knowing and feeling that there was truth in these complaints, wrote to the lord the pope in humble but very firm language, urging him to endeavour to correct these faults by his paternal solicitude.

In these times, too, David, the prince of North Wales, designing to take refuge under the wings of the papal protection, offered to hold his territories under the pope, giving him out of them a certain fixed sum of money, to the amount, as it is said, of five hundred marks. And the lord the pope is said to have showed him favour, to the great prejudice and loss of the kingdom of England; for the world knew that, from ancient times, the prince of Wales had been a vassal of the king of England.

About the same time, the fame of the blessed Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, and a most glorious confessor, filled all the Cisalpine countries with the odour of his holy reputation. For, on account of his merits, the Lord wrought such numerous and great miracles, that the times of the Apostles seemed to be renewed. Accordingly, the monks of Pontigny, in whose church the most holy body of the said bishop and confessor is known to rest, entreated the lord the pope that he should cause proper investigation to be made, in order to the formal canonization of the aforesaid saint; but the lord the pope postponed that business, and promised to do it when there was some great and solemn congregation of the faithful in the court of Rome; and he did this, as it is said, at the prompting of some envious persons, who persecuted the aforesaid archbishop in this life, and who now did not cease to persecute him after he was dead.

In those times also, the lord the king being softened by the requests of the lord the pope and others of the nobles, began to deal more gently with William, bishop of Winchester, signifying to him that, if he would submit in a spirit of kindness, and ratify the collations to the benefices which the king had already conferred on some of his own secular clergy in the diocese of Winchester, and would not require an account of what had been already received by the king himself for the renewals of manorial rights, and would relax the sentence of

the interdict which he had pronounced against the city of Winchester, and would kindly and patiently put up with the prior whom he himself had appointed at Winchester, and would pardon the monks who had taken the king's side, in that case he, the king, would cheerfully restore him to his friendship as formerly. And when Master Henry de Susa, one of the secular clergy of the king, heard this, a man who had appeared as the king's procurator at the court of Rome against the bishop of Winchester, and who had received from the king large sums of money for the purpose of crushing the aforesaid bishop, he suddenly and secretly departed to his native country, carrying with him the money that I have mentioned, and by means of this he obtained, I fear I ought to say bought, a bishopric, desiring only the profit of the thing, and not the duties of the office, and being only a messenger of ill omen, like a crow, he never afterwards appeared in England, since he knew that the way of peace was being made smooth between the lord the king and the bishop of Winchester.

Now, while the revolutions of the year were bringing about these temporal changes, the emperor Frederic, being excited by the stings of pride, began to repent of having ever humbled himself to the church, and so, subsequently, he began to spread toils and snares for the pope, which the lord the pope, having been repeatedly forewarned of them, by his prudence avoided. And in order to strengthen his own side more wisely, because he had but few partners in his toils and anxieties, he in a short time created ten additional cardinals, namely, Master John, surnamed of Toledo, a monk of the Cistercian order, an Englishman by birth, a man of elegant accomplishments and learning, and some others, also, who were more distinguished for their high birth than for any eminence of character or learning, whose names would take a long time to insert in this history, and it would not be worth while to do so. On the eighth day before the feast of the Nativity of the blessed John the Baptist, the lord the pope came to Civita Castellana, which is about eighteen miles from the city of Rome, with the view, as he would then be nearer the emperor, of being able to treat more effectually of peace, which, however, was much doubted or suspected, or, I might say, in consequence of the news that had been received, almost despaired of. And, on the vigil of the Apostles Peter and Paul, he came to the city

of Sutri. But the emperor, who was already drawing back, intimated to him that he would do nothing with him concerning any agreement, unless he previously granted him letters of absolution. And when the pope answered and said that this would be quite inconsistent with reason, a contention arose between the emperor's ambassador and the pope himself; and from that time forward the pope, as if he foresaw his own confusion, began to entertain the idea of a sudden and secret flight, without, however, admitting any one to his confidence, lest the lord the emperor should prepare to oppose a barrier to his flight. Some people, however, said that he had adopted this idea in order to meet the bearers of presents in their way, because those who were bringing him money did not venture to come through to him, on account of the guard established by the emperor. Accordingly, at the hour of men's first sleep, on the vigil of the Apostles Peter and Paul, the lord the pope, having left behind his papal insignia, armed himself with some light arms, and mounting on a swift horse, with his hands full, having scarcely a single chamberlain privy to his act, departed secretly, suddenly, alone, not sparing his horse's sides or his own spurs, so that before one o'clock, having been torn along rather than carried, he had gone thirty-four miles without any one accompanying him, or, I should rather say, being able to keep up with him. But about midnight an outcry arose in the court—"Behold, the pope is gone!" And the pope had given positive notice the day before that he would be so condescending as to conclude all the business which required to be transacted in his court on the day following the feast of the Apostles, to their honour, announcing it so distinctly as to make every one sure that he intended to do nothing of the sort. And that day he came to a castle on the sea-coast, which is called Civita Vecchia, where he was met by twenty-three gallies, well furnished with arms and armed men, from Genoa, who were ready to receive him, and to conduct him safe and uninjured to his own city, for pay. And before the next night, seven cardinals joined him; and, late in the evening, the pope, attended by these seven cardinals and a few of the secular clergy, entered one of these gallies, and, in three days after, having encountered many dangers at sea from the people of Pisa and others who were lying in wait for him, he came to Leghorn, and, on the third day after that, they all reached Genoa, with great joy. And the citizens

who came out to meet him, nearly all of them asserted that they were his connections and relations. This is the reason because the Genoese were so ready to go to meet him, and to come to the port of Civita Vecchia, having been previously armed, that some assert that this step was not taken for fear of the emperor, but rather that the pope might meet those who were bringing him money, and they adduce this as an argument in proof of their assertion. But while all the citizens of both sexes were raising shouts and applauding him with the clang of trumpets and ringing of bells throughout the city in which the pope had been born, he, without hesitation, promised to enrich them out of his revenues, and especially out of what he received from England; and he did not deceive them, but kept his promise. And when all this had become known to the lord the emperor, he gnashed his teeth like a satyr, and said, "The wicked flees when no one pursues, and he who is conscious of guilt is afraid, though no one accuses him; I see plainly why he has fled: it is that he may meet the French and English, who are about to give him money." Nevertheless, the emperor was concerned at the circumstance, and was exceedingly surprised at it, and blamed the guards of his harbours and cities for inactivity and treachery. And, therefore, all around Genoa, and especially on the side towards Gaul, he most strictly blocked up all the roads, to prevent any money being conveyed to the pope, on which all his trust was placed, or any letter with a bull affixed being carried from him, in which alone was his glory; so that the lord the pope had now Genoa for his prison, and was banished from his own country.

At the same time too that the emperor might the more strengthen his own side, he gave one of his daughters in marriage to one of the most powerful of the Greek princes, by name Bartacon, a man who disregarded the commands of the Roman church, and was therefore a schismatic; a proceeding which was both an injury and insult to the lord the pope. And so, as the Lord was angry, the heap of evils increased day by day. And while the storm of this world was agitating and perplexing mankind, the Welch, who neither would nor could submit their necks to strange laws, and to the domination of the English, appointed as their chiefs, David, the son of Leoline, and the nephew of the lord the king, and some other powerful men of Wales, and began a most bloody war against

the king and his marquises. And they were met by a gallant resistance on the part of the earl of Clare, the earl of Hereford, Thomas of Monmouth, Roger de Monthant, and other powerful and illustrious marquises,[1] who fought many battles against them, in obedience to the king's command, and in defence of their own territories, who in the beginning of the war got the worst of the contest, but at last they triumphed over some of the armies of the enemy, as is often the case in the changing fortune of war. And in the first battle there fell on the two sides about a hundred men; but on the feast of Saint Barnabas the Apostle, the lord king was at Saint Alban's, where he staid three days, and while he was there the reports of the insolence of the Welch grew stronger, and offended the ears and heart of the king, and other rumours also were added, which also perplexed the ears and heart of the king, especially one of the sudden abrogation of the election of Robert de Passelewe, one of his secular clergy, who had devoted his body and soul to the king's service, and who had been elected bishop of Chichester, and of the election of some one else, namely, Master Richard de Withz, in his place without the royal consent. Therefore, the lord the king, whose honour had been thus derogated from, being very angry, took the bishopric into his own hand, and would not permit the newly-elected bishop to enter into that bishopric or diocese. Moreover, he conceived great indignation against all those who had brought this about, and especially against Boniface, archbishop elect of Canterbury, whom he particularly accused of ingratitude, charging him with being an injurer of the royal dignity in the first instance of his own promotion. And the king, heaving a sigh from his inmost heart, said to himself, "I suffer all this deservedly, because I hindered the free election at Canterbury, where so many saints have come from, and thought fit to promote an utterly unworthy person to that dignity."

About the same time, the king of England raised some important questions between himself and the king of Scotland, alleging that the latter was stirring up afresh heavy troubles

[1] The title marquis is evidently derived from the marches, or borders of the country, the defence of which was committed to them; but the actual title in England is not older than the reign of Richard the Second. In some histories they are called Lord's Marchers.

against himself the king of England and his kingdom, contrary to the faith which he had pledged to the king of England and his kingdom. As a proof of which, he said that he had caused some very strong castles to be built in London, which is a district bordering on England. Moreover, he had received in his territories, and sheltered, Godfrey de Marais, his enemy, and a fugitive from his power. And besides, he had selected as a wife the daughter of Ingelram de Coucy, a most wicked baron of the kingdom of France, and one very hostile to the king and kingdom of England. Therefore the king sent (which, however, he ought not to have done) for the count of Flanders, that he might come to him as an ally against the king of Scotland, who was about to wage war against him, as if he were unable to attack him without his assistance. He assembled the forces of the whole of England to carry on and support his war. Accordingly, the count of Flanders, having been invited, came with speed, bringing with him some Flemings thirsting most greedily, as is the custom of their nation, for booty and plunder, to the number of sixty knights and a hundred esquires, all eager for the king's pay. As, therefore, the king had set out towards the northern parts of the island, the said count, who had landed at Dover, followed the king with all speed, being accompanied by his brother Boniface, the archbishop elect of Canterbury. And when they had traversed the country as far as Saint Alban's, with the intention of passing the night there, they were met by Master Walter de Suffield, bishop elect of Norwich, who was immediatelyon the spot confirmed in his bishopric of Norwich by the archbishop elect of Canterbury.

But Alexander, king of Scotland, having received information of the hostile approach of the king of England, armed himself against it with great prudence, most earnestly entreating all his friends on the borders by ambassadors and by letters to assist him in such a serious danger, by which means he collected a very large army, consisting principally of infantry. Moreover, he sent into France to John de Coucy, his wife's brother, entreating him to come to his aid with all his power, as he was threatened with war by the king of England. For Ingelram, the father of John, had, a short time before, died in a strange manner; for he had fallen from his horse, who stumbled against a trunk of a tree, and in falling he had hung in the stirrup; and his horse being frightened ran away, and dashed into a deep river, and as Ingelram saw that he was in danger of

death in this way, he made an effort to mount the horse again; when lo! his sword of its own accord fell from the scabbard, and in this way he was suddenly stabbed, and so the aforesaid Ingelram died, being at once hanged, dragged, stabbed, and drowned; and I have recounted this event, though it is somewhat of a digression from my main subject, that the whole world may know that the marvellous life of Ingelram was terminated by a marvellous end. However, his son John, who had succeeded to his place, sent a military reinforcement to the king of Scotland by sea. But when the king of England heard this, he ordered all the sea-coast to be most strictly guarded by the wardens of the Cinque Ports, by whom the Flemings, who were sailing towards Scotland were alarmed, and returned by the way by which they had come. But when the king of Scotland saw that he could not resist the king of England, he begged for peace, and after some difficulty obtained it. And this peace was re-established between the kings of England and Scotland.

When the bishop elect of Norwich had been confirmed, Master William de Burgh, one of the secular clergy of the lord the king, was elected bishop of Llandaft. And while the revolving year was producing these events, the king, by an edict which he issued publicly, and by an admonition which he addressed generally to all people, caused notification to be made throughout all England, that every baron who held land in fee of the king, should have all his military service, which was due from him, ready at the king's command, whether they were bishops or abbots, or lay-barons. And then he marched with a numerous army towards Newcastle-on-Tyne, and as soon as he arrived there, there came to him the count of Flanders with his soldiers, eagerly thirsting for the sterling money. And so when the whole body of the nobles of the whole of England was assembled around the aforesaid town, a discussion was held, and carried on with great care, long consideration being given to such an important affair, about the time of the feast of the Assumption of the blessed Virgin Mary; and at last, by the management of earl Richard, and the other nobles, who went with great wisdom and virtue to and fro between the parties very often, an agreement was come to between the two kings. For those discreet and prudent men said—"May God forbid that so much innocent Christian blood should be shed, as a fierce battle

threatens. Enough; ay, and far too many Christians are slaughtered in the east, but they have flown upwards to the Lord, as it is pious to believe; but, alas! what grief would there be, if now so many thousand thousands were to fall and be slain for a lust of reigning, and of possessing more ample territories?" Moreover, the king of Scotland, who was a good man, and beloved by all men, English as well as Scots, had a very numerous army, to wit, a thousand men completely armed with good and picked horses, although not from Spain or Italy, and properly protected with iron or linen armour, and a countless host of infantry, to the number, as it is said, of a hundred thousand; who all with one accord confessed their sins, and received absolution, and then, being animated by the consolation of their preachers, as men who were about to fight in a just cause for their country, had no fear of death. But that the blood of so many Christians might not be shed in hostile combat, peace was happily re-established between the aforesaid kings, and a writing drawn up to secure the inviolable observance of the peace. And soon after it was regularly confirmed by the supreme pontiff, and oaths and all kinds of obligations were added, in order that what had been then wholesomely provided for on both sides might be firmly observed for ever.

In the meantime, the Welch being exceedingly alarmed, lest when the king had made peace with the king of Scotland, he might attack them in a hostile manner with his whole army, kept quiet, and, like hares, lay hid in peace. But the king, having arranged everything in a peaceable manner in the countries which border on Scotland, at once without delay returned to the peaceful delights of Westminster, forgetful of the injuries which had been inflicted on himself and his people by the Welch. And when the Welch understood this, like bees who swarm out of their hives, they came forth from their lurking-places, devoting themselves in no slack manner to pillage, conflagration, and massacre, and shamefully routing the English, though not without considerable loss on their own part.

About the same time, the interdict which had been pronounced against the church of Winchester was relaxed, and everything was honourably re-established in peace. Moreover, on the eleventh of September, Master Roger, precentor of Salisbury, was consecrated bishop of Bath; on the revenues of

which see, while it was vacant, as they were still levied, Master Martin, one of the clerks of the lord the pope, whom many persons, in witty phrase, used to call Master Mastiff, on account of his rapacity, laid his hands, for some unknown relation of the pope. And on the day of Saint Denis, Fulk Basset, dean of York, was consecrated bishop of London. About the same time, Adam, bishop of Cuver, died at Wardon, of which place he had been formerly abbot. About the same time also, John, bishop of Hereford, died; who, having been deprived of his bishopric, had by the command of the pope sojourned at Saint Alban's for about twenty years. Likewise, about the same time, the bishop of Lincoln went to the court of Rome, for the sake of terminating the dispute which existed between him and his canons, in the presence of the lord the pope; and in like manner there went to oppose him, the dean of Lincoln and some canons of that church. Also the same year, on the Monday next before the feast of All Saints', some persons came to the synod of the bishop of Rochester, professing a new sect of religion, and assuming the name of Cross Bearers, from a cross which each man bore tied to his staff.

About the same time, the pope delivered himself from the imperial guards, and removed to the city of Asti; and soon afterwards, he withdrew in haste, and by night, to Lyons; and from that time forth, he entertained the idea of assembling a general council, chiefly with a view of deposing the emperor, and precipitating him from the summit of the imperial authority with disgrace, while in the lower parts of Gaul. But the king of France, when he found that the lord the pope was approaching his dominions, knowing that no good could arise from his arrival to either king or kingdom, convoked his nobles, and consulted them as to what should be done in these circumstances; and when they were assembled, lo! a petition from the pope was presented to the king and his nobles, requesting that he might be allowed to proceed to the city of Rheims, which was at that time deprived of its prelate. And when the French had heard this request with amazement, they immediately made a firm reply that they would by no means permit any such thing. Therefore, the king of France wrote an answer to the lord the pope, couched in temperate language, that his nobles were by no means willing to consent that he should come into France. For they were afraid lest he should reward his entertainers like a mouse in a sack, or a

snake in one's bosom; and that they would not permit two great luminaries to appear in their country, lest, if one swallowed up the other, an eclipse should take place; nor was all the elegance of language, which was so carefully studied in the pope's letter, nor the example which was derived from pope Alexander, of blessed memory, of any avail to soften the resolution of the French. For they said, "How unlike is that man to this boy." But on the day after the feast of All Souls, all the nobles of England came together, because they had been so often injured and deceived by the king, and contradicted him to his face, when he entreated most earnestly that a pecuniary aid might be granted to him.

The same year, the lord the emperor signified to the king of England and his nobles, by a special ambassador and councillor of his own, by name Peter de Vinea, that they ought not to suffer the kingdom of England to be pauperised any more, and stripped of its riches, and the pope to be fattened on it to no purpose, and to offer on the part of the lord the emperor to deliver England from this tribute. And the aforesaid Peter asserted that all the money which England had lavished for the pope's use, had been seized by the emperor for his own purposes, in order that the money which had been given for the object of injuring the emperor might aid in procuring his success. Therefore, the king, who was cherishing a design of marching his expedition into Wales, extorted no small sum of money from his subjects, as from slaves of the lowest condition; and from the Jews, inventing a pretext against those before-mentioned subjects, that they had cherished an outlawed and banished man, William Buketel, who, however, had obtained a reversal of his outlawry, through the entreaties and presents of his brother Andrew.

On Saint Hugo's day, Margaret, sister of the king of Scotland, and the relict of Gilbert, earl of Mareschal, died in London; she was rejected by the king of England, and was buried in the church of the Preacher Brothers. The same year, at the Advent of the Lord, Louis, king of France, being very ill from the remains of a disease which he had contracted in Guienne, being seized with a mortal attack, lay for some days as if he were dead, and indeed, according to the assertion of the bystanders, he was actually dead. And there were standing by him while he was lying in this condition, his mother, the noble lady Blanche, and his brother Richard,

count of Artois, and the bishop of Paris, and others, but very few intimate friends of his own; and they were all grieving that the king was now dead and cold; but his mother Blanche, unable to conceal her maternal affection, ordered the holy cross, with the lance, and crown of thorns, which a few years before had been brought into France, to be applied to the apparently, and, as some insisted, really dead body; and then sighing, while sobs interrupted her voice, she said, "Not unto us, O Lord Christ, not unto us, but unto thy name give the praise. Save this day the kingdom of France, and the crown which hitherto thou hast sustained by thy grace; show the virtue of thy tokens which thou hast left behind thee on the earth to appear at the great judgment,—in which we place our confidence and our boasting." A strange miracle! The king immediately yawned, and contracted his legs and arms towards his body, and drawing his breath and sighing, he requested to be signed with the sign of the cross, and made a vow that he would go to the Holy Land—which he did.

In the course of the same year, David, prince of North Wales, who, as has been already mentioned, had fled to the asylum of the pope, and found favour with him to enable him to shake the yoke of the king from off his neck, now deservedly obtained the following letters from the lord the pope, whom he had chosen as his protector, though not without a great expenditure of money.

"Innocent, &c. to the beloved faithful brethren of de Alberc and de Kem. of the Carthusian order, and the diocese of Bangor, sendeth greeting and his apostolic benediction, on the part of our beloved son the noble David, prince of North Wales, &c. as above. Since then those things which are done through violence and fear, as far as such feelings can influence a brave man, ought to have no validity or ratification, we by our apostolic power enjoin your discretion, that, having first examined the truth of these matters, you, if the truth be so, do by our authority entirely absolve the before-mentioned prince from the observance of an oath which was extorted from him in such a manner, and relax any sentence which in consequence may by chance have been pronounced by any one against his person or kingdom."

But when this had come to the knowledge of the lord the king and his nobles, and had soon afterwards reached the ears of other princes, by the common report of fame, they, being

very indignant, and detesting the avarice of Rome, urged the king of England to pay no attention to papal mandates of so injurious a character, but rather to have recourse to hostile war, to repress the new insolence of so ungrateful a man. And when the pope found that this was the case, he dissembled, and conniving at their refractory spirit, allowed all these things to pass by unnoticed. But he was far from restoring the money of the prodigal David, in order that by being punished in that way he might learn better wisdom for the future.

This year, brother Vincent completed his mirrors.

And so this year passed, being both a fruitful and a fertile one, so that a sum or quarter of corn fell to the price of two shillings. It was a year very unfavourable to the Holy Land; cloudy and discreditable to the Roman Church; turbulent, as far as the kingdom of England was concerned; and pregnant with fear to the kingdom of France; looked upon with suspicion by the universal church; and full of wars and alarms to Italy.

Ch. XII.—From A.D. 1245 to A.D. 1246.

Wars between the Welch and English—The Templars send reinforcements to the Holy Land—Disputes with the pope—A council is held at Lyons—The pope again excommunicates and deposes the emperor.

On Christmas-day John de Gatesdene becomes a soldier from having been a clerk. Edmund, the king's son, is born.

A.D. 1245, which is the twenty-ninth of the reign of king Henry the Third, the aforesaid king, at the feast of the Nativity of the Lord, was in London. And there, on Christmas-day, he invested John de Gatesdene, one of the secular clergy, and who was enriched with many benefices, but who had previously resigned them all, with the belt of a knight, because he was eager to adopt a married life, which he preferred. About the same time, the archbishop elect of Canterbury, and the bishops of Worcester and Hereford, crossed the sea, men who among all the prelates of England were the most especial servants of the lord the pope, and eager to perform his will, even to the injury of the kingdom, because he had promoted them. Indeed, the archbishop elect of Canterbury, when about to

embark on board ship, ordered the woods of his archbishopric to be cut down—and sold, and tailliages and collections to be made in his diocese. And he appointed one of his officers, a Poitevin by birth, namely, Master Hugo de Mortimer, to perform his commands carefully.

On the day of Saint Marcellus, queen Eleanor bore the lord the king a son, and his name was called Edmund. On the day following the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Isabella de Bolbek, countess of Oxford, died. And the day after the feast of Saint Valentine, Baldwin, earl of Devon, died, a youth of an admirable disposition, and a most accomplished knight, who is more commonly known by the title of earl of the Isle of Wight. This year too, just at the beginning of Lent, the lord the pope caused the emperor Frederic to be a second time excommunicated throughout all France and England, in order that the infamy of his name might be spread throughout all Christendom, because he had made fresh attacks upon his kinsmen.

During Lent itself, warlike attacks were made upon one another in Montgomeryshire, by the Welch and English; but the keeper of Montgomery castle, having placed an ambush in their rear, and feigning to flee from fear, intercepted a great number of the Welch, who were pursuing incautiously, and slew those whom he intercepted without putting them to ransom. Accordingly, David, with the view of retrieving that disaster, ordered the abrupt paths of the mountains, along which the English must pass, to be closely guarded by his own guards. Accordingly, while one of the greatest nobles in England, namely, Hubert, the son of Matthew, was passing by one of those roads, under an unlucky star he was struck down by a blow of a stone, and so died. After that, the aforesaid David with his partisans seized the castle, which is called Monthant; and having put to the sword all whom he found in it, he levelled it to the ground.

The same year, about the middle of Lent, there came couriers from the lord the pope into England, bringing his precept for calling a general council, in this form: "Innocent, &c. The virtue of God and the wisdom of God, to whose ineffable Majesty all things are subjected," &c.

About the same time, the king having, as it seemed to himself and his friends, suffered an enormous injury, because now a great many bishops were created in his kingdom without his

consent, with the view of preferring a complaint on this head, and of claiming the rights which had belonged to him as king from ancient times, sent Master Laurence of Saint Martin's as his procurator to the court of Rome. Many prelates in England, with abbots and bishops, excused themselves from attending the general council, some by a petition to the king, others because they were declared invalids, and others by valuable gifts obtained permission to absent themselves. About the same time died the cardinal Godfrey de Frane, than whom the lord the pope had no more intimate or useful friend. And also there died in England, in the northern part of the kingdom, one of the greatest of the nobles, by name Gilbert de Humfraville.

In those days the Templars and Hospitallers, by way of replacing the losses of their brethren, received many of the secular clergy whom they were able to elect, into their order, and sent them as a reinforcement to the Holy Land, to the defence of those cities which were desolate, and of those castles which were now expecting a siege or surrender. Earl Richard, too, sent a thousand pounds to the aid of that land, out of the promptings of his own affection.

But as the period of that time passed on, while the lord the pope was remaining at Lyons, his chamber was destroyed by fire, with all its contents. And it was asserted by many persons, that that detestable charter which was drawn up in the time of king John on the subject of the tribute from England, which was to be paid every year to the church of Rome, was reduced to ashes in that fire. At this time too, the doorkeeper of the lord the pope, having answered some one who requested admission to the pope in an improper manner, became a cripple. The same year, Master Elias de Derham, canon of Salisbury, died; and Master Martin, the kinsman of the lord the pope, before mentioned, immediately laid his rapacious hands on the revenues of the stall while vacant, to have them to distribute himself.

On the day of Pentecost, the lord the king held a most noble festival in London, and invested Richard de Clare, who had been already made earl of Gloucester, with forty other novices, with the belt of a knight; and Richard joyfully gave a banquet to celebrate the beginning of his noviceship.

But as the lord the king heard that many persons murmured and complained bitterly of the insolence of the afore-

said Master Martin, he recollected himself, although late, and began to feel vexed at having permitted the Romans to get so fat on the property of others, and to collect so large a harvest where they had not sown. Accordingly, he caused inquisition to be made throughout every county in England, respecting the sum total of the Roman revenues collected there, and it was found that they amounted to an equal sum with his revenues, namely, to sixty thousand marks of net receipts, without taking into account various other emoluments. On this, marvelling at the insatiable rapacity of the Roman court, the king sent his procurators to the court itself, to state his objections to the tribute so wrongfully imposed, and to bring forward before the council his formal complaint on the subject of the oppressions and injurious exactions which the lord the pope did not cease to practise daily in England. And the lord the king sent Fulk Fitzwarren to say to the aforesaid Master Martin, that he had better take care of his tail, and run quickly out of the country. For he could not altogether restrain the fury of some of those who wished to attack him. Fulk therefore faithfully performing the king's command, on the part of the whole population of England, told the same Master Martin that he had better not be found in the kingdom in five days from that time, lest, if he were found after that, he should be cut to pieces.

Therefore Master Martin, according to the custom of the Romans, who flee from those who pursue them, but pursue those who flee, fearing greatly for his skin, accepted a safe conduct from the lord the king, and in three days fled suddenly and secretly out of England. About the same time, William de Mont Pessulan, bishop elect of Coventry, being unwilling any longer to submit to the unjust attacks to which he was exposed at the king's hands, patiently laid his cause before, and entrusted the protection of his rights to the pope. And Master Roger de Wescham, a theologian, being indeed the dean of Lincoln, was elected in his place through the management of the bishop of Lincoln, without the king having been at all consulted in the matter. On which account, before he could obtain full possession of his bishopric, he suffered much loss, and a long deprivation of tranquillity, which was not entirely undeserved. And in a similar manner the election of Robert Pesseleu having been annulled, Master Richard de Withz was, without the king's consent having been

asked, elected bishop of Chichester. And on this account, that such a great insult to the king might not remain unavenged, he was deservedly deprived, for a considerable time, of the barony which belongs to the bishopric, till at last, after repeated intercession, both he and the bishop elect of Chester prevailed, and, by the grace of the king, were both allowed to enjoy the full possession of their dignities. The same year, Boniface of Provence was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury by the lord the pope, at Lyons, where the lord the pope was still sojourning, and Master Richard de Withz was consecrated bishop of Chichester, and Master Roger bishop of Chester, not without great injury and danger to the kingdom of England. For by these means the pope drew the bishops towards himself, so that they were held and bound to him, and being led to despise the king, were more ready to inflict mischief in the kingdom. In the meantime, Robert Pesselen, of the annulling of whose election mention has been made already, having taken to himself comrades by the king's authority, namely, Laurence of Saint Alban's, one of the secular clergy, and Godfrey of Langley, a knight, they with some colour of justice, in accordance with the new forest laws, stripped many persons of their property to enrich the king. The same year the lord the king, from his especial devotion to and affection for the blessed Edward, that most glorious king and confessor, caused the greater part of the conventual church of the blessed Peter to be pulled down, beginning on the day week after the feast of the apostles Peter and Paul, in order to rebuild it in a more becoming and honourable manner. In which work he expended no inconsiderable sums of money, as becomes a most Christian king who believes beyond all doubt, that a treasure incorruptible is reserved for him in heaven. Moreover of the royal munificence which was innate in him, the lord the king bestowed on the aforesaid monastery of Saint Peter, in his honour, and to shew respect to Saint Edward and the royal place, some royal or imperial presents, in palls and jewels, and vessels of wonderful workmanship, which excited the eyes of the beholders to admiration and their hearts to astonishment, so that the church of Westminster abounded in royal treasures more exceedingly than any of the Cesalpine, or even, if I may say so, of the Transalpine churches.

About the same time, Godfrey de Marais, who was not the

meanest among the chief nobles of Ireland, died an exile and a fugitive, in a wretched state, yet without being a proper object of pity. Whom, having been proscribed by Ireland, banished from Scotland, and driven from England, after the shameful death of his son William de Marais, France received as a beggar, and in that country he terminated his miserable life. And I have set down these facts for my readers at the greater length, that every one may consider what an end treason, and especially the crime of *lése majesté* are sure to meet with. For the father rashly and unsuccessfully endeavoured to excite sedition against Richard, the earl mareschal in Ireland, and his son William did the same towards the king. The same year, about the time of the feast of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist, the lord the king caused all the persons in the kingdom of England who owed him military service, to be warned by a royal edict to follow him in a body faithfully as they were bound to do, as he was about to march on a hostile expedition against Wales; for the very injurious insolence of the Welsh compelled him to this step. And soon after, when he was about to set out, he very courteously requested the sanction of the citizens of London, who were convened in Saint Paul's, and he also humbly requested the prayers of the clergy. About the same time, the lord the king having adopted wise counsels, as soon as he was informed of the general council which was to be held the next year at Lyons, sent formal ambassadors to the council, namely, earl Roger Bigod, John, the son of Godfrey, William de Cantilupe, and Philip Basset, and Radulph, the son of Nicholas, all knights, and William de Powick, one of the secular clergy, to lay before the pope and the whole council, a statement of the grievances which were every day inflicted on many persons in the kingdom of England by the Roman court, especially in the matter of the tribute which was extorted in time of war, and which was resisted and only refused by Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury. And this was subsequently done.

The same year, when the lord the pope, who had come to Lyons, and who had now delayed there a considerable time, complained bitterly to some of the great prelates, and especially to the abbots of Cluny and Citeaux, that the Roman church was in great difficulties, being weighed down with debt. On which account he earnestly demanded pecuniary assistance from them, as from his especial and dearest sons.

But the abbot of Cluny, having obtained license and authority to strip his coffers for the purpose of enriching the pope, bestowed many presents and many gifts in valuable horses, furnished with costly trappings, on the pope, some of whom were even laden with money. And in like manner the abbot of Citeaux acted, so that it seemed to be the case, and was positively asserted by some people, that the pope had gone rather for the purpose of those who were bringing him presents, than of fleeing from the face of the emperor Frederic. But when Peter, archbishop of Rouen, and the abbot of Saint Denis, who was an Englishman by birth, had heard of these circumstances, wishing to surpass the previous givers, they added such a sum of coined money, which they paid into the treasury, that its amount caused a very natural amazement in those who looked upon it. In reward for which conduct, the archbishop, who had left his own church irrecoverably stripped of its riches, was deservedly promoted to the office of cardinal, and held in especial favour by the lord the pope. And the abbot of Saint Denis was in like manner raised, with great pomp, to the archbishopric of Rouen; and the abbot of Cluny was enthroned in the episcopal chair of Langres, which he had been very anxious for, in order to become one of the peers of France. But the archbishop of Lyons, being by no means willing to destroy his own church to fatten up the pope, and, indeed, rather grieving that the pope had come to his city, to throw all Christendom and the universal church into confusion, and had burdened his archbishopric with his presence, at the council of all the prelates, when they were assembled, voluntarily resigned his office into the hands of the pope; and by the management of the pope, there was elected in his stead a man of warlike character, and better suited to secular, than to spiritual business, namely, Peter of Savoy, a brother of Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury; the pope prudently endeavouring by these means to strengthen his party by the accession of men of such power and noble birth, and to unite their families in the interest of the Roman court, disregarding the interests of the souls committed to their care, which deservedly exposed him to obloquy from many worthy men. Accordingly, the archbishop elect of Lyons, the aforesaid Philip, being still licensed by the papal indulgence to retain the ample revenues which he possessed in England and many other places, in order that he might

with more vigour and power attend to the papal and to his own secular business, postponed his consecration for a long time, and showed no anxiety to exercise his episcopal duties. And in like manner his brother Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, forgetful of his own church, and not regarding the example of piety displayed by his predecessors in the church of Canterbury, abandoned his pastoral duties as a sailor might abandon a ship, and absented himself for a long time, while he abode in the district of Lyons, which is a long way from Canterbury. Owing to which, the English church, which had hoped to obtain a respite through his appointment, now found itself exposed to confusion and desolation, instead of comfort.

And when the feast of the Nativity of the blessed John the Baptist arrived, an innumerable multitude of prelates assembled at Lyons, to hold a general council. But the emperor Frederic prevented a great number from attending, knowing beforehand that the pope had convoked them for the purpose of effecting his injury and disgrace. And no one was either able or desirous to come from Hungary, or from the Holy Land, on account of the devastations of the Tartars and Corosmines, and the distance of those countries. Many prelates in England, too, remained peaceably in their provinces, because of their old age, or their infirm health, or in deference to the king's entreaties, excusing themselves on reasonable grounds by their appointed procurators. And the emperor knowing beforehand that important charges would be brought up (and not undeservedly) against him, and the anger of the pope, which was of long standing, was now turned into actual hatred, sent prudent men, formally appointed, as his procurators and prolocutors, to the council, namely, Thaddeus de Suessa, Peter de Vinea, and Master Walter de Ocra, eloquent and persuasive men of the secular clergy, and with them he sent some high-born and eloquent knights. And when the holy and universal synod was assembled in the church of Saint Just at Lyons, the lord the pope brought forward before them all some heavy charges against Frederic, so that all men clearly saw it was chiefly on this account that the council had been convoked. Among all which heavy charges, the heaviest that was brought against the emperor Frederic was, that he had cruelly attacked, drowned, and taken some of the prelates while on the sea, and thrown them into prison. And the

procurators of the emperor answered with great wisdom to each of the charges, as well as their case admitted. But as the papal arguments prevailed, they nearly all gnashed their teeth against the emperor, though the English were grieved at their own confusion, because of the relationship which existed between their lord the king of England and the emperor, and the treaty of friendship which had been made between them, and the offspring which the emperor had by the empress Isabella, and accordingly they for some time concealed their feelings and held their peace. Nevertheless, the enemies of the emperor, who were rising up on all sides, prevailed, nor could the imperial ambassadors obtain any hearing or attention. So that Thaddeus, seeing that the condemnation of his master was at hand, said, "Surely this day will be a day of wrath, calamity, and misery." William of Powick, who was present with the high-born procurators of the lord the king of England, earl Roger, and his other companions, wishing to interrupt, so as to postpone the aforesaid measures, rose in the middle of the council, and in very elegant language brought forward the grievances of the king and the kingdom of England, complaining bitterly that tribute was very injuriously extorted by the Roman court, in the time of war, from king John, while he was tortured by exceeding agony of mind; which tribute was openly opposed and refused on the part of the whole population of the kingdom, by the mouth of the venerable Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, than whom there was not at the moment a greater man in the kingdom, on the ground that the king had no power to grant it at all. "And our fathers," said he, "never consented to this tribute, and they never will consent to it." And on this account he earnestly demanded justice and a remedy for the evil. But the pope neither lifted up his eyes nor said a word in reply to all this, but dissembled till he should first of all settle the matters which caused him the greatest vexation. And a short time afterwards, Master William brought forward a very serious complaint of the great extortion of all kinds of revenues and money from the prelates of England by the Roman court, as if those prelates were slaves of the lowest class, producing this elegantly worded letter on the part of the whole population of England.

"To the reverend father Innocent, by the grace of God supreme pontiff, we, the nobles and the whole population of

the kingdom of England, bringing condemnation, with the kissing of his blessed feet, show that we love our mother, the Roman church, with all our hearts, as we ought," &c.

And this letter, which contains an account of nearly all the papal injuries and acts of tyranny which had been violently exercised against England, a diligent searcher may find, if he chooses, in the king's treasury. But when these grievances were all openly brought before the council, the pope affirmed that they required a long deliberation. Accordingly, he suspended all answer for the time, although the ambassadors were very urgent for them, and demanded a positive reply on those points. They also added a new complaint to their former one, objecting to the violent oppression and intolerable severity, and shameful exactions, and injustice, which were being continually exercised in consequence of this detestable addition inserted in the papal letters, "notwithstanding any privilege," &c., by which addition right is trampled under foot, and genuine grants are deprived of their force.

Therefore, the pope, insisting on his more important affairs, after he had prudently promised that he would amend all such things, fulminated in a terrible manner, in full council, a sentence of deposition against the emperor Frederic, without any mitigation, dissimulation, or indulgence of delay, although Thaddeus and his companions steadily objected to it, promising him full satisfaction. Which sentence we have considered it fit to mention in this book, because no such difficult and important measure has been tried in our time.

Sentence is pronounced against the emperor Frederic.

"Innocent, &c., in the presence of the sacred council, for the everlasting recollection of the event, and for the honour of the Apostolic See, although we have been advanced to our post without being worthy of the condescension of the divine majesty, we are bound to take care of all Christians with watchful and diligent care, and to discern the interests of each individual with the eye of intimate consideration, and to weigh them in the scale of provident deliberation, in order to raise up by deserved favours those whom the rigour of a just examination points out as worthy of it, and depressing by due punishment those who are found to be criminal, ever weighing the desert and the reward in an equal scale, and rewarding every one according to the quality of his work, with an equal

amount of punishment or favour. When the troubles of war had for a long time afflicted some of the provinces professing the Christian faith, we, wishing with all our hearts for the tranquillity and peace of the holy church of God, and generally of the people of Christendom, considered it best to send men of great authority, to wit, the venerable Peter, at that time archbishop of Rouen, and William, bishop of Sabionetta, and the bishop of Modena, and our beloved son William, cardinal priest of the church of the twelve apostles, and at that time abbot of Saint Facundus, who was jealous for his salvation, as especial ambassador to the principal secular prince, who was the author of all this tribulation and affliction, and who had already for his excesses had a sentence of anathema pronounced against him by our predecessor pope Gregory, of happy memory; causing it to be announced to him by them that we and our brethren were anxious, as far as in us lay, to be at peace with him in all things, as we hope that we are prepared to be with all men, and that we were anxious to give tranquillity to him and the whole world. And because the release of the prelates, and secular clergy, and all the other persons whom he was detaining prisoners, and of all the clergy and laity whom he had taken in ships, was likely to be a very great inducement to peace, we caused him by the same ambassador to be requested and entreated to restore them, since both he himself and his ambassadors, before we had been called to the office of the apostleship, had promised to do so; and we caused him also to be informed, that we on our part were ready to hear his proposals and to treat of peace, and even to hear what satisfaction the emperor was willing to make and to offer, for all the conduct on account of which he had been bound with the chain of excommunication. Moreover, that if in any respect the church had injured any one contrary to what was right, which we did not believe, the church was willing to make amends, and to restore things to their proper condition. And if he admitted that he had offended against justice in any particular, or asserted that we had injured him in a manner contrary to justice, we were prepared to summon all kings, prelates, and princes, both ecclesiastical and secular, to some safe place, where they might assemble by themselves or by formal representatives. And the church was prepared to satisfy him about the intentions of the council, if it had injured him in any particular,

and to recall its sentence if it had passed any against him unjustly, and with all kindness and mercy, as far as was consistent with what was due to God and to his honour, to accept satisfaction from him for all the injuries and offences which had been committed by him and by his servants against the church. The church also wished to make all his friends and adherents at peace with her, and to enable them to enjoy full security, so that they might never hereafter incur any danger on these grounds. But although we took care to deal thus with him on behalf of peace, with paternal admonitions and gentle entreaties, still he, imitating the obstinacy of Pharaoh, and shutting his ears like the deaf adder, with proud obstinacy and obstinate pride, despised all such prayer and admonitions. And although in process of time, on the day of the Lord's supper, lately passed previously, he before us and our brethren who were present, and before our dear son in Christ, the emperor of Constantinople, and an illustrious and very numerous company of prelates of the orthodox sect, and the Roman people, and a great multitude of other persons who had come together on that day to the Apostolic See, from all parts of the world, on account of that great solemnity, took an oath by that noble man the count of Toulouse, and the Masters Peter de Vinea, and Thaddeus of Suessa, the judges of his court, and his appointed procurators who had received a special commission on this point from him himself, that he would obey our commands and those of the church, nevertheless, he afterwards did not fulfil what he had promised. And indeed, it is with great probability believed, that he took the oath with the intention of breaking it, as is collected plainly from the events which took place afterwards, his object being rather to mock the church and ourselves rather than to obey us, since, though a year and more elapsed, he could not be recalled to the bosom of the church, and took no pains to make satisfaction for the mischief and injuries which he had inflicted on it, although he had formal demands to that effect addressed to him. On which account, as we cannot, without great injury to Christ, bear his iniquities any longer, we are compelled by the promptings of our conscience to punish him as he deserves. And, to say nothing at present of his other wickednesses, he has committed four most heinous crimes, which cannot be concealed by any pusillanimity. For he has committed perjury frequently, he has rashly violated the peace

which was firmly established between the church and the empire; he has also committed sacrilege, causing cardinals of the holy Roman church to be taken prisoners, and the prelates of other churches, and other secular clergy and brethren of religious orders, who were coming to the council which his predecessor had thought fit to summon. Moreover he is suspected of heresy, not from doubtful or slight arguments, but with evident proof, difficult to be explained away. Indeed, it is plain enough that he has committed frequent perjury; for formerly, when he was in the district of Sicily, before he was elected to the imperial dignity, he, in the presence of William, of blessed memory, cardinal deacon of Saint Theodore, and legate of the Apostolic See, took an oath of fidelity to our predecessor of happy memory, pope Innocent and his successors, and to the Roman church, in return for the grant of the kingdom of Sicily, which was made him by that same church; and as it is said, he renewed it afterwards, when he had been elected to the imperial dignity, and when he had come to Rome, in the presence of the aforesaid Innocent and his brethren, and a great many other persons, making himself the pope's liege man. Afterwards, when he was in Germany, he swore, in the presence of the princes and nobles of the empire, that to the utmost of his power he would preserve and defend in all good faith the honours, and rights, and possessions of the Roman church, as was due to pope Innocent, and to our deceased predecessor, pope Honorius of pious memory, and to his successors and to the Roman church itself. And that whatever came into his hands he would cause to be restored without making any difficulty, expressly mentioning the aforesaid possessions by name in this oath, which he subsequently confirmed, after he had received the crown of the empire. Nevertheless, of these their oaths he has shown himself a rash violator, not without incurring the brand of treachery and the guilt of *lése majesté*. For he has dared to address admonitory letters against our aforesaid predecessor Gregory and his brethren to those very brethren, and he has, as is well known, defamed the aforesaid Gregory throughout nearly the whole world, and among the brethren themselves, as is evident by the letters addressed by him to them; and he also caused our venerable brother William, bishop of Portsmouth, and cardinal deacon of Saint Nicholas, in the Julian prison, and John, of pious memory, bishop of Præneste, both legates

of the Apostolic See, and noble and mighty members of the Roman church, to be taken prisoners and stripped of all their property, and conducted repeatedly to different places with great insult, and committed to prison. Moreover, that privilege which our Lord Jesus Christ himself gave the blessed Peter and his successors in his diocese, namely, 'Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed also in heaven,' in which the authority and power of the Roman church consists, he labours with all his might to diminish and to take from the church; writing that he is not alarmed at the sentence of excommunication which was pronounced against him by the aforesaid Gregory; not only despising the keys of the church by not observing its injunctions, but also by himself and his officers compelling others to disregard both that sentence and any other of excommunication or interdict, which he has altogether despised. Moreover, he has seized and still retains possession of the estates of the before-mentioned Roman church, namely, the March, the duchy of Beneventum, the walls and towers of which city he has caused to be destroyed, and others which he has besieged in the districts of Tuscany and Lombardy, and other places, not fearing, with a few exceptions, to occupy them himself; and as if that were not sufficient for him, that he was manifestly acting by himself or by his officers in violation of the oaths before mentioned, in presuming to do such things, he compelled the men to whom those possessions belonged to forswear them, absolving them, in fact, though he could not do so of right, from the oaths by which they were bound to the Roman church, and making them also abjure the fidelity which has been mentioned, and to take the oaths of fealty to himself. It is also quite plain that he has been a violator of peace, because as formerly, during the existence of the peace which had been re-established between himself and the church, he had sworn before John, of pious memory, prior of Abbeville, and before the bishop of Sabionetta, and before Master Thomas, who was at that time cardinal priest of Saint Sabina, in the presence of many prelates, princes, and barons, that he would be bound by, and yield exact and unconditional obedience to all the injunctions of the church as to those matters, for the sake of which he lay under the ban of excommunication, the peace of that excommunication being regularly stated in

his presence, remitting all anger against, and every punishment which he had pronounced against all the men of his Teutonic kingdom, and of the kingdom of Sicily, and any others who had been adherents of the church in its struggle against him; and that he would never offend those men, or cause them to be offended, because they had taken the part of the church, causing the oath to be taken, so as to be binding on his own soul, by the count of Acerar. And yet afterwards, feeling no shame at being involved in perjury, he regarded neither the peace nor his oaths. He also caused some of those men, both the high-born as well as others, to be taken prisoners, and despoiled of all their property, and their wives and children to be led into captivity; and he irreverently invaded the territories of the church, in violation of the promise which he had made to the aforesaid John, bishop of Sabionetta, and Thomas, the cardinal. Although they from that time forward would at any time have promulgated the sentence of excommunication against him in his presence if he had opposed them; and though they had commanded him by the authority of the Apostolic See not to hinder, by himself or by any one else, the regular postulations, elections, and confirmations of churches and monasteries, from the future, taking place freely in his kingdom according to the edict of the general council; and also ordered that no one in that kingdom should for the future impose any taillages or imposts on ecclesiastical persons, or on their property; and that no one of the secular clergy, and no ecclesiastical person, should for the future, in any civil or criminal cause, be brought before a secular judge, unless it were in respect of fees, when he was considered a civil subject. Also, that he should make sufficient satisfaction to Templars, Hospitallers, and other ecclesiastical persons, for the mischiefs and injuries which he had inflicted on them; nevertheless, he disdained to comply with this mandate. For it is notorious, that eleven, and more, archiepiscopal, and very many episcopal sees, and abbacies, and other churches, are at the present moment vacant in his kingdom, and that it is through his management, as is well known, that they have been long destitute of the rule of prelates, to their own grave injury, and to the prejudice of souls. And although, perhaps, in some churches of the kingdom, elections may have been held by the chapters, yet, as by them none but clergy of the emperor's household have been elected, it may be inferred by a very

probable argument that they have not the uncontrolled power of electing. And not only has he caused the property of the churches in his kingdom to be seized as he pleased, but he has also laid hands on the crosses, the chalices, the incense-burners, and other sacred treasures belonging to them, and on the silken cloths, which he has carried off like a contemner of divine worship, although, as it is said, they may have been in part restored to the churches after the exaction of a fixed price as ransom for them. Moreover, the clergy are afflicted in various ways by taxes and imposts, and are not only dragged before the tribunal of secular judges, but, as it is said, are compelled to endure wars, are imprisoned, put to death, and tortured on gallows, to the confusion and disgrace of the clerical order. And no satisfaction whatever has been made to the aforesaid Templars, Hospitallers, and other ecclesiastical persons, for the injuries inflicted on them.

"Moreover, it is certain that he has been a committer of sacrilege. For when the aforesaid bishops of Portsmouth and Præneste, and a great many other prelates of churches, and secular clergy, and brethren of religious orders, were crossing the sea to the seat of the apostles, to attend the council which even he himself had previously desired to have summoned, since the roads by land were entirely closed against them, in consequence of his mandate; he sent his son Encius with a great number of gallies, and a great many other vessels, which he had prepared a long while before, with this view, and having placed them in ambush on the coast of Tuscany, in order that he might be able the more formidably to vomit against those prelates the venom that he had conceived, he caused them to be taken prisoners, by an act of sacrilegious daring, some of the prelates themselves and some other persons being drowned in the act of their being taken, and some being slain, and some being put to flight and pursued by the enemy, and the rest stripped of all their property, and conducted with every circumstance of insult from place to place, till at last they reached the kingdom of Sicily, and there they were committed to loathsome prisons, where some of them, being worn out by dirt and want of food, died in a miserable manner.

"Moreover, a suspicion of heretical error is very deservedly entertained against him. Since, after he had incurred the sentence of excommunication from the aforesaid John, bishop of Sabionetta, and the cardinal Thomas, and after the pope

Gregory, before mentioned, had bound him in the bonds of his anathema, and after his insults to the church, and his taking of the Roman cardinal, prelates, and secular clergy, who were coming from all parts to the Apostolic See, he despised, and still despises, the keys of the church, compelling divine offices to be administered to him, and, as far as depends on himself, to be profaned. And he has constantly affirmed, as has been mentioned above, that he does not fear the sentence of the before-mentioned pope Gregory, which has been pronounced against him. Moreover, being united with the Saracens in a detestable friendship, he has repeatedly sent them ambassadors and presents, and he has received ambassadors and presents from them in his turn, with a great show of honour towards them, and great joy, and he embraces their customs, notoriously retaining them about his person in daily offices. Moreover, in compliance with their fashion, he has not been ashamed to appoint eunuchs, and especially those whom, as it is said, he has caused to be castrated on purpose, as guards to the wives whom he has had, though descended of royal blood. And, what is more execrable still, when he was formerly in the countries beyond the sea, having made an agreement, or rather a collusion with the soldan, he allowed the name of Mahomet to be publicly proclaimed in the temple of the Lord, night and day. And, lately, he caused the ambassadors of the soldan of Babylon, after the same soldan had by himself and his followers inflicted heavy loss and incalculable injury on the Holy Land, and on the Christians who dwell therein, to be honourably received, as it is reported, and magnificently attended through the kingdom of Sicily, with praises of the excellency of the aforesaid soldan. Also abusing the pernicious practices and horrible services of other infidels, to the injury of the faithful, and continuing to be united in affinity and friendship with those who, damnably disregarding the Apostolic See, have departed from the unity of the church, he, beyond all question, as it is asserted, violating all the rules of the Christian religion, caused the devoted son of the duke of Bavaria, of illustrious memory, and the special servant of the Roman church, to be murdered by the Assassins, and he gave his own daughter as wife to Bartacon, an enemy of God and of the church, a man formally separated from the communion of the faithful by the sentence of excommunication, with all his assistants and intercessors, and

favourers. And rejecting the actions and habits of Christian princes, and neglecting the integrity of his salvation and fame, he pays no attention to works of piety. Moreover, to say nothing of his nefarious and dissolute habits, though he has well learnt to oppress people, yet he has no care to relieve those who are oppressed by injustice, his hand being never stretched out in alms as that of a prince ought to be, nor is he known to have built any churches or monasteries, or hospitals, though he has busied himself with the destruction of churches, and overwhelmed men of religious orders and other ecclesiastical persons with the yoke of affliction. Now, therefore, these are not light, but powerful arguments for the suspicion of heresy against him, though nevertheless he asserts that the civil law is contained in the language of heretics, and those men are bound to submit to the sentences that have been pronounced against them who have been convicted, even on slight proof, from deviating from the judgment and path of the Catholic religion.

"Besides all these things, he has seized the kingdom of Sicily, which is the special patrimony of the blessed Peter, and which the said prince held in the Apostolic See as a fee, and having driven out, by all kinds of insults, the clergy and laity, stripped of nearly all their property, he has reduced them to indigence and slavery, and compelled them to depart in a state of beggary. And those who have remained, he has forced to live in a servile condition, and in many ways to offend and to attack in hostile fashion the Roman church, of which they are the especial liege men and vassals. He might also be deservedly blamed, that for nine years and more he has omitted to pay the annual pension of a thousand sequins, which he is bound to pay the Roman church for that kingdom. We, therefore, on account of the before-mentioned wicked excesses of his, and many others of a similar kind, having deliberated diligently with our brethren and the sacred council, since, however undeservedly, we occupy the place of Jesus Christ upon earth, and since it has been said to us, in the character of the blessed apostle Peter, 'Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth,' &c., we do hereby declare that the aforesaid prince, who has shown himself so unworthy of his empire and kingdoms, and of all honour and dignity, is, on account of his iniquities, cast off by God, so that he shall henceforth be neither king nor emperor, being so bound in

his own sins, so abject, and deprived by the Lord of all honour and dignity; and we denounce him by name, and by our formal sentence deprive him, and for ever absolve all those who are bound to him by an oath of fealty, from that oath, by our apostolic authority, positively forbidding any one for the future obeying him as either emperor or king, or giving him advice or assistance, or showing him favour, under penalty of lying himself under the sentence of excommunication by the mere act. And let those to whom the election in the aforesaid empire belongs, freely elect a successor to him. For the kingdom of Sicily before mentioned, we will ourselves provide, with the advice of our brethren, as we shall see fit. Given at Lyons, on the sixteenth of July, in the third year of our pontificate."

This sentence then being thus brought forward in the middle of the council, struck all men with no slight fear; therefore Thaddeus, and the other procurators of the emperor, departed in confusion.

Moreover, the pope determined to pass many edicts in this same council, touching the restoration of the Holy Land and the execution of justice, all which a diligent inquirer will be be able to find regularly drawn up. But what I have hitherto been recording, I thought ought not to be passed over, in order that the causes might be more fully known why the lord the pope, Innocent the Fourth, precipitated Frederic from the throne of the empire. When these circumstances had come to the knowledge of Frederic, he was excessively indignant, and wrote a letter to the lord the king of England, and also to the king of France, and to several other princes, in the end of which letter he caused it to be plainly understood that it was his intention to treat as nothing the dignity and nobility of the universal church, and to reduce the church itself to its state of pristine poverty and primitive humility. By which expression, though intending to excuse, he shamelessly accused himself.

In the meantime, the lord the king remaining in the districts of Wales with his army, straitened the Welch very much by famine and scarcity, and, as the custom of war is, he often invaded them to their great injury. In which invasions he on some occasions gloriously accomplished his object, but often, on the other hand, he came worst off. At length, having depopulated that district which is called Anglesey, he strength-

ened and prudently fortified, so as to make it impregnable, a castle named Connach, that it might serve to check the inroads and sallies of the Welch, and so he returned in triumph from that country.

About the same time, Raymond, count of Provence, and father of the queens of France and England, paid the debt of human nature; a man who, by the exceeding magnificence of the marriages which he procured for his daughters, caused amazement to the whole world.

But the lord the king, when he retired from the castle of Connach, which had been, as has been already stated, fortified at an immense expense, deposed Maurice, the justiciary of Ireland, from his office, because he had been evasive and slow in bringing aid from Ireland to the lord the king when he was in danger. And he appointed John, the son of Godfrey, justiciary in his place.

The same year, too, at the request of the lord the king of France, who, as has been already mentioned, assumed the sign of the Cross when in danger of death, a certain papal legate *à latere* was sent to advance the business of the Cross by his preaching. In consequence of whose preaching, a great many nobles of France assumed the sign of the Cross, partly for God's, and partly for the king's sake. Likewise the lord the king of France procured from the church throughout his kingdom, by the permission and indulgence of the lord the pope, one-tenth part of all its revenues of every sort, for the promotion of his pilgrimage. And the lord the pope, as a requital of this beneficence, demanded from the kingdom of France a tax of a twentieth, for the support of the landgrave, whom he had elected as a successor to Frederic in the empire, and for overthrowing Frederic himself, whom he had deposed. But the Saracens, and especially the Chorosmines, who had already trampled over the Christians in the Holy Land when they had provoked God to anger, and who had overrun the Holy Land as far as Acre, after having crushed the Hospitallers and Templars, and Christian nobles, when they heard of these events fortified themselves strongly, that they might not be overwhelmed by the arrival of the French.

About the same time, that is to say on the first of December, Master Richard, chancellor of the church of Exeter, was consecrated bishop of Exeter. And about the same time, Walter, the earl mareschal, died in London, and soon after, that is to

say, on the fifth of December, his brother Anselm died, an accomplished young man, of an amiable disposition, who was on the point of being promoted to the earldom and office of mareschal, which belonged to him of hereditary right; so that in the interval before his death he was called earl, and looked upon as the earl. And thus all the sons of the great mareschal William (what was the sin which brought such an end about, we do not know,) according to the prophecy of the countess, their mother, departed like shadows from this world, leaving no children behind them. Nevertheless, they were all successively earls, as their mother had predicted, as though she had been endued with a spirit of prophecy. And thus that noble shield of the mareschals, which had been formidable to such numerous and powerful enemies of England, disappeared. There were also many other families in the other parts of the kingdom of England which lost their nobility and distinction, principally through failure of issue.

In the meantime the pope sent all the money which he could scrape together from all the kingdoms, and from the church, and especially from ecclesiastical persons, to the landgrave of Thuringia, to support him in his war against Conrad, son of Frederic. And by this time, the archbishop of Cologne, and other noble and powerful prelates, with many also of the magnates of Germany, being won over by the money of the pope, had become adherents of the aforesaid landgrave; so that as Conrad was becoming weaker, nearly the whole of the kingdom of Germany began to incline to the landgrave.

Ch. XIII.—From A.D. 1246 to A.D. 1247.

Discontent in England at the exactions of the pope—Death of David, prince of Wales—The war for the empire, between Conrad and the landgrave, continues—The king of France refuses to permit the pope to enter France—Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, is canonized — Confederacy of the French nobles against the pope—The church of England addresses complaints to the pope, but grants him money—The landgrave dies—Frederic makes the Sicilians, &c. do homage to his son Henry—William of Holland is elected emperor, in opposition to Conrad—The king's half-brothers come to England—Many English nobles assume the Cross.

The lord the pope murmurs at the English complaining of their oppressions, but especially of the tribute, and seeks pretences for revenge.

A.D. 1246, which is the thirtieth year of the reign of king Henry the Third, the said king was at the feast of the Nativity of our Lord at Westminster, to which place he had invited also many of the nobles of his kingdom, and especially his brother Richard, earl of Cornwall, with his wife, and a great many other persons, who with the king had borne the burden and heat of the war in the territories of Wales, encountering great dangers and great expenses; in order that they who had been his companions in tribulation, should also be his comrades in the hour of exultation. About the same time, Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, pastor and prelate, a man very unlike his predecessors, who before him had been eminent for their many virtues in the church of Canterbury, gave the lord the pope to understand, not without great injury and insult to Saint Edmund and the rest of his holy predecessors, that the prelates who had preceded him in the government of the archbishopric of Canterbury, had embarrassed the church irretrievably, although it was a rich one, with an incalculable load of debt. By which representation he obtained most execrable letters from the pope, the sum of which was as follows: "We, by these our letters, do command our venerable brother, the bishop of Hereford, to take care that for seven years, and no longer, the first year's revenues of all the ecclesiastical benefices which shall for the future become vacant in the city and diocese, and province of Canterbury, till they amount to a sum of ten thousand marks (and if they can be brought up to that sum before the end of the aforesaid period of seven years, then nothing more need be demanded); and also two thousand marks from the revenues of the archbishop himself, shall be collected each year, and be faithfully applied by him to the payment of the debts of the aforesaid church. Provided that out of the revenues before mentioned, the same bishop shall cause an adequate payment for their support to be assigned to the persons serving in those benefices, that the benefices may not be deprived of their proper services."

About the same time, the nobles of the kingdom were summoned to meet at London on the day when the anthem "Rejoice, O Jerusalem," is sung, that they might deliberate care-

fully on some important business of the kingdom, as necessity urgently required. For the pope, because of the indignation which he had conceived against the king and all the nobles of the kingdom, was devising all kinds of arguments for stretching out his hand so as to inflict daily grievances on them, and to extort money from them, and was adding to the weight of his oppression every day. For the anger of the pope was swelling and furious against the miserable English, because they had dared to complain before the council of the oppressions and injuries which were daily inflicted on them. And, indeed, injuries were uninterruptedly multiplied in the kingdom; and in the pope's sight, that is to say in his court, the English were made of less account than any other citizens of even the most significant nations. On which account he is reported to have said, "It is desirable that we should put that king of England on a level with the prince (meaning Frederic), so as to crush him, since he is our vassal, and is now resisting us." Moreover, because the aforesaid king had obtained a privilege so that no legate can enter his kingdom except at his own request, he sent some sophistical and disguised legates, having great power, to extort revenues and money, and in all respects more rapacious than ordinary legates, though they had not the insignia of legates, being at one time secular clergy, at another time Preaching Brothers,[1] and at another Minors, of whom the pope made bedels and tax-gatherers, to the injury and disparagement of their order and profession, since they had promised under a vow to God to endure voluntary poverty and humiliation. On which account many of them who had clear consciences, sighed in their hearts, and grieved, saying, "Alas! how soon, through the envy of the devil, does our order learn folly. For a thousand years the order of Saint Benedict has not received so much injury."

Also the lord the pope stretched out his hand to carry out further acts of extortion, such, for instance, as embracing in the bosom of his avarice all the property of those who died without wills, not without great injustice and loss to the princes; and he seized them even if a man being sick, and not able or willing to speak, by reason of his weakness, deputed some one to made a will for him; and this injustice is said to contravene the laws. Besides this, a thing which was

[1] The Preaching Brothers were the Dominicans.

quite unprecedented, he unjustly usurped the territories of David, the nephew and vassal of the lord the king of England, and only allowed him to hold it on condition of paying a heavy tribute. And he caused the lord the king to be cited, in order that he might make answer to some charges and make satisfaction to the aforesaid David for some injuries, which, as the pope pretended, had been inflicted on him by the king; a deed which excited the contempt and hissing, and derision of many persons. And soon after, the aforesaid David, being taken from among men, had at his death but few mourners, as he deserved for his treason.

Therefore, as the royal edict commanded, the nobles of England assembled from all quarters, in order to take prompt and effectual counsel touching the aforesaid matters, as the necessity, which was not light or unimportant, required. But in the middle of Lent, namely, when the anthem "Rejoice, O Jerusalem," as has been mentioned before, is sung, the nobility of the whole kingdom having been duly summoned, met in a general parliament, in order to consider, as the urgent necessity of the case required, of the state of the now tottering kingdom. For the intolerable grievances which were incessantly inflicted on them vexed all men, both nobles and prelates, because they could not endure it any longer without imminent ruin, and branding themselves with cowardice. And they were especially harassed and wounded in their minds, because the pope, forgetting, or rather openly violating his promise, which he had made to the English in the council, plundered the kingdom of its treasures in a more tyrannical manner than before.

Accordingly, at the opening of this parliament the king first of all with his own mouth addressed the bishops by themselves, then the earls and barons, and after them the abbots and priors, on those topics of complaint, because of which he had sent formal ambassadors from himself to the council of Lyons, and he displayed to them some deeds of indulgence and papal letters which the said ambassadors had brought back, relating to the moderating of those acts of oppressions, and he told them what favourable promises the pope had made to the said ambassadors on behalf of the king and kingdom. But because, after all the before-mentioned indulgences and promises, the lord king found, as, indeed, he had heard was commonly the case, and as he afterwards

learnt to be true, that the pope made his hand all the more heavy, and, as if out of contempt and a wish to provoke, behaved more wantonly than usual in the kingdom, oppressing the church, he proposed and brought forward to them articles respecting the grievances and oppressions of the church and kingdom, as practised in writings, signed with the bull, (which any diligent seeker may find in the royal treasury,) and he complained bitterly to the whole assembled body of the manifest violation of his promises by the pope. And they all rejoiced, hoping that the constancy of the king had, by this display of his power, delivered the whole kingdom, and the church likewise, from the oppressions and injuries of the pope. Accordingly, they at last, both as individuals and as a collected body, determined, on account of their reverence for the Apostolic See, to write to the lord the pope, and to send him deputies regularly authorized, to supplicate him to relax the intolerable grievances with which he had now been for a long time oppressing them, and to relieve them from his insupportable yoke.

The same year, some laws were made with increased rigour against those who furtively did injury to the parks and preserves of others; and in that parliament it was granted and established that vengeance might be taken on all who were discovered and convicted, as a diligent reader may be more fully assured of by the testimony of the written deeds which were drawn up on this subject.

Accordingly, when the aforesaid parliament was dissolved, all the bishops immediately wrote to the lord the pope as a separate body, and the lord the king wrote by himself, and the abbots and priors by themselves, and earl Richard, and with him all the other nobles by themselves, writing most elegant letters to the cardinals, as well as to the lord the pope, requesting them to spare the kingdom of England, and to put an end to the grievances which were now of long standing, in a tone which might have softened even hearts of iron. And their grievances were all set down in order, and a careful examiner may find them enumerated in those letters.

The same year, Conrad, the son of Frederic, continuing the war against the archbishop of Cologne, and the other nobles of Germany, who firmly adhered to the landgrave and the church, making a sudden attack upon them on one occasion, was defeated, and retired in confusion. For some of the powerful

chiefs of Germany on whom he relied, having been bribed by the papal treasure, deserted Conrad in the critical moment of battle, favouring the opposite party, and in this way deserted wickedly to the enemies of Conrad; by which conduct Conrad himself was exposed to imminent danger in the battle, and forced to defend himself gallantly as well as he could. And at last, stained with the blood of the numbers whom he had slain, he with great difficulty saved himself, with a few others, from death by flight. About the same time, Frederic, recollecting himself a little, humbled himself, being a good deal alarmed, and fearing the attacks of the insurgents. And so he offered to the lord the pope to make adequate satisfaction for his excesses; to negotiate which affair, he appointed as his procurator and mediator the lord king of the French, who, pitying the disordered state of the empire and church, interposed his mediation, being prompted by the suggestions of piety, and without sparing any expense or labour on his part, went down to the district of Lyons, where the pope was at that time staying with his cardinals. For he had a confident hope of being able to appease the rancour of the pope, so as to be able to relieve that great prince Frederic, and reconcile him to the church. And the lord the pope, to show his respect for, and to honour so great a king, came as far as Cluny to meet him on his approach. And when they met together, and held a serious debate on the before-mentioned subject, the lord the king spoke earnestly and vigorously for Frederic. For he said Frederic offered to go as a pilgrim to the Holy Land, and never to return during his whole life, but to serve as a soldier of God in that land, while his son should be established in the empire in his stead. But the pope replied, "Ha! how often have similar offers been made by him, which have never been fulfilled." And the king said, "My father, is it not written in the Gospel that if thy brother sin against thee, he is to be forgiven seventy times seven times?" And the pope replied, "My son, his heart is hardened; he is a second Pharaoh, in all things he has proved himself one who cannot be trusted." But when the most pious king of France could not find the favour which he had hoped for in the eyes of the pope, he departed in indignation and anger, at having found no humility in the servant of servants. On which account, when the lord the pope wished to enter the kingdom of France, in order to dwell there in greater safety, the king

of France refused him admission, saying, "The vicar of the pious Christ does not by any means follow in the footsteps of Christ. For Christ has said that all my Father gives me, will come to me, and he that cometh to me, I will by no means cast out. But that man has not opened the bosom of mercy to him who humbled himself." And so evils were added to evils.

The same year, the younger daughter of Raymond, count of Provence, was married to Charles, the younger brother of the lord the king of France, and she had the countship of Provence for her dowry. And the same lord the king also bought and added to his kingdom the county of Macon; and in this way the aforesaid kingdom obtained a happy augmentation. The same year, too, the nation of barbarians of little memory, after many of the kingdoms of the east had already been destroyed by them, returned in a hostile manner to attack the king of Hungary, with the intention of devastating and spreading general destruction through his territories.

The same year, when the ambassadors of the lord the king had returned from the Roman court, and had brought back a very harsh answer from the lord the pope, so that all the weighty letters which had been sent on the part of the king, and of the whole nation, and of the nobles and prelates, had no influence at all; the lord the king grieved and was very indignant that he and his nobles, who had so often cheerfully conferred benefits on the court of Rome, should now be repulsed in this their just petition. Accordingly, the lord the king caused proclamation to be made by the voice of the crier throughout every county in his kingdom, and in every city and borough, and announcement to be made by royal letters, that no prelate or clerk, or other person, should pay any obedience whatever to any papal mandate by contributing assistance to the pope. And it was greatly hoped that the king would persist in the determination with which he thus set out, manfully resisting the papal extortions. But through the hissings of some ambitious clergy, who were his counsellors, and of some bishops in the papal interest, to whose counsels the lord the king inclined more than he should have done, his resolution was relaxed with the same levity with which it had been taken up; so alarmed was he at the threats of the pope, and so much did he tremble with fear, where no fear was; so that he abandoned like a woman the designs which he had adopted like a man.

And thus his whole preparation for resistance vanished away like a cloud before the face of the sun when it shines.

But I have thought it well to give an account of these transactions, unprofitable though they were, that all men may understand the divisions caused in the kingdom by vacillation, and the wavering hearts of the English nobles, and the womanly fickleness of the king. And that one general pestilence might agitate the whole world, the kingdom of France was afflicted and wounded by a similar evil, so that many of the nobles began to think of standing together to resist the pope, as the subsequent history will more fully show.

About the same time, the countess of Albemarle, the sister of the countess of Winchester, was removed from the affairs of this world; in consequence of which, Great Galewera came under the power of Roger, earl of Winchester. About the same time, also, Isabella, mother of the lord the king of England, died, who had formerly been queen of England, and now for a long time countess of La Marche. And the same year, while the laborious seasons of July and autumn were occupying the farmers, an unprecedented and destructive storm of thunder and lightning, which lasted an entire day and night, terrified the whole length and breadth of England, and many men and much cattle were killed by the lightning. About the same time, Richard, earl of Cornwall, founded, in a very sufficient manner, a certain house for the Cistercian order, in a favourable situation, not far from Winchcombe, in fulfilment of a vow which he had made when he was in danger at sea. And he also caused another church, of which his father, king John, had laid the foundation, and which is called Beaulive, to be solemnly dedicated under the sanction and authority of the lord the king. The same year, and about the same time, died John de Neville, the chief forester of England, a man who deserved not to be accounted the last among the nobles of England; and about the same time, the bishop of Carlisle, on the day of the Apostles Peter and Paul, changed his habit, and entered the order of the Preaching Brothers.

The same year, a certain very powerful man of Apulia, by name Theobald Frank, taking to himself certain accomplices, proposed to kill by treachery the emperor Frederic, whom the lord the pope had lately condemned, and deposed from the imperial dignity. But before he could accomplish the wickedness which he intended, Frederic, having been fortunately

forewarned by some of his faithful friends, escaped the toils of those who were plotting against him. And writing on the subject of this circumstance to the king of England, and to many other of the princes of the world, he asserted that when these criminals had, as they well deserved, been condemned to death, that they had confessed that they had embarked in their unfortunate undertaking in consequence of the contrivance and prompting of the lord the pope himself; by which statement, the fame of the pope was blackened in no small degree. And, therefore, the hearts of many persons abandoned their affection for the pope, who, both on account of the implacable hatred which he still obstinately cherished against Frederic, even in spite of his humbling himself before him, and also because of the manifest tokens of his insatiable avarice, turned the filial devotion which all men ought to have felt towards him into curses and hatred, to the great peril of their own souls. Therefore, the pope, deriving boldness from past events, in order to trample on the miserable English, and, when he had trampled on them, to pauperize them more and more, and seeing that they were scattered and deprived of all courage and strength, signified, in a more imperious tone than usual, to the prelates of England, that all the beneficed clergy in England, who resided on their benefices, should, for the next three years, pay one-third of their receipts to the lord the pope, and that all who did not so reside should pay one-half, adding many other hard conditions, which made the aforesaid command more stringent; and, at first, he appointed the bishop of London to see to the diligent execution of this command. Therefore, the bishop, with some other persons whom he had summoned to set this order before them, explained it openly in the church of Saint Paul to the clergy there assembled, to whom he spoke of this "terrible imposition," and he excited all who heard of it to great amazement and grief, because what was commanded by the pope seemed and was impossible; and lo! there came besides, on the part of the king, who was no longer able to conceal this circumstance, the lord John of Lexington, a knight, and Master Lawrence of Saint Martin's, one of the secular clergy, strictly forbidding, in the name of the king, any one in the whole kingdom of England from in any respect complying with this execrable command of the pope. And when they brought this order, the others cheerfully complied with it: and these things were done on

Saint Andrew's day. Accordingly, the wicked population of the whole of England wrote to the lord the pope, who had issued those intolerable and impracticable commands, explaining to him and reminding him of the way in which the old grievances had cruelly wounded the hearts of all men, and how they still felt the recent wounds, those, namely, which were inflicted by the six thousand marks which Master Martin, the pope's deputy, had lately extorted; and so, in this way, the tempest was calmed for a while, but soon afterwards it revived, as will be mentioned.

The same year, Master Robert de Bingham, of pious memory, bishop of Salisbury, died, the day after the feast of All Souls, a man without complaint, full of days, and crowned with virtues. And, about the same time, Richard Berking, abbot of Westminster, died, a man of prudence, and a fair stock of learning, and blessed with a high character, who, by his own energy, had prudently enriched the revenues of his house by an increase of about three hundred marks a-year, and had strengthened it by the bulwark of many privileges, without being either troublesome or burdensome to any of his neighbours. Therefore, about this time, the lord the pope began to be very much alarmed lest the blessed Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, and confessor, should put forth his evident vengeance, and severely punish the delay of his canonization, which he had long postponed from day to day, because of the cavils of those who objected; accordingly, the lord the pope entered secretly into his oratory, where he was tortured with a pain to which he was well accustomed, namely, that in the kidneys, when he suffered severely from obstruction caused by the stone, and, with bended knees, and bursting tears, and clasped hands, he prayed, saying: "O most holy lord and confessor of Christ, O blessed Edmund, be not very angry, because, being moved by the calumnies of envious men, I have very foolishly put off the honour of your canonization, to which you are entitled. For that which is not yet fulfilled, I do, without hesitation, now vow and promise you, shall be fulfilled in a magnificent manner, if my life is spared. Show me, then, this mercy, you who assist so many who are sick, to relieve me from my present sufferings, or, at least, to mitigate this terrible anguish." And as soon as ever he had said this, he immediately felt divine relief; and perceiving that he had been heard, he thanked the saint, designing most posi-

tively to pay him the honour which he had promised him. Accordingly, on the Sunday next before the Nativity of the Lord, the one, I mean, in which the anthem, "Rejoice in the Lord," is sung, the lord the pope solemnly inscribed in the catalogue of the saints the name of the blessed Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, whom the Lord had distinguished with countless miracles. And after he had been happily canonized, the pope immediately caused the mass to be celebrated, the office of which begins, "The Lord has placed him," &c. And because the sanctity of that confessor is the universal glory of the whole church, but most especially of the English nation, I have thought an authentic account of his canonization deserving of being inserted in the present book; in order that the holy devotions of those who read it may preserve it ever fresh in their memories.

The authentic decree of pope Innocent the Fourth about the canonization of the blessed Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury.

"Innocent, the bishop, the servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brothers the archbishops and bishops, and to his beloved sons the abbots, priors, deans, archdeacons, provosts, archpresbyters, and other prelates of churches to whom these letters shall come, health and our apostolical benediction. We report from the heavenly college the new joy of our mother the church at the solemn installation of a new saint, being tidings of great joy, and with exulting spirit we announce that a feast is celebrated for the companionship of a new colleague. The church rejoices that she has produced so virtuous and great a son, to guide others by the example of his holy conversation, and, since he has now received the reward of happiness, to give them a firm hope of salvation. She rejoices, in truth, that she has been made illustrious by such an offspring, and, as she is deserving to be extolled by all men with worthy praise, and to be worshipped with devout veneration, she manifestly declares that they are to be admitted to a participation in his eternal inheritance, who with good faith and good works profess themselves sons of their mother the church; and she asserts that none can enter into the glory that is above, except through her, as the keeper of the keys of the kingdom of heaven. The heavenly country rejoices in the arrival of its noble inhabitant, and is pleased to know that a new colonist, of tried fidelity, is united to its former inhabi-

tants. The virgin citizens rejoice at the addition of an illustrious fellow-citizen; and let the saints strike the harp at the worthy partner in heaven who is lately admitted amongst them. Arise, therefore, ye zealots for the faith, and, in concert with our mother the church, rejoice at the magnificence and exultation of your brother. Overflow with joy, and feel a sure hope, now that he who was born as the fellow of those on earth, has become a fellow-countryman of the beings in heaven. Rejoice with exceeding joy that you have an additional new advocate before God, who stands in his presence as a gentle intercessor for our salvation. Lo! the blessed Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, religiously thinking that the creature was guided by a natural affection towards his Creator, and that fallen nature ought to recognise its restorer, affectionately and diligently sought out his Creator and Redeemer. For, keeping the light of his intention straight before him, he advanced towards him by the steps of perfect works, showing, by the brilliancy and splendour of his life and doctrine, the path of salvation to others. On which account, the concord of these three things, a pure intention, perfect works, and upright conversation, playing, as it were, a delightful harmony, and having conquered the three enemies, the flesh, the world, and the devil, by the virtue of perseverance, and being distinguished by the triple crown of true faith, secure hope, and fervent charity, well deserved to be honoured on the citadel of the Supreme Trinity with the long-prepared palm of victory, by the triple body of the electors, namely, virgins, continent persons, and married persons.

"And now let us say something of his actions. For his life the more fully it is set forth, does the more sweeten the taste of the narrator, and does the more delight the minds of his hearers. He, from his tender years, tenderly loved the Son of God, and did never cease to retain him in his heart afterwards, because he had written him on the tender tablet of his mind with the pen of upright consideration, and I might rather say, the more he advanced in years, the more did he grow with love towards him because of his more perfect knowledge; and that the fervour of his spirit might not be extinguished by the heat of his flesh, but might rather be kindled by its mortifications, he subdued it by the incessant wearing of sack-cloth, and checked its appetites by the chains of strict abstinence, so that his flesh was not guided by its wishes, but went on in

security to what was permitted, and prudently avoided all that was forbidden, being led by the will of the spirit. For he wasted his body by rigorous fasting, superadding to the strict observances of the ancients the austerity of modern times, which he had enjoined upon himself; while despising all the delight of pleasant food, he was content with the refreshment of humble commons, and in the times of fasting he chose to abstain even from permitted food, and moreover to practise more rigorous abstinence still, on certain days in the week. Likewise hating all length of sleep, he devoted himself to long vigils, and shaking off all inactivity, he perseveringly occupied himself in prayer. And disdaining the softness of a bed, that he might not grow lazy through delicate rest, he certainly indulged his limbs in some repose by lying down, but, after having been refreshed by a brief slumber, rose again immediately, and devoted himself for a long time to genuflexions and prayer. And from the beginning of his life he laboured so to proceed on purely to the end, that avoiding the slippery world, and not falling into the slime of pleasure, he was pre-eminent for the lustre of his purity. Why need I say more? He bruised the frail vessel of his flesh, that he might the more carefully preserve the treasure of his soul which was laid up in it.

"Moreover, as an eminent doctor and illustrious preacher, he infused the light of knowledge into the minds of his hearers, and implanted the seeds of the virtues in the hearts of the faithful (eradicating all the tares of vice). In his humility he was sublime, in his meekness he was gentle, in patience brave, in benignity affable, in pity sympathising, in mercy innocent, and constantly flowing over in an unfailing stream of alms to the relief of the needy. And, that we may express the multitude of his good deeds in a brief narration, he knew Jesus with such an unshaken faith, and having acknowledged him he loved him with so sincere a heart, and loving him he so approached him with every wish, that, utterly disregarding the world and all that is therein, he directed all his wishes to heavenly objects, labouring in such a manner to render himself by his conduct corresponding to his name, that as he was called Edmund [*Eadmundus*], so he might show himself, by the testimony of his whole life, clean [*mundus*] from all taint of crime, or utterly separated from the world [*e mundo*], or set apart from the embraces of the world [*mundi*]. On which ac-

count Edmund, like a spiritual man, when he was, through the contagion of the body, at his last gasp in this life, reverently adoring the body of Christ which had been brought to him, is unquestionably proved to have uttered with wonderful compunction these words, which deserve to be remarked with all attention: 'Thou art he in whom I have believed, whom I have preached, whom I have taught. And thou art my witness that I have sought nothing on earth, O Lord, except thee. As thou knowest that I will nothing but what thou willest, thy will be done.' But as while alive he had illuminated the church of God by his eminent merits, so after he was dead he did not withdraw from it the rays of his brightness, but as after he departed this life he was more really alive than when he was living, he afterwards illumined the church with a more full brilliancy of light. For the Lord would not that the sanctity of so eminent a man should be lost to the world, but rather that as he had been notorious for a number of good actions, so too he should become celebrated for a diversity of miracles, that so he who had worshipped him with entire devotion should now reign with him and be himself worshipped with reverence. For he restored sight to the blind, and what is more glorious, he put to flight from the eyes of one person the darkness of innate blindness, by the clearness of vision which he infused into them. To another, whose tongue nature had bound with a lasting silence, he gave the free power of speaking. By a sudden and miraculous cleaning, he cleansed a leprous woman, so that the scales of her leprosy immediately fell off from her; he strengthened the tremulous limbs of a paralytic man, by a consolidating of his sinews; he relieved those who had contracted limbs, by lengthening them; he cured a man who was swollen with dropsy by reducing his body; he restored one old woman who was bowed down to the ground under a long-standing hump from extreme age, to perfect health, enabling her to hold her countenance erect again. By these and a great many more manifest miracles he became very famous, though I do not think it necessary to mention the whole series of them in this document. By his miracles the catholic faith is strengthened, the obstinacy of the Jews is put to shame, the deceitfulness of heretics is confounded, and the ignorance of the pagans bewildered. Let, therefore, the church of Canterbury sing the canticle of divine praise, that church which among all others, in modern times, has

been adorned with venerable patrons, and made red with the martyrdom of one, and white by the confession of another. Let the fertile Canterbury exult with joy, that it sends forth from the threshing floor of its church so pure a grain to the barns of the Supreme King. Also, let the monastery of Pontigny rejoice, that it has deserved to be honoured with the presence of such virtuous and illustrious fathers; one of whom lived there a long time, ennobling it with the virtues of his life, and another going thither after he had there given up his soul to heaven, enriched it with the treasure of his body; as if the object were that that saying should be fulfilled which the glorious martyr Thomas is reported to have uttered, after the long sojourn which he had made in that monastery at the time of his exile, when he was not able to requite the monks according to the fulness of his inclination, for the great honours with which they had affectionately received him, predicting that he should hereafter have another successor, who would make them a full return for what they had done to him. Moreover, because it is fit that those persons whom Almighty God magnifies with the crown of everlasting glory in heaven, should be venerated on earth with the highest zeal of devotion by all men, (for the more solemnly the faithful honour the memory of the saints, the more worthily do they deserve their patronage), therefore, we, having obtained a full certainty of the sanctity of life and reality of the miracles of the aforesaid Saint Edmund, which have been established by the solemnity of a curious investigation and strict examination and discussion, do now, by the common advice and consent of all our brethren and prelates present at this time at the Apostolic See, on that Sunday in Advent on which is sung the hymn, 'Rejoice in the Lord always,' determine that he shall be enrolled in the catalogue of the saints, or having been so already, be now declared to have been so enrolled. Therefore, we warn and earnestly exhort all people, commanding them by our apostolical writings, that on the sixteenth of November they shall celebrate his festival with devotion and solemnity (as it was on that day that his blessed soul was liberated from the prison of his body, and ascended to the stars, and entered the palace of heaven, there to enjoy the delights of Paradise). And we order ye brethren archbishops and bishops to take care that that feast is celebrated by the faithful in Christ, with all proper veneration, throughout all

your cities and dioceses; in order that by his pious intervention ye may be able here to be saved from imminent dangers, and in the world to come may obtain the reward of everlasting salvation.

But that the multitude of the Christian people may flock with more zeal and in greater numbers to his venerable tomb, and that the solemn festival of the saint may be celebrated with more distinction, we hereby, in the case of all true penitents and confessing sinners, who shall come each year with reverence on the day of that festival to that place, to ask for the aid of his influence, trusting in the mercy of Almighty God, and the authority of the blessed Peter and Paul his apostles, grant a remission of one year and forty days of the penances enjoined them, and to those who come each year to the aforesaid sepulchre within one week of that festival, we grant a remission of forty days. Given at Lyons, on the eleventh of January, in the fourth year of our pontificate."

When then this edict was published throughout the length and breadth of all Christendom, it very naturally renewed an incalculable joy in the hearts of all the faithful, but especially of the English, because it was England which had produced that saint, and presented him to God. And on the same day on which the aforesaid Saint Edmund was canonized, Master Richard de Crokesle, archdeacon of Westminster, was at Westminster elected abbot of that church, with the unanimous consent of the whole chapter; both because he was found to be a man competent and well suited to the office, and also because he was a friend of and acceptable to the king, on whose power the church's work now half destroyed, or one might rather say, the whole state of the church depended. He was elected, I repeat, on the day of the canonization of Saint Edmund, but without the approbation of God, as I think it pious to believe, since by that election both the lover and the loved object received a manifold increase of honour on the same day. On which account, at the same time, by command of the lord the king, the dignity of that abbacy was increased, the abbot being authorized for the future to celebrate mass in all respects after the fashion of a pontiff. For while the aforesaid abbot, Master Richard, was filling the office of archdeacon, he was a devoted and unwearied lover of the blessed Edmund. Which the abbot elect remembering, and being no ungrateful requiter of favours, he

thought it very becoming to dedicate a chapel, near the north door of his church, to the honour of Saint Edmund. Moreover, soon after his own creation, he very properly appointed, in the room of his former prior, Master Maurice, the precentor, a man of good character, to the honourable office of prior, the former prior having been a holy and most religious man, who, on account of the eminence of his holy life, deservedly received honourable burial in the chapel of the guests, which the lord the king had built. But when the lord the king had received certain information of the truth of the glorious canonization before mentioned, and when he had both seen the authentic edict sealed with the bull, and had it read to him by Master John, a monk of Pontigny, but an Englishman by birth, feeling great joy, he ordered that all the clergy of his chapel, having lighted many tapers, and having put on their garments of festival, should solemnly celebrate the mass of which the first words are, "Let us rejoice," &c.

About the same time, the canons of Salisbury, with the object of guarding against danger to their church, and of pleasing the lord the king, elected as bishop and shepherd of their souls the lord William of York, provost of Beverlac, one of the secular clergy, a friend of the king, and a man of great experience in the laws of the land; who was confirmed on his appointment without any delay or any opposition or hindrance on the part of any one. Also, at the same time, the lord Sylvester, who some time before had not consented, thinking perhaps that he was unworthy of and unequal to the office to which he was elected, namely, the bishopric of Carlisle, did consent with all humility and fear of God, being so much the more worthy, because he accounted himself unworthy. He, too, was a faithful clerk of the lord the king, and dear to and intimate with him, having the first post in his chancery, and performing the duties of his office with fidelity.

When the course of this year was proceeding onwards to its end, besides those others, the memory of whose deaths is touched upon in this volume, some illustrious nobles of England died, namely, Richard de Argenton, a most gallant knight, who had been long serving God as his faithful soldier in the Holy Land; and in the north country, Henry de Balliol, a knight, and in Holland, Lambert de Muletin, a knight; also Ranulph Brito, a canon of the church of Saint Paul, in London, at one time a great friend of the lord the king,

and his especial counsellor, being preferred to many of the nobles. Though afterwards he appeared to have lost the king's favour to such a degree, that he was thrown into prison, and gave rise to some ridiculous stories which were bruited about among the common people.

So this year passed, one full of suspicion and alarm to the Holy Land; mischievous to the universal church, adverse to the empire, fraught with disgrace and hatred to the Roman court, pregnant with hostile exactions and rapacious turbulence to the kings of France and England.

Of the complaints addressed to the pope about his frequent exactions. However, eleven thousand marks are given him.

A.D. 1247, which is the thirty-first year of the reign of king Henry the First, the said king held his Christmas court at Winchester, in the presence of many picked nobles of the kingdom. And when he arrived at that city, the bishop of Winchester met him joyfully, entreating him earnestly to dine with him, his bishop, on the day after the Nativity of our Lord, that by this it might be proved to all men that he had entirely forgotten all his former offences, and that he had admitted the bishop, in the presence of all his guests, to his former friendship.

About the same time, being compelled to do so by the revival of the papal command referring to the bringing of the contribution which had been previously levied, and to which the bishops had unfortunately bound the clergy in the general council of Lyons, the lord the king caused his nobles and the archdeacons of the whole of England to be summoned to London by royal letters. And when the archdeacons had arrived thither on the appointed day, the bishops all absented themselves gratuitously, lest they should seem to stand aloof from and to oppose their own actions; for they knew that the hearts of all men were naturally wounded to the degree of feeling bitterness of soul. But when the stream of those days had passed by, then the devotion of the faithful became lukewarm, and the affection of filial love, which every Christian is bound to entertain towards his spiritual father the lord pope, was impaired and lost, not without great peril to men's souls, and was, in fact, turned into detestable hatred and secret maledictions. Also many nobles of the kingdom of France conspired against the pope and the universal church,

binding themselves as confederates by an oath and solemn pledge; and they were the duke of Burgundy, the count of Brittany, the count of Saint Paul, and many other nobles with them, so that it clearly appeared that a schism was arising in the church. And the form and conditions of this conspiracy, which were drawn up in the French language, came to the knowledge of many people even beyond the kingdom of France, being deliberately published and sent about by the conspirators themselves. And there were two writings drawn up, one in the French language, and one in Latin, of which one was terrible, and the other more terrible. One of which we have thought it well to insert here in this book, because it is, as it is feared, the beginning of griefs.

"Because the superstition of the clergy, not being aware that it was by means of war and the blood of certain persons which was shed under Charlemagne and others, that the kingdom of France was converted from the error of the Gentiles to the Catholic faith, did at first by a certain humility (opposing us after the manner of foxes) seduce us from the remains of those castles which were founded by ourselves; they now so absorb the jurisdiction of the secular persons, that the sons of slaves judge freemen, and the sons of freemen, according to their laws; although, according to the laws of our predecessors, and the laws of all defeated parties, they ought rather to be judged by us; and although it is not proper that the customs of their ancestors should be brought into disrepute by new constitutions, since they thus place us in a worse condition than God even chose the Gentiles to be in, when he said, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." We all, being the chiefs of the kingdom, and understanding that the kingdom was acquired not by written law, nor by the arrogance of the clergy, but by warlike exactions, do by this present decree, given by us all, under the sanction of our oaths, order and establish that no member of the clergy or laity shall hereafter proceed against any other person before the ordinary as judge, except for heresy, marriage, or usury, on pain of confiscation of all the property, and the mutilation of one of the members to him who transgresses this order; and we have deputed certain persons to see to the execution of this decree. That so our jurisdiction having been revived may recover, and that they who have hitherto been

enriched by our pauperization, to whom God has chosen to display profane contentions on account of their pride, may be reduced to the condition of the primitive church, and living in contemplation may shew miracles such as have long since deserted the world, to us who are living an active life, as becomes us."

But the tenor of this letter perplexed many persons, who believed that there was a mutual understanding between Frederic and the French, especially considering the last epistle of Frederic, the final sentence of which is this: "It was always the intention of our will to bring the clergy of every order to this point; and especially the principal ones, in order that such men might persevere in the faith which existed in the primitive church, leading an Apostolic life, and imitating the humility of the Lord. And such clergy were accustomed to look upon the angels, to be eminent for miracles, to heal the sick, to raise the dead, and to subdue kings and princes by sanctity, and not by arms," &c.

This year also, the clergy, or rather the whole body of the Anglican church, brought forward a complaint before the pope and cardinal respecting the oppressions and intolerable grievances with which the church and the kingdom was continually being harassed; and because after the letter had been sent to the lord the pope on this subject, on the part of the whole body of the Anglican church, proceeding from the hearts of all the prelates, which were greatly distressed, and provoked to bitterness of spirit, lest a mournful schism should ensue, as is not a little dreaded, we have considered it well to annex it to this chapter.

The Letter sent to the pope.

"To the lord Innocent, the most holy father in Christ, by the providence of God, supreme pontiff, the whole body of the clergy and people assembled in the province of Canterbury, sendeth devout kisses of his holy feet. Since the Anglican church, from the time when the Catholic faith was first recommended to it, has always studied to please, and has adhered to, and devoutly obeyed God and the Holy Roman Church, our mother," &c.

And because, among other grievances, an unendurable and insupportable one was, that the lord the pope chose to demand from every resident beneficed clerk a third part of his

emoluments, and from every one not resident one half, adding, that he also thought fit to appropriate the possessions of those who died intestate; therefore, on the part of the whole population, notice was given to the cardinals also, by the same messengers who bore the afore-mentioned letters to the lord the pope, in this form :—

The Letter sent to the cardinals for the same reason.

"To the most reverend fathers and lords in Christ, the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, their devout, &c., &c., wish health, due reverence, and honour. With humble supplications we have betaken ourselves to your whole body, as to the foundations which support the church of God, and we earnestly entreat you, that, condescending to investigate the grievances to which we are subjected, you will be willing to aid us, so that upon the repeated injuries which have befallen the Anglican Church in past days, it may be able to obtain a respite, and that, in consequence of your conduct to us, we may be bound to rise up before you, giving you all due thanks; for, from the time of the last Lateran Council, first of all a twentieth was exacted for three years, as an aid to the Holy Land; afterwards, a tenth was required for the support of the lord the pope; afterwards, on other requirements," &c.

Concerning the contribution of eleven thousand marks sent by the English to the pope as an aid to him.

But when all this had been heard, the court of Rome got furious, and grieved at its avarice being accused and bridled. And the pope and the cardinals, fearing lest dangerous confusion should overwhelm them, which appeared to be impending from such a threatening, did not entirely cease to oppress the kingdom and church of England, (for their want of paternal affection did not permit them to do this), but still they restrained the rigour which has been described with so much moderation, that they reduced the subsidy which they had previously demanded to a sum of eleven thousand marks. On which demand, the bishops of England assembled, and taking counsel, and deliberating, with respect to the repression of the persecution of the Roman church, they, although it seemed a burdensome thing to them, nevertheless consented to contribute the before-mentioned sum of money to the lord the pope. But in that very council they excluded all the abbots of England, whom they picked out, to be especially exposed

to the voracity of the Roman court, an act which was destitute of all brotherly affection and courtesy.

Concerning the manifold promotion of the Lord John Maunsel.

And while the times of these events were proceeding onward, the lord John Maunsel, chancellor of the church of Saint Paul's, in London, at the command and urgent request of the king, (whose request is an imperious and constraining one), undertook the custody of the king's seal, to fill the office and discharge the duties of chancellor. Besides this, the aforesaid John had the provostship of Beverlac conferred on him by the archbishop of York; and although the lord the king was sorry that that had not been bestowed on his uterine brother, the lord Ethelmar, still, because he had always found the aforesaid John faithful and friendly to him in supporting him through his anxieties, the lord the king did not wish him to suffer loss or to be offended, or in any way whatever to be deprived of the honour which had been conferred on him.

About the same time, the lord the pope sent some of his secular clergy into England and Ireland, with great power, to collect money; nor, although complaints were multiplied on all sides, could he put the bridle of moderation on his covetousness. At the same time, Master John Rufus was sent into Ireland, to collect money diligently in that country, being armed with large powers as a legate, but not invested with the scarlet robe, lest the lord the pope should seem to have offended the lord the king of England, who rejoices in a certain privilege, that, namely, of having no one enter his territories as a legate, except on his request. Therefore, the aforesaid John, being a legate in disguise, and devoting himself earnestly to fulfilling the commands of the pope, and providing for his own interests, extorted about six thousand marks from Ireland, which he caused to be conveyed to London by some religious men, on the day of the feast of Saint Michael; and for a like cause, Master Marinus was sent to London by the lord the pope. Also, the bishop elect of Bethlehem, Master Godfrey, son of the prefect, having no regard for the bishopric to which he was elected, came to England, having obtained indulgence from the lord the pope to go thither by a mitred bishop, and, abiding in England, to devote himself to the revenues which were got, and were still to

be got from thence. Also, at his first arrival, he traversed all Scotland with great energy.

The same year, on the thirteenth of January, an earthquake took place in several parts of England, contrary to the usual habits and nature of that country, and was very destructive and formidable, throwing down many houses, being, as was supposed, an omen of some great event, and quite unusual and unnatural in the countries of the west. Since the solidity of England is destitute of any subterraneous caverns and deep hollows, in which, according to philosophers, earthquakes are usually produced; and this was followed immediately by a long continuance of bad weather, an unusual heaviness of the atmosphere, wintry, stormy, cold, and rainy, which lasted to the festival of Saint Benedict, so that both farmers and gardeners complained that spring and the most beautiful portion of the summer had departed, and been changed into winter; and they were terribly afraid that they should be disappointed in their hope of seeds, and plants, and crops, and harvest. Moreover, on account of this aforesaid earthquake, it was believed that the whole state of the world would be shaken by some great revolution, and would bring forth some confusion in England.

On the day after the Purification of the blessed Virgin Mary, Fulk of Newcastle died in London, a gallant knight; and on account of the respect due to his royal parentage and his noble character, the lord the king caused his body to be buried with all due solemnity and magnificence in his presence in the church of Westminster.

Concerning the death of the new landgrave, who had been elected king of Germany.

About the same time, that the earthquake above mentioned might not be entirely devoid of the threatening meaning, the landgrave, whom the lord the king desired to advance to the empire, and for whose promotion he had uselessly lavished the immense treasure which he had collected from all quarters, having been shamefully defeated, went the way of all flesh, with infamy and hatred, to the great confusion and shame of the Roman court. And in this way, leaving foul traces behind him, he saved the kingdom of Germany and the empire.

Ambassadors are sent from different parts of the world, to the injury of Frederic.

When the lord the pope heard this, being pricked in his heart with grief, he sent formal cardinal legates to the different countries of the world, in the plenitude of the power committed to him, fully authorised to injure, as far as ever they were able, Frederic himself, and his son, Conrad, who had unwearied pursued the landgrave to a shameful death, and who were enjoined not to cease from collecting money from all ecclesiastical persons, and especially from such as belonged to any religious order, for their overthrow. Accordingly, the lord the pope sent one of them, by name Octavianus, into Germany, another into Italy, another into Spain, and another, the bishop of Sabionetta, (of whom we shall speak more fully hereafter) into Norway. And besides these, he sent many brethren of the order of Preachers, and of the order of Minor Brethren, armed with great powers, to excite the whole world against the aforesaid rebels and enemies to the Roman church.

Frederic causes all the Calabrians, Apulians, and Sicilians to do homage to his son Henry.

But while this time was passing, and these events taking place, Frederic, of suspected memory, whom we are forbidden to call or style emperor, caused all the Calabrians, Apulians, and Sicilians to do homage to his beloved son, Henry, whom, having been born to him by his beloved empress, Isabella, the sister of the lord the king of England, he had taken to be the strength and support of his empire. Moreover, Frederic, hearing that legates were being sent by the lord the pope into different countries, to the injury of his character and dignity, he wrote to Ensius, king of Sardinia, his own natural son, to prepare effectual toils and snares for the Januensians, who were the kinsmen and friends of the pope, and for his legate, who was sent into that country; which injunction Ensius carefully complied with, that he might not seem disobedient to his father. And in like manner he signified to Conrad, king of Germany, that he wished that he would, with all his power and prudence, resist the legate who was sent into the district of Germany, and the archbishop of Cologne, and all who gave them any aid or advice, or showed them any favour, and empty their coffers of all the treasure which they had derived

from ecclesiastical persons. And in like manner he addressed consolatory and admonitory language to all his friends, many of whom laboured with all their efforts to give a speedy effect to his injunctions. When this had become known to the pope and the cardinals, the Roman court was agitated in no small degree. And the pope, in his rage, heaping up anger on anger, and hatred on hatred, excommunicated Frederic himself, on the day of preparation, in such solemn and horrible terms, that he struck all who heard or saw it, not only with fear, but even with vehement horror.

Concerning the arrival of brother John, an Englishman, and minister of Provence, in England.

About the same time, a certain brother of the order of Minors, by name John, came into England, of which country he was a native, having been sent by the lord the pope, armed with great powers, to collect money with all diligence, for the use of the lord the pope, from all ecclesiastical persons, and especially from the abbots, who had hitherto been exempt. And because the lord the king is well known to have a privilege, by virtue of which no legate can come into England, except upon his invitation, legates were now sent thither in this form, artfully disguised. And he received (because it was right that he should, in respect of his honesty) sufficiently ample contributions; of which the lord dean of Saint Paul's is an evidence, who liberally gave him twenty shillings as his contribution. And because he was discharging the duties of a legate, he travelled on horseback. And those whom he favoured he spared; and when he had exempted them according to his will, he affixed a condition to their contribution. But the bishops harassed those who were exempt, in many ways, and extorted money from them by all kinds of arguments, because they were privileged, and because their privileges were always unpopular with them, and, as it were, a thorn in their eyes; although such letters were manifestly inconsistent.

The letters sent to the lord the pope by the whole body of the clergy.

"To the most holy, &c. Brother John, a minister of the order of Minor Brothers in Provence, a religious and discreet man, the nuncio of your holiness, having been sent to the venerable fathers in Christ, the archbishops of Canterbury

and York, and their suffragans, has brought us some apostolic letters of credence; delivering to us at the same time, by the same authority, a verbal injunction that we should each of us, both on our own account, and on that of the ecclesiastical persons subject to us, issue obligatory letters concerning a certain sum of money required for the assistance of the Apostolic See. But we, having deliberated carefully on this subject, and considering likewise that if we were to do any such thing without consulting those under our authority, they would make a great disturbance, looking upon us perhaps as their betrayers, and thus be rather provoked to rebellion and scandal than to the promotion of the aforesaid business, have not found ourselves able to aid its progress without their counsel and good will. On which account, as we are very anxious with all reverence to obey the apostolical mandates as far as we are able, as it becomes us to do, and to consult the peace and tranquillity of the clergy and kingdom, having deliberated together on this matter, how the amount of eleven thousand marks for the subsidy before mentioned (the three ranks of clergy being exempted and excepted) may be generally contributed, both by the aforesaid archbishops and their suffragans, and the people committed to their charge; we will, as far as we are able, induce our people committed to us to agree to it. But if perchance (which God forbid) we are not able to persuade them to this, then each of us will for himself contribute his share of the money, as far as the extremity of our ability shall reach. In truth, with the exception of the three orders of clergy exempt, our clergy will be in no small degree distressed by a contribution of such an amount. We fear that if any one in future be except from the contribution before mentioned, the clergy will not be able at all to be persuaded to agree to it. Farewell."

A murmur arises among the clergy, and complaints in the kingdom:

From these grievances and others of a similar kind, a murmur arose among the clergy and the people in general, so that whatever they brought they contributed unwillingly, and (that I may not suppress the truth) with causes and maledictions; enumerating afresh to the lord the pope their grievances, with complaints from the bottom of their hearts, and representing the intolerable oppressions to which they were subjected.

The known grievances of the English church.

The English church is intolerably oppressed in an infinite number of ways. In the matter of the tithe of all its goods; in that of the aid exacted in haste; in that of the money extorted for the soldiers; in that of the subsidy extorted under various pretences by the agency of Otho the legate; in that of the contribution of six thousand marks; in that of the subsidy of the Roman empire; in that of the subsidy lately granted gratuitously; in that of the subsidies demanded on the part of the lord the king and the archbishop of Canterbury: all these matters having been carried forward in an intolerable manner and in a bitter spirit, devoid of all affection or idea of devotion. And therefore it has all been expended uselessly, and (to sum up all in one word) lost.

What kind of answer was given to brother John at Saint Alban's and at Westminster.

But when the aforesaid brother John had come to Saint Alban's, he exacted, without admitting any excuse from the abbot, who was already oppressed in various manners, the sum of four hundred marks as a subsidy for the lord the pope. And as he was in every respect inexorable and inflexible being unwilling to remit anything whatever of this exaction, the abbot before mentioned, alone of all those who were exempt, appealed to the presence of the lord the pope, in respect of the intolerable grievance of this exaction, preferring to submit to the pope's judgment, rather than to be crushed at the pleasure of one of the Minor brethren. And while one of the brethren was preparing for the journey, this same brother John immediately sent word to the lord the pope, that the abbot of Saint Alban's alone, among all who were exempt, had appealed, not caring to obey the papal mandates. On which, that brother whom the abbot sent to the court of Rome, found the lord the pope exceedingly exasperated and inflamed against both the abbot and his messenger. But after the lord the pope, being somewhat appeased, had lent a gentle ear to the relation of that same messenger, he exposed the grievances of the house of Saint Alban's, and besides that, the insupportable exactions of brother John, in regular order. At which the pope, feeling pity for them, abated his displeasure, and took off a great portion of the money previously demanded. But when the aforesaid brother John had come to Westminster with the same object, namely, of exacting money for the use

of the pope, he was immediately answered to his face, that the lord the king, for the arduous affairs of the kingdom which were at that moment pressing upon him, had sent the lord abbot of Westminster and the lord John Maunsel, as his especial councillors, into the parts of Germany. Owing to which, the prior and the chapter could not possibly give any answer whatever respecting any contribution without the presence of their head; for it would not be reasonable of them to do so. But when brother John had heard that they had replied thus prudently and circumspectly, and at the same time boldly, as if relying on the king's protection, both on account of his fear and respect for God, and also for the lord the king, he was silent for awhile, and withdrew.

Mark the power of that brother, the disguised legate.

About the same time, to the greater oppression and misery of the English, the power of the aforesaid brother John was increased, and even aggravated. And he was more and more stimulated by the pope to labour earnestly for the collection of the aforesaid money, and to exact larger sums still, by the following letters.

The authentic of the pope.

"Innocent, &c. Having understood the circumstances which you have intimated by your letters, we, by the authority of these presents, do enjoin you, that, if a portion of the ecclesiastical prelates of the kingdom of England shall reply to you, as touching the subsidy to be contributed to the church, and demanded by you on our authority, that they are exempt, &c., you shall in that case assign them a payment of even a larger sum of money than you have previously demanded of them, imposing upon whomsoever of them you choose a compulsion to pay the aforesaid subsidy within a proper time, under the penalty of ecclesiastical censures, without any right of appeal; any privilege or indulgence whatever notwithstanding, though these presents may not make express mention of it. Given at Lyons," &c.

If any one desires to see the previous powers, which were granted to the aforesaid brother, he can recur to the copies, which are preserved at Saint Alban's.

Concerning the summoning all the nobles of England to Parliament.

About the same time, the lord the king finding that his

kingdom was in enormous danger on all sides, ordered the entire nobility of the whole kingdom to be summoned at Oxford, in order to take into their careful consideration the state of the kingdom, now manifestly in danger; and they were to meet at Oxford on the day when the anthem, "As if lately born," is sung. And he was especially strict in summoning the prelates to this parliament, because he saw that they were now continually being pauperised by the papal extortions, the frequency of which manifestly threatened the ruin of the kingdom. It was hoped therefore, that by their united wisdom something might be enacted which should be wholesome for the church and the whole nation; which expectation, however, deceived every one, as the following history will show.

The election of Conrad as king of Germany being annulled, William, count of Holland, is elected.

In those days, the lord the pope having promised an immense sum of money to the nobles of Germany, to procure the deposition of Frederic and his son Conrad, king of Germany, laboured with great diligence to effect his purpose, which was that, when Conrad, the son of Frederic, and king of Germany, had been deposed and rejected, William, count of Holland, should be elected in his room, and substituted for him. He was a man united in the bonds of indissoluble friendship with the archbishop of Cologne, and a cousin of the bishop of Liege, nephew of the duke of Brabant, and connected with many of the nobles of Germany by blood, or affinity, or friendship; in age he was but a youth, and in the flower of his strength, and for his age he was very distinguished as a knight, very accomplished in his manners, and very sagacious counsel. And when this had become known to Frederic and his son Conrad, having sent a military expedition of no slight force to the city of Aix la Chapelle, where, according to ancient custom, the kings of Germany are crowned, he caused it to be very strictly guarded, lest the new king elect should by any means effect an entrance into it to be crowned. Therefore, the archbishop of Cologne, and the archbishop of Mayence, and the bishop of Liege, with the troops of the legate who were marked with the cross, and other nobles of Germany, surrounded the city with a blockade, and did not cease attacking it with stones and javelins with all their vigilance and all their might, and to cut the besieged off from every kind of supply or provisions.

Some foreigners arrive to enrich themselves.

At that time, some indigent and hungry men landed in England, thirsting with open mouths for the property of others, being, in truth, nobles of foreign and distant countries, to wit, Baldwin, who has been already mentioned as emperor of Constantinople, with some others who were his adherents, having been expelled by violence from the territories of the Greeks, who, a few years before, having sold all the sacred relics which he could find in Greece, and having borrowed money in every direction, claiming the Roman empire as his own, invaded it with a strong force at a vast expense. And having consumed no small quantity of the treasure which he had so iniquitously acquired, being conquered and poor, a fugitive, stripped of all his goods,—fled from thence a banished and inglorious man; although the lord the pope had begun to take his part, and had assisted him most effectually with an immense sum of money against Vastagius, the son-in-law of Frederic, who was waging a vigorous war with him. Therefore, the aforesaid Baldwin began to be in distress, and, a few years before, when he had come to England on a similar errand, having experienced the liberality, not to say prodigality, of the lord the king of England, he came to him a second time, as he had made out that he was a kinsman of his, when he was wishing to ask pecuniary aid of him. And he returned home with his coffers filled with the desired sterling money; and so the Hebrews were enriched, the Egyptians having been spoiled in various ways.

The cardinal bishop of Sabionetta arrives in England.

About the same time, the bishop of Sabionetta, a cardinal of the Roman church, came, on his road as legate to the northern parts of Europe, namely, to Norway and Sweden, with the especial object, too, of anointing and solemnly crowning Haco as king of Norway. And he crossed the kingdom from Dover to Lynn, by permission of the lord the king, in order to wait there for a fair wind, as he was about to sail to the aforesaid countries. And embarking on board ship, he ordered an altar to be erected and decked in the vessel, and caused mass to be celebrated by a certain Preaching brother, whom those who were present had never seen before.

The uterine brothers of the lord the king land in England.

At that time too, three of the uterine brothers of the lord

the king, landed in England, at the same port, namely, at Dover; their names were Guy de Licinun, a knight, and William de Valence, who was not yet made a knight, and Ælmar, a clerk, and they had come on the invitation of the king; and besides these, came Alesia, their sister, who was also the uterine sister of the king, a damsel not yet married; in order that, leaving Poitou, which the French began to trample on, dividing the inhabitants, and calling them traitors, they might be enriched and fattened on the riches and luxuries of England. And on their arrival the king met them with joy, and rushing into his brothers' embraces and multiplied kisses, he promised them honours and most ample possessions, and faithfully fulfilled his promises without any delay, to a degree beyond what he had engaged to do, as the subsequent history will clearly show to my readers.

Some damsels are married to some nobles of England.

The same year, in the beginning of the month of May, when the lord the king was staying at Woodstock for that especial purpose, from the festival of Saint Vitalis to the day after that of the apostles Saint Philip and Saint James, two maidens from foreign parts, born in the countries of Savoy or Provence, (in consequence of the prudence and management of Peter of Savoy, who had gone thither for them), were married to Edmund, earl of Lincoln, and Richard de Burgh, two youths of noble birth, whom the lord the king had brought up in his palace for several years, and had caused to be instructed in polite manners and accomplishments. At which marriage, because strange and foreign women were married to natives and Englishmen, women of low birth, as it was said, to noblemen, ugly women to handsome men, the latter, too, being disinclined to the marriage, great discontent and indignation was excited among the nobles, who were in no small fear that the king intended day by day to bring the nobility of England to degeneracy by a spurious admixture of race.

Joanna, daughter of Warren de Mutenheinsil, is married.

In those days, namely, on the thirteenth of August, Joanna, the daughter of Warren de Mutenheinsil, is married to William de Valence, the uterine brother of the lord the king; the marriage having been the wish and the result of the earnest and persuasive advice of the lord the king, in consequence of

the very splendid inheritance which belonged to Joanna in right of her mother.

William Longsword and many other nobles assume the cross.

The same year too, Walter, bishop of Worcester, and Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, William Longsword, and many other nobles of the kingdom of England, animated by the example of the lord the king of the French, and the nobles of his kingdom, assumed the cross, about the time of Rogation Sunday, in order that by adoring the footsteps of Christ in the Holy Land, and fighting manfully for the acquisition of his inheritance, they might obtain pardon of their sins.

The blessed confessor Edmund is transferred to Pontigny.

In the course of the same year, the blessed Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, and confessor, was transferred to Pontigny, where he was placed with all due solemnity in the church of the convent of the monks of the Cistercian order, in the presence of the most Christian king of France, Louis, and a great many other nobles. And as it was most certainly known to all men, that he was a man of the most inviolate sanctity; therefore, the most eminent person of her sex, the lady Blanche, the mother of the lord the king of France, assisted at his obsequies as far as she could, and as far as was becoming. And she, keeping vigil with fasting and prayer, and a great illumination, poured forth a most devout prayer, saying, "O Lord, and most holy father and confessor, Edmund, you who, at my supplication, blessed me and my sons, when you, living in exile by my assistance, though I was all unworthy of your favour, passed through France; I entreat you confirm that which you mercifully wrought in us, and establish the kingdom of France in peaceful and triumphant solidity, whose privilege it is, from ancient times, to open the bosom of pity, protection, and asylum, to every one who is exiled or suffering persecution, and above all, to any prelate. And let your holiness, which cannot be ungrateful, recollect that France did this for you, and your predecessor Thomas, when he was a fugitive and in want."

The continuation of the same subject.

But on the morrow, being the seventh of June, the same day on which the body of the most blessed bishop and confessor, Wolstan, the friend of the glorious king and confessor

Edward, was transferred to Worcester, (a thing which I conceive was done in consequence of the promptings of the Deity), the body of the blessed Edmund, archbishop and confessor, was, after the interval of many years, also transferred to Pontigny. It should also be known, ay, and proclaimed to the whole world, that the whole body of the aforesaid Saint Edmund was found entire and uncorrupted, and odoriferous, and, what is even more strange in a dead body, flexible in all its limbs, as is the case with a person asleep: the nose alone having sustained any injury, as that was pressed down by a plate of metal which came too low; but even that was not destroyed. His hair and his garments were unimpaired in both colour and substance. And from that time forth it was provided by the especial interposition of the most kind lord the king of the French, that liberty should be granted to the English more freely than to those of any other nation, to visit his body, and to see it, and pray to it, and worship it.

About the alteration of the coinage as to shape.

About the same time, the sterling coinage of the realm, on account of its valuable material, began to be deteriorated by a detestable system of paring round, and to be corrupted by those falsifiers of the coinage whom we call clippers, to such a degree, that they scarcely forbore from touching the inner circle of the coin, and utterly cut away the edge with the letters on it. When, therefore, the coinage began to be vitiated to an excessive degree, the council of the lord the king began to deliberate seriously about a remedy, so that the money might be advantageously changed either in its form or in its material. And it seemed to many discreet and prudent persons that it would be more advantageous to alter the material, than the shape; since it was in consequence of the material, and not of the shape, that the coinage had been subjected to this mutilation. And the coinage of the French, and of many other nations, gives an additional testimony to, and evidence in favour of this principle.

Of the extortion of money by the archbishop of Canterbury.

About the same time, also, Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of the province of Canterbury, &c.

William, count of Holland, is elected king of Germany.

In the course of this year, namely, the day after the feast of the Assumption, the nobles of Germany, to whom the right of election for the most part belongs, elected William, count of Holland, as king of Germany; the lord the pope, together with the archbishop of Cologne, and the legate and others who were jealous of Frederic, having exerted themselves to bring about this arrangement.

About the blood of Christ, which was conveyed to Westminster.

About those days, the blood of Christ, which was preserved in the Holy Land as a most precious treasure, was sent and presented to the lord the king of England, by a certain brother of the Hospital, who also sent with the treasure testimonial letters deserving of universal reception, to certify to the genuineness of the treasure, written by the lord the patriarch of Jerusalem, and the masters of the body of knights of the Temple and Hospital, who all, with unanimous good-will and prompt devotion, sent, and gave, and presented this treasure to the lord the king; and he consigned it to his own especial house in the church of Saint Peter at Westminster, on the day of the translation of Saint Edward, giving it to that church out of his own innate magnificence and liberality. He also on the same day obtained from the bishops, who were then present, an indulgence of six years and a hundred and sixteen days for all those who came to worship the holy relics and the presence of the Lord.

On the same day, the lord the king invested his uterine brother, William de Valense, and a great many other novices, with the belt of a knight. At the same time, the lord Silvester, the king's chaplain, a man of modesty and discretion, and of exceeding experience in the customs and practices of the royal court and chancery, was, on the day of Saint Agatha, consecrated bishop of Carlisle, On Saint Edmund's day the earl of Leicester arrived from foreign lands; and on the day of the apostles Saint Simon and Saint Jude, earl Richard returned from the same countries, to which he had been sent on the king's business, and divers weighty secrets. Moreover, about the same time, Master Thomas, surnamed the Walensian, archdeacon of the church of Lincoln, was elected bishop of Saint David's. And on the day of Saints Felix, Simplicius Faustus, and Beatrice, which is also the day of Saint Olan, king and martyr,

Haco, prince of Norway, was anointed and consecrated king, being a man of prudence and circumspection, and of elegant accomplishments in literature.

The same year, there died, on the day of Saint Catharine, William, count of Ferrara, a virtuous man, full of days; and soon afterwards, his wife, the countess. There also died the same day some other nobles, Richard de Burgh, and William, the son of Hamo.

And so this year passed, very fruitful to the crops, but a bad year for fruit; full of devastations as to England, of enmity to the Holy Land, of plunder to the church, of bloodshed to Italy, of suspicion to the empire, of war to Germany, a year in which Wales was trampled on, and the whole world thrown into confusion.

Ch. XIV.—From A.D. 1248 to A.D. 1250.

Increased discontent of the English barons—Siege of Parma—The king of France sets out for the Holy Land—William of Holland is crowned king of Germany—The earl of Leicester is sent to Guienne—The war between Frederic and the pope continues—Louis, king of France, is taken prisoner by the Saracens—The number of monkish orders increases in England—A summary of the events of the last fifty years.

Beatrice, the queen's mother, comes to England. The bishop of Bath dies.

A.D. 1248, which is the thirty-second of the reign of the lord Henry the Third, the lord the king was at the feast of the Nativity of the Lord at Winchester, where he celebrated the days of the Nativity with great magnificence, accompanied by many of his nobles. But on the morrow, being the day of the festival of Saint Stephen, he dined with the bishops of the city of Winchester. About the same time, Richard Siward (of whom frequent mention has been made before) was attacked with paralysis. About the same time, Beatrice, the queen's mother, came into England to visit the lord the king and her daughters, being accompanied by count Thomas of Savoy, formerly count of Flanders. Also about the same time, that is to say, about the feast of Saint Hilary, Robert, bishop of Bath, died. And nearly about the beginning of the year, namely, on the day week after the Purification,

the whole nobility of England was convoked by the king's edict, in order to take the affairs of the kingdom, now in a sadly disturbed and pauperised state, into diligent consideration, at Westminster. Accordingly there came thither, besides a great number of barons and knights, and abbots, and priors, and clergy, two bishops and an equal number of earls. And when the lord the king had demanded pecuniary assistance of them, the nobles became very indignant; especially because, at the last exaction of the kind, to which the nobles of England hardly consented, the king had granted a charter in which he had promised that he would no longer inflict such an injury and grievance on them. Moreover, the king was reproved for his indiscreet invitation of foreigners into the kingdom, among whom he with great prodigality lavished and distributed all the riches of his kingdom, to its great impoverishment. He also had married the nobles of his realm to strangers and people of low birth; in many instances without requiring that mutual consent which is requisite to make a proper marriage. Besides all this, he was blamed for seizing by force everything which he wanted for his expenses in meat, drink, or clothing, without making any agreement, or granting any delay. He was also reproached for mercilessly impoverishing the bishoprics and abbacies, and even the wardships which were vacant, contrary to that oath which is the first and principal one that he takes at his coronation. And he was also bitterly accused for not having, as his noble father and predecessors had had, a justiciary and a chancellor, and treasurer, appointed by the common council of the kingdom, as was proper and expedient; but only such men as followed his will, whatever it might be, as long as it was profitable to themselves to do so; men who sought not the advantage of the commonwealth, but each his own gain.

When the lord the king heard these accusations, he was confused, and blushed, and, blushing, he grieved that he had offended God and man in so many particulars; and he promised, with all humility, that he would most certainly and cheerfully amend his conduct in all these points. But though with lowly countenance and frequent entreaties he thus endeavoured to bend them to his will in the matter, that is, of granting him pecuniary aid, yet the whole body would not consent, having been so frequently deceived; and all answered him with one consent—we eagerly desire amendment, and are

as yet waiting for it with patience; and as the lord the king behaves and conducts himself towards us, so will we answer him according to his merits. And, therefore, on this ground, everything was postponed till the day fortnight after the feast of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist, before which time the nobles hoped that the king might be softened, and his heart inclined to wholesome counsels. And this would have taken place in a happy manner (as it is said), if his purpose had not been weakened by the objections of his counsellors, who feared that their domination would at once expire. Now, while Fortune was playing thus with human affairs, the people of Parma, who were surrounded with a miserable blockade on all sides, having summoned an assembly, happily humbled themselves before God and the blessed Roger, bishop of London (whom they had offended enormously, as it was said); and so the citizens hearing one day that their unwearied and insolent besieger and oppressor, Frederic, had gone away on some business, leaving the command of his army and the guardianship of the imperial treasure to Thaddæus, the judge of his palace, and to the other nobles who were present at the siege, having invoked the aid of the powers above, sallied out boldly against the army of Frederic, and making a sudden attack on it, triumphed according to their wish. The order of which circumstances this letter will more fully explain to any one who wishes to understand it.

The Letter above mentioned.

"To the vigorous and wise men, the lord Boniface of Salerno, and to the power, and knights, and people of Milan, Philip, the viceroy, and the power, and knights, and people of Parma, wish health, and glory, and honour. We give thanks to God the Father, and to his Son Jesus Christ, and to the Holy Ghost, the triple God and one Majesty, and to the glorious Virgin, who protects, defends, visits, and governs our city, not because our own merits require it, but on account of his own most merciful pity, as we manifestly behold in the triumphant victory which, in consequence of the intervention of his mother, God gave us on Tuesday, the twelfth of last February. For although fifteen hundred of our men had gone between Colorno and Bressello, and besides these, had two of their gates entire, and that raging dragon, who had for such a length of time been invading our country, was now expecting to swallow

us up entirely, having now marshalled all his knights, and all his battalions of infantry, outside the walls, entrusted to his faithful generals, he himself being at no great distance; we having invoked the aid of God and the glorious Virgin, seeing that God is able to put down the proud, and to exalt the humble, immediately went forth against them, with our people and all our knights, not at all delaying our march, until we brought our ranks close to theirs in close combat, our standard going before us, with the effigy of the precious Virgin, in whose path and by whose guidance we were advancing. And although they resisted obstinately at first, nevertheless we, becoming more vigorous, pressed on more vigorously against them, and overthrew them all, and crushed their whole army. And when the impious Frederic heard of this, and was thinking of assisting his men, he feared to encounter us; and descending by secret paths, like a bandit, he lost his men and nearly all his booty, of whom we took three thousand prisoners and more. We also took the standard of the Cremonese; we also took the fortresses which he had erected, and all his camps; and we now have all that he had. We have also slain Thaddæus, his judge, and his chamberlains, and lords of the bedchamber. Moreover, of our own citizens, who were banished, we slew more than fifteen hundred, whom we found among his knights and people, besides those who were trampled under our horses' feet and destroyed in that way, whom we cannot enumerate because of their numbers; and the rest of his army we put to flight and scattered in every direction. At last, having returned into the city, with praise and honour to God, we arranged the affairs of our city, trusting in him who is the true safety of all men; for having greatly crushed the arms of the wicked, we and ours now hope to enjoy profound peace for ever.

"And we announce this to you that you may have joy, entreating your magnificence that you will all come at once to our assistance, without any delay of any kind, and join our standard; since, as God has opened us the way, we wish to proceed along it with all speed, in order to recover the town of Saint Dominic, and Bressello, and the rest of our territories; and also to take the vessel of the Cremonese, our enemies and yours, that so we may wipe them out of the book of the living. Away with all delays, O ye most prudent as ye are the most constant of men! since, after God and the blessed Virgin Mary,

we consider you the authors and partners of our victory. Know ye, therefore, that having burnt up the country of the cursed Frederic, we have recovered all those men belonging to us and to the people of Placentia, whom he detained in chains. Fare ye well. Relate this to both our friends and yours, that our joy, which is full, may be made known to all our friends."

Moreover, about this time the coinage of England was so intolerably corrupted (as has been said before) by the detestable clippers and falsifiers, that neither natives nor foreigners could look upon it any longer with pleasant eyes or ungrieved hearts; therefore, provision was made that, without altering the legal weight, or the superscription of letters, the arms of the cross on one side of the penny should be extended in both directions as far as the edge, so that the coin might in this manner be marked off in four divisions.

The same year, Walter, surnamed Mauclerc, formerly bishop of Carlisle, but who, after the days of old age and decrepitude came upon him, had assumed the habit of the Preaching Brothers, that he might die poor, paid the debt of nature in a virtuous manner. For he weighed in the scale of sound reason that he had been promoted to the pontifical dignity in a secular and irreligious manner, rather through the influence of the lord the king than from any consideration of his character and learning. This is the man whom fortune often raised up to dash him down more heavily, inasmuch as he incautiously mixed himself up with important and difficult counsels of the king's, which he was not able or willing to fulfil, and managed, both at Pontigny and in the country of Scotland, some marriages which excited the displeasure of the lord the king. By his advice, too, after he had joined the order of Preaching Brothers, it was brought about that a new and previously unheard-of privilege was extorted for their order from the lord the pope, owing, perhaps, to the intervention of money. The same year, the Preaching Brothers procured from the lord the pope a privilege, that it might not be lawful for any brother to quit the order and transfer himself to another, (although it is quite notorious that the order of Saint Benedict is a more strict and excellent order, and entitled, both on account of its antiquity and its author, to higher reverence and dignity than the rule of Saint Augustine, which the Preaching Brothers acknowledge as their standard); and

also, that it should not be lawful for any abbot or prior to receive any such brother (though they themselves are well known to receive monks who are deserters from other orders), which appears to be inconsistent with reason, for it not to be lawful to descend and migrate from a more rigid to a more lax order; and also, to this natural precept, as it is laid down by Saint Benedict—"What you do not wish done to yourself, that do not you do to another."

But when many men of great influence from their character, their learning, or their high birth, and endowed with ample possessions, fled from the world to their order, but after having done so did not find such a form of religion as they had hoped, but found, instead of a barrier, the latitude of the whole surrounding country, especially when, in the beginning of his rule, the aforesaid Saint Benedict rejects that class of monks which is called the Girinagian, they began to grieve and to repent of having passed over to such an order, and laboured craftily to find pretexts for leaving it; on which account the others, who were considered the leaders among them, being vexed at being left, procured the aforesaid remedy. But the bishop who has been often spoken of, that the sinister signification of his surname might not draw after it an unfortunate result, being fortified by the habit of the Preaching brethren, deservedly terminated his life by an enviable end. The same year also, two brothers of that order died, to whom there were no superiors, and indeed no equal, as it is believed, in all the countries of Christendom, in erudition and knowledge, especially theological knowledge, to wit, brother and Master Robert, surnamed Bacon, and Richard de Fishakele; both of whom were for many years readers to the clergy in the same faculty with the highest reputation, and also preachers to the people.

In the course of the same year, there also died Master Simon de Langton, the brother of Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, of glorious memory, himself archdeacon of the same church; who scorning to imitate the example of his brother, became, as is not wonderful, a persecutor and disturber of his own church. Moreover, he greatly agitated and most mischievously disturbed the kingdoms of France and England, and the hearts of the citizens and constitutions of those kingdoms, as is more fully set forth in its proper place. The same year, Master John Blund, chancellor of the church

of York, died, who was considered not inferior to any theologian of any time, and who for his eminence in learning and virtue, was on one occasion elected archbishop of Canterbury; but his election was annulled, and undeservedly set aside, by the aforesaid Master Simon, a man incapable of tranquillity. So the disturber and the disturbed went together to the company of the dead.

The same year, on the first of June, there was an almost general eclipse of the moon immediately after sunset.

The day fortnight after the feast of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist, the nobility of nearly the whole of England met in London, believing assuredly, from the positive promise of the lord the king, that, having changed his former intentions and conduct, he would for the future incline to the advice of his natural subjects; but they received the following answer from him: "I do not see that it is your business to impose conditions on me, while you refuse to me the liberty which belongs to each individual among you. For each, and every one of you, have power to adopt any advice you please, and every master of a family has a right to select any one of his household whom he shall choose to appoint to any office, or to set him up or to depose him, to dispense alms, to borrow money, and to govern his household according to his own pleasure or that of any one else he chooses, which right you rashly presume to deny to your lord and king. Moreover, all who are accounted of inferior rank think it better to be directed and governed by the will and authority of their lord and prince. For the servant is not above his lord, nor the disciple above his master, since the pope will neither have any justiciary, or chancellor, or treasurer, substituted as you require, nor will he remove any who may be substituted."

And when the nobles, in reply, affirmed that they desired nothing more than that the royal and the public promotion, and the indiscreet profusion in the lavishing of alms, and the excessive lighting of tapers, should be checked, they could not procure a hearing. It appeared, therefore, clearer than daylight, that this had emanated from the advice of those men who were so disposed, that if their whole body were listened to one half would be despised. Therefore, the nobles replied that they would not consent at all to be impoverished any more, that foreigners might be fattened on their property distributed without any profit to themselves. And therefore the

council was dissolved, not without great indignation, and every one returned home disappointed of his hope.

As, therefore, the king found it necessary to procure some treasure, because he was in a short time about to send a military expedition into Guienne, against Gascon, the son of the countess de Briarde, a most ungrateful traitor, who had laid waste the territories of the lord the king, he addressed earnest entreaties to many religious men separately, begging them to stretch out the hand of liberality to him, as he was destitute of wealth, and promising them a grateful requital at a seasonable opportunity. Which request they (although harassed on all sides) laboured zealously to gratify, to such a degree, that, to say nothing of others, he obtained a hundred pounds from one single abbot, namely, the abbot of Romsey. Moreover, he ordered all the vessels, and utensils, and jewels, throughout his dominions to be sold according to weight, without having any regard to the gold with which the silver vessels were inlaid, or to the workmanship, however skilful and laborious it might be, and although it might exceed the material itself in value.

But when the autumnal equinox made the weather pleasant, the lord the king of France, having first received the solemn sacraments at Saint Denis, and the other sacred places in his kingdom, and having renewed his vow, set out on an expedition to Jerusalem, and passing through Lyons, where the pope was staying, he saluted him with humility and devotion, and entreated him earnestly that, as the ecclesiastical honour was now in all respects safe, since Frederic was now thoroughly humbled and sued for pardon, he would grant him the form of reconciliation, and follow the footsteps of Christ whose vicar on earth he is well known to be, so as at least to open to the penitent the breast of moderate pity, in consequence of which the road would be safer for the pilgrim. But when he saw the lord the pope preparing the countenance of contradiction to this request, the lord the king departed in sorrow, saying: "I fear that when I have departed hostile measures will be prepared for my country, on account of your execrable hard-heartedness to my neighbours. Let it not be attributed to you if the business of the Holy Land is hindered (which may God forbid), nevertheless, do not permit France to be attacked, but rather take care that she is guarded as the apple of your eye, as the country in which the condition of Christianity de-

pends." And that the king might not be entirely overwhelmed with anxiety at his departure, it was provided that a special and formal messenger should be sent to the lord the king of England, forbidding him in any way whatever to attack with hostility, or to invade any of the provinces pertaining to the kingdom of France; on which embassy Master Albert, the notary of the lord the pope, and Master Paul, a great friend of the lord the pope, were immediately sent, who reached the presence of the lord the king at Windsor, on the day of the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. But the lord the king of France, having made his accustomed confession to the lord the pope, and having obtained remission of all his sins, departing from the court of Rome with the blessing, directed his course and his standards towards Marseilles, and when he came near Avignon, the citizens, who still preserved some sparks of their ancient hatred, prepared plots against the lord the king, and designed him as much injury as they could. And the citizens of Marseilles and the people of that district, in a like spirit having seized on a slight opportunity, wickedly threw many hindrances in his way. But the king, when the tumult had been (though with difficulty) appeased, embarked on board a swift ship, accompanied not by all his followers, but by a select train, and directed his swelling sails towards Cyprus, in order to winter quietly in that fertile and temperate island.

And while the cold of winter was pressing heavily on the shivering world, the besieged garrison in the city of Aix la Chapelle were terribly pressed; for all entrance into, and all egress out of the city, in any direction, was denied to them, and all importation of supplies was utterly cut off, and they had no support but the shadowy consolation of Conrad. Therefore, they were compelled by necessity to surrender to the enemy on any conditions they chose to impose, and to submit to be treated according to their pleasure. So now the joyful conquerors destroy the captured city with fire, and William, count of Holland, is solemnly crowned king of Germany on the day of All Saints, by the hand of Conrad, archbishop of Cologne. When Conrad, the son of Frederic, was hastening to the relief of the besieged citizens, some of the nobles of Germany, true sons of the church, vigorously resisted him, so that he retired defeated and in confusion.

The same year, in the course of the summer, Seville, a noble

city of Spain was taken by the victorious king of Castile, Alfonso, an event which caused great astonishment to many of the Christians, who said, "What is the meaning of this? This king alone has gained more for the service and honour of the church than the lord pope and all his adherents who have assumed the cross, from whom he extorts an immense sum of money: and than all the Templars and Hospitallers who gather in enormous revenues and treasures from every country in Christendom." And the multitudes marvelled, saying, "O the height of his riches!" &c.

After the feast of Saint Michael, Walter de Suffield, bishop of Norwich, crossed the sea, by which voyage the said bishop caused great suspicion and anxiety to many persons in England.

About the same time, the lord the king sent Simon, earl of Leicester, into Guienne, and with him he sent a very numerous army; but, as some relief from their expenses, he at the same time exacted of the citizens of London two thousand pounds, which they granted to him, as their lord and king, on consideration of his necessity, although they were themselves in great difficulties.

So this year passed by, temperate and serene as to its weather, filling the barns with abundance of corn, so that a load of corn fell to the price of two shillings. But with respect to the fruits of the orchards, which were in wonderful abundance in the most fertile districts, in the less productive districts there was a perfect plague of worms and grubs, which utterly destroyed all the green parts of the trees. This year, however, was one of hostility to the Holy Land, of enmity to Italy, of mourning to France, of destruction to Germany, of horror to Savoy, of disgrace to the Roman church, of great expense to England, showing by many indications that the end of the world was approaching, and breathing threatenings of divine anger.

The earl of Leicester returns from Guienne.

A.D. 1249, which is the thirtieth year of the reign of the lord the king, Henry the Third, the said lord king was at the feast of the Nativity of the Lord, in London, namely, at his own particular palace of Westminster, where he passed the time of Christmas in very sumptuous entertainments according to his custom, attended by a numerous company of nobles;

but he invited a still greater number to meet him joyfully on the festival of Saint Edward, whom he loved and reverenced with much more cordiality than the other saints. And they came cheerfully, both on account of the love and veneration with which they regarded the saint, and also because of the reverence they bore to the blood of Christ, which had been lately received, as has been already mentioned, and of the pardon for sins, which was conferred upon it, and allowed to be obtained by the faithful, and also because of their respect for the authority of the lord the king, who had invited them. And there were present with the king and queen, having been duly invited, the two earls, Richard, the brother of the lord the king, and the mareschal Roger, with four other earls, and an equal number of bishops, there assembled. And while the lord the king was staying at Westminster, that is, at the season of Christmas, the earl of Leicester returned from the province of Guienne, with some other nobles, and several knights and esquires, who having been sent thither, had approved themselves faithful soldiers of the lord the king. And their arrival caused no small joy to the king and all his court; for the aforesaid earl had compelled a wicked traitor to the lord the king, by name Gascon, the son of the countess Biarde, who had done great mischief in that district, to submit to a truce against his will; and the same earl had taken prisoner in the tower of the same princess, and consigned to the strictest custody, a certain other public robber and incendiary and bloody enemy of the lord the king, by name William Brett.

But while the wheel of fortune was revolving in such gyrations as these, unprecedented and terrible rumours were spread through the provinces of England, to the effect that the threats of the Gospels were being verified; that there would be commotions in all places of the earth. Some town in the county of Savoy, not far from the common road, which runs through the vallies of Maurienne, to the number of nearly twelve, with two houses of religious orders, were overwhelmed and perished with all their inhabitants, who amounted to about ten thousand, in consequence of the mountains turning over and coming together with a fearful crash.

In those days, Nicholas, the bishop of Durham, being now in delicate health, following the example of the bishop of Carlisle, voluntarily resigned his bishopric to Walter, a man of eminent learning, that he himself might have freer leisure

for prayer and contemplation, and might die in a state of greater poverty. But the archbishop of York, and the bishops of London and Worcester, were assigned to him as trustees, and some manors (to wit, Hoverdon and Scocton) were assigned to him from the bishopric, that so excellent a man might not be deprived of the rank and dignity of the pontificate. On the feast of the blessed Edward, which is celebrated with reference to the deposition of that same glorious king and confessor, the lord the king, according to his pious custom on such occasions, kept the vigil which precedes that day, which vigil occurs three days before the Epiphany of the Lord, with fasting on bread and water, and diligent watching, and continued prayer, and the distribution of alms. And on the day of the festival, he ordered the solemnity of the mass to be celebrated in the church of Westminster, in a most glorious manner, by priests arrayed in silk vestments of incalculable value, and with a multitude of wax tapers, and a tuneful singing of the whole chapter, which was wonderfully prepared. He also ordered public proclamation to be made by the voice of the crier, that all other fair-days and market-days should be suspended throughout London, and that a fair should be kept on this day, which should last a fortnight.

About the same time, Vercelli, a noble city of Italy, with all the country around it, came over and submitted to the authority of Frederic, in consequence of the sedition of the citizens, who were pursuing one another with domestic hatred. And when the lord the pope heard of this event, he grieved inconsolably, as did the whole court of Rome, and accordingly he solemnly and repeatedly pronounced the sentence of anathema against all those who had stirred up sedition or perpetrated treason in that city, in consequence of whose conduct, the city was cut off from its fidelity to the church, with the intent to deter others from doing the like. And while these events were taking place, Frederic, in order to strengthen his party, which was beset on all sides by the enemy, wisely had recourse to marriage, and laboured to strengthen himself and his son Conrad, who had espoused the daughter of the duke of Bavaria, by matrimonial alliances, and to unite himself by such means to many of the nobles in indissoluble friendship. In pursuance of this truce, he now gave his daughter in marriage to Thomas of Savoy, formerly count of Flanders, and he entrusted him with the defence of Vercelli, and the adjacent

district, and he conferred on him many estates and ample revenues, hoping by these means to render his whole family grateful to him, and to lay them under lasting obligations to him against the time when they should be able to requite him.

When the time of Lent drew near, the lord the king visited the district about Winchester, which had a very infamous reputation, through the number of robbers and nocturnal plunderers which infested it; through which country the justiciaries had made a journey a little while before, men who ought to have cleansed those parts from such a pestilence, but the aforesaid thieves were so banded together, that the justiciaries, although energetic men, were not in the least able to curb their wickedness, nor did their violent and unconcealed depredations cease, and outcries and complaints resounded, ascending up to heaven; and even, that their iniquities might be multiplied to an intolerable extent, the very wines of the lord the king were not safe from the plundering hands of these violent robbers. So the lord the king was excited to bitterness of spirit not unnaturally, nor could he any longer repress his desire for revenge. Having, therefore, made a subtle scrutiny and a searching inquisition (because this step was necessary, in order that the craft of these universal traitors might be encountered by craft), the lord the king suddenly ordered twelve men to be summoned before him in the hall of Christchurch at Winchester, by whom he expected to be more accurately informed of the truth, and he threatened them terribly, under penalty of being hanged, to reveal to him the names of those malefactors whom they knew. Accordingly, they retired, and held a long consultation among themselves, and then determined in no degree to discover this band of robbers. Therefore, the lord the king being very angry, having shut the gates of the castle, ordered them to be arrested immediately and thrown into prison, and to be bound with chains and fetters, as criminals deserving of being hanged. And immediately afterwards, he summoned twelve more, and caused diligent enquiry to be made of them, and addressed exhortations, with the admixture of terrible threats to them, desiring them not to follow the footsteps of the former twelve, but plainly to reveal the names of those malefactors to the lord the king, whose determined resolution it was to deliver the country from them; and they, retiring apart, and taking long deliberation on the subject, began to be greatly alarmed, lest they,

too, should be involved in the same calamity as the first twelve. Therefore, they gave information, expressly naming all the malefactors of that district who had polluted that part of the country with robbery, and they formally accused them by name. And so a great number of criminals was apprehended, both in the city and the neighbouring country, and especially out of the county of Southampton, to the number of twenty at least; some of whom were powerful and wealthy men, and the very persons to whom the lord the king had confidently entrusted the charge of protecting that district from thieves. And some were men of such high rank, that they were considered equal to knights, and that their estates were valued at forty, or fifty, or twenty-four pounds a year. Some of the villains, too, were of the king's household, and they were accused, and convicted, and sentenced to suffer death by hanging. And the business was so completely settled in this part of the country, that some accusing one man, and some another, more than twenty were executed by hanging, besides those in prison, who were in a state of uncertainty and danger; and so, by the favour of God, the Lord of revenge, the county of Winchester, through which, by reason of the fairs, and also of the harbour which was near the city, and of the high reputation of the city itself, both foreign and native merchants were continually passing, was, by the vengeance of God, and the prudence of the lord the king, delivered from the snares of robbers in which it previously abounded.

So here you see the goal, of this account the whole;
And what beyond you seek another age will speak.

About the same time, on the day of All Saints, Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, was enthroned with great honours, the king and queen having been invited to the solemnity, and nearly all the prelates of England. About the same time, the abbots of the order of Black Friars met at Bermondsey, on the day of Saint Calixtus; and in their united council, it was ordained, among other things, as the lord the king had earnestly requested of every one, that it should be that the famous collect, "God in whose hand," which is sung in their churches, out of veneration for the blessed Virgin, should be said every day in the mass for him and for the queen. About the same time, the Preaching Brothers brought a stone of

white marble, which ever since the time of Christ had borne the print of a footstep of the Saviour in the Holy Land; and the inhabitants of the Holy Land assert, that that impression was the print of the footstep of Christ when he was ascending into heaven. And the aforesaid lord the king gave it as a noble present to the church of Westminster, as he had a little while before given it the blood of Christ. But on the first Sunday of the Advent of the Lord, Walter of Kirkham, bishop elect of Durham, was consecrated at York, by Walter, archbishop of York, of which archbishop the bishop of Durham is a suffragan. The same year, the abbot of Boileau caused his church, which king John had built from its foundations, to be dedicated with great solemnity, in the presence of king Henry, and Richard, his brother, and many other nobles and prelates. Moreover, the aforesaid abbot sent twenty picked monks and thirty brethren to inhabit the new house of the Cistercian order which earl Richard had lately built not far from Winchelcombe, in fulfilment of a vow which he had made when at sea.

In the course of the same year, on the third of July, Alexander, king of Scotland, died, a wise and moderate man; for when he was seeking for an occasion of showing his severity, he voluntarily sharpened his wrath against one of the greatest nobles of his kingdom, by name Owen de Argathel, a valiant and most accomplished knight. And, preparing to strip him of his property, he branded him with the stigma of treason, because, in the year which had just elapsed, he had done homage to the king of Norway, for his occupation of a certain island which the father of the aforesaid Owen had held in peace under the same king, doing him homage for it for many years. Owen, therefore, being unwilling to offend the king of Scotland, entreated him to grant him a truce, that he might resign the homage and the island at the same time to the king of Norway; but the king refused to do so, and defied Owen himself, and pursued him by sea as far as Argathel, being stimulated, as it is said, by the importunate promptings of a certain bishop of Stratherne, a brother of the order of Preachers; and accordingly, the king disembarking from his ship, before he was able to mount a horse, was, as if by divine vengeance, struck by a sudden and mortal disease, and while wishing to strip an innocent man of his inheritance, unexpectedly gave up his soul while among his nobles, and all his

ambitious hopes at the same time. The same year, Hugo, surnamed Le Brun, count de la Marche, when the king of France had landed at Damietta, was removed from the scenes of this life, and was deservedly the less lamented; because, according to his own confession, he had prepared the snares of treason in Poitou, for his stepson the king of England. The same year, about Pentecost, one of the barons of the north country died, by name Roger, the son of John, leaving a boy as his heir; the guardianship of whom the king conferred on William de Valence. And so this year passed without being so fertile as the last, though still it was abundant; but about the end of the summer, the harvest, though it had presented a good appearance, and excited great hopes among men, was injured. It was a year full of disgrace to the Roman court, and of disturbances to France and England.

Concerning the delivery of the lady Senchia, the wife of Richard, the earl of Cornwall, &c.

A.D. 1250, which is the thirty-fourth of the reign of king Henry the Third, the aforesaid king, at the time of the festival of the Nativity of the Lord, was at Winchester; where, according to his custom, he celebrated his Christmas feast with great magnificence. The same year, just about Christmas, too, Senchia, countess of Cornwall, and wife of earl Richard, brought him forth a son, at Berkhampstead, to baptise whom, the earl invited the archbishop of Canterbury, the uncle of the infant; and his name was called Edmund, in honour of the blessed Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury and confessor. About the same time many nobles of the kingdom of England crossed the sea, though the reason was not known to any of the people. They were the earl Richard, the earl Gloucester, Henry de Hastings, Roger de Turkely, and many other nobles with them. And there went besides, of the prelates, the bishops of Lincoln, London, Worcester, and with them the archdeacons of the dioceses of Lincoln, Oxford, and Bedford, and others. And earl Richard, being accompanied by a large retinue of great magnificence, traversed the kingdom of France with forty knights, all newly equipped, with new robes all alike, and arms of great beauty, inlaid with gold, and horses newly caparisoned, and with many two-horse chariots, and fifty baggage horses, and a numerous retinue of servants, accompanied also by the countess his wife, and his

eldest son; so that, to the admiration of the French, he afforded an admirable and honourable spectacle to all beholders. And the lady Blanche went to meet him on his honourable approach, with the greatest reverence, applauding him, and offering him valuable presents, as a kinswoman would to her kinsman, or rather as a mother would to her only son. The bishop of Lincoln was the only person the cause of whose crossing the sea was generally known, it being in order to meet those whom he was summoning to the court of Rome, who, on account of the unprecedented grievances which were inflicted, and still threatened to be inflicted on them, appealed to the Apostolic See, to wit, those who were exempt, the Templars, Hospitallers, and many others, who afterwards, by an intervention of money, prudently purchased themselves peace from the lord the pope, according to the advice of the heathen judge, "Seek assistance under an unjust law." And thus the bishop, being disappointed in his object, returned in confusion to his own home.

Earl Richard crossed the sea with great glory and honour; and being attended by his eldest son, Henry, and a numerous household, very royally provided with caparisoned horses, and garments of rare beauty, traversed France and came to Lyons, where the pope was staying at that time. And when he came thither, nearly all the cardinals went to meet him with great respect. But the bishop of Lincoln had arrived there already; who, after many had reconciled themselves to the pope, and purchased peace of him, querulously reproached the pope, saying, "My lord, I thought that by the aid of your command I should chastise all those of whom I complained, and should by force have recalled them from their errors; and behold! the last error is become worse than the first. For every one has bought himself off, and you open your bosom to all who offer you money; by which my authority is weakened, and my designs are frustrated." To whom the pope replied, "My brother, thou hast delivered thine own soul. What is it to thee, if of our grace we have shown them favour? Is thine eye evil because I am good?" And so the bishop departed, being disappointed in his designs; though others were greatly annoyed and injured on account of this circumstance.

About the same time, William of Holland, king of Germany, having been defeated and crushed, although the pope had given him great assistance, Frederic triumphantly exercised

great severity against numbers who were rebelling against him, and for a time crushed many, and put them to death, according to the saying, "His heart shall be exalted before his fall."

About the same time, when earl Richard had arrived at Lyons, as has been said before, the pope received him with the highest honour, entreating him to dine with him; and the pope and earl Richard took refreshment at one table, sitting side by side; and this took place before Rogation Sunday.

And on the very same day, when the soldan of Babylon had offered an extremely favourable peace, to which, however, the pride of the French could by no means be brought to agree, though it was voluntarily offered, a battle was fought between the Saracens and the Christians, most disastrous to the latter, and the king of France was taken prisoner by the infidels, a thing which never happened before. And many nobles of France surrendered themselves to the Saracens without a struggle, and without receiving a wound, as if they were accursed of God. And many of those who were taken prisoners, voluntarily apostatised, to the great disgrace of the Christian faith, and the everlasting reproach of the whole universal church. And the brother of the king, the comte d'Artois, fled, and was drowned in a certain river, and so perished, and the whole Christian army was scattered and routed. But William Longsword fought to the death, and so did several other nobles of the English nation, being animated by the example of the aforesaid William, and having a faithful confidence in the Lord; namely, Robert de Vere and others, whose names are indelibly recorded in the book of life. But what I think worthy of being handed down to everlasting recollection is this. In the night preceding this battle the aforesaid William appeared to his mother, the abbess of Laycock, formerly countess of Salisbury, raised up fully armed, towards heaven, which was open to receive him; and she completely recognised his army, and he was seen to enter heaven, where the angels received him gladly; and when he entered, his mother fancied that she said, "Who is this?" And she was answered, "Do you not recognise your son William and his armour?" And his mother replied, "I certainly do; that is he whom you contemplate as his mother." But the abbess with maternal care noted down the time and details of the vision. But when half of the following year had elapsed,

when all who knew what had happened, and had concealed it for some time, lest his mother should grieve too much for her son's death, broke out into these words, "O! lady, it is not right any longer to conceal the misfortune which has happened to your son William." And when they added on what luckless day he had perished as a martyr for Christ, while fighting against the infidels, she, having ascertained that the day and the vision which I have related both corresponded, raised her hands, and gave thanks to God with a cheerful countenance, saying, "I, thy handmaiden, return thee thanks, O Lord, that of my sinful flesh thou hast commanded such a conqueror of thy enemies to be born."

Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, for the sake of avoiding the bishop of London and the men of religious orders in that city, is said to have behaved with such austerity (although he was actuated by a principle of equity), both against the bishop and against the men of religious orders in the city, and in a similar manner, too, against some others, that, as they made a vigorous resistance, many who had previously praised him now marvelled at his ferocity. At length, after lavishing vast sums of money, and great vexation and labour, it was determined that the archbishop should exercise his jurisdiction in a more reasonable and moderate manner (according to common law), and should prosecute his visitation under definite modifications, and so that tempest was allayed and terminated. About the same time, that is to say, about the festival of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist, the brethren of the order of Preachers were assembled by one general summons from all the countries of Christendom, and even from the Holy Land, at their house in Holborn, which is in London, that they might then, after having invoked the grace of the Holy Spirit, diligently discuss the state of their order, and their own duties, and reform whatever they might see required correction. And because they had no revenues of their own, the nobles and prelates from the neighbouring districts found them provisions for some days of their own gratuitous liberality. And on the first day of the chapter being held, the king came thither in person, to entreat the benefit of their prayers; and receiving them hospitably, he feasted them royally, as he ought. On the following day, the queen, and after her the bishop of London, and after him the lord John Maunsel, and then others, as, for instance, the abbot of Wal-

tham and the citizens of London, as they had invited them by letters, also feasted them: and the brethren were four hundred and more in number. About the same time, the seal of the kingdom was committed to Master William of Kilkenny, a prudent and circumspect man, and of great skill in the law.

About the same time, a certain knight, who had formerly been his companion, and his successor in the office of ranger of the forests, by name Geoffrey de Langley, traversing the northern parts of the kingdom, and making enquiry into the transgressions of the laws of the forests and of hunting, fined so heavily all whom he could convict, extorting money from them, that the quantity of treasure collected for the king's use, would create amazement in the hearts of those who heard it.

On the day of Saint Kenelm, there arrived news of the captivity of the king of France, and of the route of the whole Christian army, than which news none were ever received, or ever came to the knowledge of the Catholics, of a more mournful nature, especially in France, so that all Christendom wasted away with grief and sorrow. The same year, in the month of October, the first day of the new moon, and the first day of the month, the sea began to be disturbed by a great darkness, and being disturbed, to rise beyond its usual bounds, and occupying part of the shore where no one recollects having ever seen it before, it caused great injury to those who dwelt near it. The same year, too, on the day of Saint Lucia, about three o'clock, an earthquake took place in England, and it is a very marvellous thing that such an event should take place in that country, nor has such a thing ever taken place within any one's recollection, except in this instance. For the island is solid, and rocky, and very destitute of caverns. Moreover, with the earthquake, there was also a terrible noise as of thunder, and a subterranean roaring, events which were said to presage some impending pestilence of no small importance, or some revolution in the kingdoms, or the death of some famous prince. And, accordingly, that same year, and that very same day, died the greatest of princes, the wonder of the world, the emperor Frederic; and the same year, William de Rale, bishop of Winchester, died, in foreign parts, namely, at Tours, where he had remained about twelve months; and the monks of Winchester, at the instigation of the lord the king, elected Ælmar, his uterine brother, as the shepherd of their

souls. Moreover, about the time of the festival of Saint Michael, the bishop of Rochester died, and because he was accounted a saint, by the management of the king, his body was buried at Westminster. The same year, on the twenty-ninth of May, Robert de Lexington, the chaplain and counsellor of the lord the king, who had long filled the office of justiciary, in which he had amassed vast treasures for himself, and filled the king's coffers, departed this life.

When, then, this year was ended, twenty-five fifties of years had now elapsed since the era of grace, that is to say, twelve hundred and fifty years. But we must remark, and not pass lightly over the fact, that in none of the twenty-four preceding fifties had so many marvellous things, and so many unprecedented novelties happened, as had happened in this twenty-fifth fifty. And there are some historians who assert that so many prodigies and strange events happened not in all the other fifties put together as did come to pass in this one just terminated. For in this fifty, the Tartars, bursting forth from their distant and untraceable abodes, devastated with fatal destruction all the countries of the east, whether belonging to the faithful or to infidels. Also, the admiral Muremelin, the most powerful monarch of the African and Spanish unbelievers, invaded the territories of the Christians, but was defeated, and forced to retreat with his whole army. While Oliver was preaching in Germany, our Lord Jesus Christ, who was crucified, was distinctly seen in the air by the whole people. This year, too, the Greek church renounced its subjection to that of Rome, Babrizat, the most powerful of the Greeks, becoming a schismatic. The city of Damietta, at the entrance of Egypt, a most wealthy, and strongly-fortified, and famous city, was twice taken by the Christians, and twice lost.

Several earthquakes took place in England, and there were several instances of the sea overrunning its natural limits to a prodigious degree, by which it inflicted unheard-of injuries on those who lived near it. England was laid under an interdict for seven years, and for an equal length of time was subjected to the horrors of civil war; and at length, by the inactivity of king John, who was at that time king, it was reduced to become a tributary state. The same king John lost Normandy and many other territories beyond the sea, and made England and Ireland subject to pope Innocent the Third, and burdened them with the payment of tribute, and the privileges of the holy

Roman fathers were by this addition deprived of their power and authority (any enactments to the contrary notwithstanding), not without injury to them, and bringing them into contempt. The ordeal which used to take place by fire and water was abolished; and leave was given that any one who was promoted to a bishopric might retain his former revenues. Licence was also granted that Christian usurers might lawfully live in England among Christians, under the protection of the pope, as it were, though usury was condemned in both the Old and New Testament; but though they are called usurers by the common people, they profess themselves before the pope to be merchants. Prohibition was issued against any one in the church immediately succeeding his father without a papal dispensation, and against any one being illegally advanced to any dignity. The coinage, which had been spoilt by clipping, was renewed. Louis, the eldest son of Philip, king of France, was elected to be lord and, as it were, king of England, on account of the intolerable oppressions of king John; but, at length, the same Louis, being a violator of his faith and promises, returned ingloriously back to his father.

Otho and Frederic, emperors who rebelled against the pope, were overthrown, and after they were put down the imperial dignity withered, and the pope endeavoured to advance two other princes to the supreme power in the empire. But before they were thus promoted the Lord struck them down; and they were Henry de Raspen, landgrave of Hesse and Thuringia, and count of Schwartzenberg, and William, count of Holland, son of Florence, the fourth duke, and of Matilda, the daughter of Henry, duke of Brabant. William, indeed, did begin to enjoy his elevation during this period of fifty years, but he was soon afterwards slain.

Louis, king of France, was taken prisoner, and his whole army dispersed and routed, and many nobles of his kingdom were taken with him, and a large body belonging to the Temple, to the Hospital, to the Teutonic order and that of Saint Lazarus; and the city of Jerusalem, with its churches and holy places, which had been consecrated by the presence of Christ, was twice destroyed and desolated, once by the Chorosmines, and a second time by the soldan of Babylon. An eclipse of the sun happened twice in three years. There were many earthquakes in England, and a very unprecedented extension of the sea.

A general council was held on two occasions in this period; once at Rome and once at Lyons. In the last the emperor Frederic was excommunicated and deposed. Not far from Genoa, in the open sea, several prelates were taken prisoners, and some were drowned. Wales also was bereaved of its prince, and afterwards his two sons, Griffith and David, being speedily circumvented, it was reduced to obey the laws of England, and to acknowledge the authority of the king. Guienne was subdued by earl Simon, afterwards when it rebelled it was again subdued, and at last delivered from the vengeance of the king of Spain. The greater part of Spain was restored to Christian worship by the most valorous king of Castile, and the noble cities Cordova and Seville, and the large city of Valentia, and several others, and the very rich islands in the vicinity were reduced under the power of the same king, and faithfully illuminated by the Catholic faith. The pope being driven from his city like an exile and a fugitive, fled from city to city, lying hid in many places, while Frederic persecuted Innocent the Fourth. But at last he reached Lyons, and there he found a safe refuge. Nevertheless, not at all recognizing the hand of the Lord as that which chastised him, he oppressed the church more than all his predecessors put together. Three prelates sat in the apostolic seat within two years, and the papal see was vacant a year and nine months. Prelates were suspended from collation to benefices until satisfaction was made to him; on behalf of whom he wrote that provision should be made for them, according to what they considered themselves entitled to receive. The Preaching Brothers and Minor Brothers, by the command of the pope, and being compelled by their principle of obedience, became the tax-gathering nuncios, and, as it were, legates of the pope, being diligent collectors of the pope's money; by preaching, giving the sign of the cross, and again recalling it when they had accomplished their end, and by standing by invalids who were dying, and preparing to make their wills. And like diligent men of business, armed with all kinds of powers, they turned every thing to the advantage of the pope.

The monastic orders were multiplied in England, there being, besides the orders of Preachers and Minors, the Brothers of Mount Carmel, the Brothers of the Crossbearers, and some who called themselves Brothers of the order of Saint

Augustine, and many others. In Germany and France, too, there appeared women who called themselves Beguins. Many saints in England, or belonging to England, became famous; for instance, the blessed Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, who lies buried at Pontigny, was celebrated for miracles, and so was Master Robert, a brother of the same church. Also the Holy Robert, the hermit of Knaresborough, became notorious for undeniable virtues. Roger, bishop of London, at whose tomb a great many tokens of his good deeds are suspended, was celebrated for the benefits he conferred on the sick. Then in Germany there was Saint Elizabeth, landgravine of During. Saint Augustine, too, in Norway, became famous for many well-proved miracles. And though not exactly in this fifty years, but immediately afterwards, Saint Robert, bishop of Lincoln, became very glorious, and obtained great honour from an investigation into the miracles wrought by him; on which account other saints of old time, to wit, Saint Remigius and Saint Hugo, as if rejoicing with and applauding their new brother, Saint Robert, though he had not been formally canonized, lavished the benefits of their own miracles on the Christians all around, in order that their evidence in his favour might be received as equivalent to a formal canonization. And not many days afterwards, a boy of three years of age, whom the Jews had first circumcised and then crucified, and after a variety of carefully devised torments had put to death on the cross, having been buried in the cathedral of Lincoln, is said to have given the blessing of good health to many persons, so that the church of Lincoln was called most blessed, and was honoured by persons who went on pilgrimages to it. Likewise Richard of Chichester was so famous for his miracles, that the times of the apostles seemed to be renewed. The church at Westminster was rebuilt at the expense of the lord the king Henry, and a golden coffin, for the use of Saint Edward, was also made out of his treasure; moreover, vessels of great and inestimable value, and worthy of all admiration, and jewels and silken vestments of wonderful workmanship, and new privileges were conferred on that house by the king, and the lord the king also built a splendid chapter house.

The heresies of the Albigensians, the Bugorians, and the Jovinians, and other mistaken persons, were eradicated by the diligence of preachers.

In the meantime, the holy party of the Christians (since the Saracens often triumphed according to their wish) was weakened in no slight degree, but these losses were happily made amends for by the successes in Spain. The castle of Antioch was besieged by insurgents, and was attacked and assaulted by them, as they advanced as far as the vineyards and farm lands of the citizens, and even to the walls of the city.

This year Easter fell on its proper time, that is, on the twenty-seventh of March, doing that which had never once happened before, in the last year of this fifty. And all the elements (which is a notable and significant circumstance) in this last year of the period of fifty years, suffered an irregular and unusual confusion. Fire like lightning was often seen during the winter season, and thunderbolts fell in a terrible manner, and shone in a way contrary to the usual course of nature. The air was confused and darkened, as if laden with the thunder and lightning, and inundations of rain, already mentioned. The water and the sea transgressed its accustomed bounds, and in the sea where there used to be deep water, dry land was now seen; and the places on the borders of the sea were laid waste. And in the land of England, and especially in the north, there were repeated strange earthquakes; and in Savoy, too, there was a great destruction of cities, towns, mountains, castles, and churches, and also of many thousand men that were swallowed up in a terrible and unheard-of manner.

Now since the Blessed Virgin bore her child,
The sun had rolled on his revolving orb
In twenty-five times fifty revolutions;
Yet during all that time it ne'er was seen
That Easter on the twenty-seventh of March
Did fall before, till this last year arrived,
Yet in this year it fell so, as I've said,
Nor did men ever, whensoever born,
In all the other ages put together
So many marvels see, as this produced.

With this year, too, brother Matthew proposed to close his commentaries, on account of certain impending dangers. For if truth is spoken of powerful persons, and if a man's writings are commended, there was his prepared for him; if their good deeds are passed over, or described as evil deeds, his whole worth will be mutilated and bitterly reproved and condemned

for flattery, adulation, or falsehood. Such a book may be deservedly called a barren field, as far as its author is concerned. For the toil in its cultivation is laborious, and also in the time of collecting the harvest, and there is a lack of all convenience and advantage, and thorns and tares are gathered instead of fruit. Why then should it delight any man,

To sow ungrateful seed in barren soil?

Nevertheless, it is to be hoped that those good deeds which ungrateful man does not requite, the liberality of God will more fully recompense. Forsooth, it is a good deed to perpetuate the knowledge of remarkable events, by recording them to the glory of God; in order that future ages may be made wiser by reading them, avoiding those sins which are deserving of vengeance, and doing such good deeds as the Lord fully recompenses. But the aforesaid brother Matthew Paris, while he was intending to close his historical writings at this point, speaks thus:

Here Matthew's Chronicles do close
In the glad year of jubilee,
Deserves the long desir'd repose,
Rest for my reader and for me,
And so let rest be given
On earth, likewise in Heaven.

And a little afterwards he says:

Here, Matthew, let your toils and studies end,
And seek not what a future age may send.

CH. XV.—FROM A.D. 1251 TO A.D. 1254.

Frederic dies—Alexander, king of Scotland, marries Margaret of England—Alfonzo, king of Spain, dies—The Jews are banished from France—The citizens of Bourdeaux invite king Henry into France—He goes thither, leaving Edward regent of the kingdom—Gasten de Biarde attacks Bayonne—A great battle is fought between the French and Germans, on the borders of Flanders—Prince Edward marries Eleanor, princess of Spain—War between the pope and Conrad, son of Frederic.

Of a marvellous storm of thunder and lightning on the vigil of the Nativity of the Lord.

A.D 1251, king Henry the Third, it being the thirty-fifth year of his reign, was at the feast of the Nativity of the Lord at Winchester. But on the night of the feast of the Nativity,

a great deal of thunder was heard, and much lightning seen. The king, because he was designing to visit the countries of the east as a pilgrim, where gold coin is chiefly used, began to seek for and collect gold money, so that every one who wished to get his business settled in the king's court gave the king gold rather than silver.

Frederic being dead, as has already been mentioned, his son Conrad caused all the captives whom Frederic, his father, had kept in prison, to be removed to the more remote districts of his kingdom, to Palermo and other cities of Sicily, that he might be more secure of them. But he allowed some of them to be sent to Henry, the son of the emperor Frederic, and nephew of the king of England, to be ransomed by him, or to be treated in any other way according to his pleasure.

About the same time, quarrels arose among the most powerful soldans of the Saracens, and especially between the soldans and magistrates of the Alapensians and Babylonians. For the former were indignant and envious because the soldan of the Babylonians had taken the most illustrious and powerful king of France in battle; and were even more moved at his having allowed him to be ransomed and to depart freely, and at his now being in safety among the Christians at Acre. But the amount of the ransom of the king of France was sixty thousand pounds of the choicest and purest gold, besides a great deal of the common coinage of the ordinary sterling money, and of the coinage of Tours and Poitou, amounting to an incalculable sum. The number of those who were slain in that expedition amounted to sixty thousand, and twenty thousand and more were dispersed as fugitives, without counting those who were drowned, and those who voluntarily surrendered themselves to the enemy, and those who apostatised, who did us more harm than the rest. This year, the Jews were forbidden by the king, and the king's ministers, to eat flesh on the sixth day of the week, or during Lent, under great penalties. For they had become very odious to the king of England, because it had been stated to the king of France, as a reproach and matter of disgrace, that the Christians allowed Jews to dwell among them, who had inflicted such numbers of injuries on their Lord and God, and had at last crucified him. Manfred, the natural son of the emperor, after a short respite, rose in insurrection against the pope. The city of Nutheta, in which more than three thousand

Saracens dwell, and which the emperor had built, was not destroyed, but was protected by Manfred. Guy, the brother of the king, having been invited, as it is said, came into England, with his other brothers, who had already been enriched. The English were treated with contempt and impoverished, especially the citizens of London. Many prelates and men of religious orders were thrust down into the lowest estate of slavery by command of the pope, and in consequence of the spoliations of the king, the pope came to Perugia.

Simon, earl of Leicester, returned for a short time from Guienne, but having recruited his forces, returned back again. The detestable addition of the words, "Notwithstanding, any," &c., weakened the writings and actions of holy men. Nicholas, bishop of Durham, resigned, and had a sufficient provision assigned to him, to wit, Stockton, Hovedon, and Essington. Henry de Bath, a knight, and the justiciary of the lord the king, was accused and impeached before the king of grave offences, and scarcely escaped with his life. The countess of Arundel founded a church for nuns at Len, which is called Marchan.

A report prevailed throughout the countries of the west, that the emperor Frederic had died on the day of Saint Lucia. The archbishop of Canterbury at last, though with great moderation, visited the canons of London, as he had long intended to do, designing at first to confound them with great severity and a rigorous exercise of his power. This year, William de Cantilupe, the king's counsellor, died, and was succeeded by William, his son. Wales was overrun by the armies of England. The bishops elect of Winchester and Rochester were confirmed. The pope quitted Lyons, and with some difficulty reached Milan. Paulinus Piper, the steward and counsellor of the king, died—Geoffrey the steward died, too, a very gallant knight. A wonderful nuisance arose in France, of a band of rogues, namely, shepherds, who increased to the number of thirty thousand; but they were all destroyed. The city of Damietta was levelled to the ground by the Saracens. The pope composed some new decretals. At the time of the equinox, the sea overran its natural boundaries by a very great distance. The queen of Scotland, the widow of king Alexander, returned to her native country.

Some tournaments took place, in which hatred and envy broke out between the foreigners and the English, and grew to a very formidable extent.

Alexander, king of Scotland, espouses Margaret, daughter of Henry, at York.

A.D. 1252. King Henry the Third, it being the thirty-sixth year of his reign, was at York, where Alexander, who was now king of Scotland, married Margaret, the daughter of the king of England, on the day of the feast of the Nativity of the Lord, and the king of England at that city invested the king of Scotland with the belt of a knight. And the king of Scotland did homage to the king of England. The guardianship of the king of Scotland and the queen and kingdom were committed to Robert de Roa and to John de Baliol. A heavy tax was laid on the Jews. Simon, earl of Leicester, having grave accusations brought against him, resigned the government of Guienne to the king. A great drought prevailed for four months. Some beneficed clerks in the diocese of Lincoln were promoted to the priesthood against their will.

Conrad in the mean time was successful in his war against the pope, nor did his habitual rapacious conduct avail the pope. Robert Passelewe of England, an old and obstinate man, in consequence of whose conduct the abbot of Ramsey had lost the greater part of his revenues, died, on the day of Saint Huon; and many others as well, as he had had their peace disturbed, and their wealth curtailed by his proceedings. Concerning the general immorality of his character, many facts are recorded in this work. The dissensions which had existed between the abbot of Westminster and his chaplain were appeased by the intervention of the king.

This year, too, that most notorious king of Spain, Alfonso, died; and the king of England was greatly grieved thereat, but the lady Blanche was still more so. Guienne was conferred on Edward, and no mention was made of the earl, to whom it had formerly been granted and bestowed by charter, and in the possession of which he had been established. In the summer there was a great heat and drought of long continuance. A tournament took place this year, which was called the Round Table, in which that most gallant knight, Hervald de Montigney, died. William de Haverhulle, the king's chaplain and treasurer, died. The church of Ely, which had been magnificently repaired by bishop Hugo, was dedicated. The countess Margaret de Riparies died. On the day of the feast of Saint Edward, a great council was held at

London, at which the king demanded a pecuniary subsidy. But Robert, bishop of Lincoln, was the first to object to it, and afterwards others, being encouraged by him, resisted too. A tax was imposed on the citizens of London, whom we usually call barons, as if they had been slaves of the lowest rank. Geoffrey de Langley, who was a knight and justiciary of the forest, having excessively impoverished the nobles of the northern parts of the kingdom, on pretended reasons connected with the taking of game, was deposed from this charge, and one of the guardians of the queen of Scotland was appointed in his stead, who tyrannized to such a degree that the nobles of Scotland could not endure his violence, and removed him; and so he transferred himself to the service of Edward, in which he (as will be related on a subsequent occasion) raised up many enemies against the king and prince Edward. He had been bred up and advanced by Robert Passelew; but afterwards, like a cuckoo, the foster-child supplanted his nurse. The same year, Master Albert, the especial chaplain and notary of the lord the pope, came to offer the kingdom of Apulia to earl Richard. But when the earl had required security, to wit, some castles of the lord the pope, and some hostages, that he might be sure of obtaining possession of it, and might feel some certainty respecting the pope's promise, Albert replied, that he would consult the pope on the subject. In the mean time, Albert acquired many benefices for himself, and when he had got them he crossed the Alps, and the lord the pope, when he had heard the earl's answer, would not proceed with any further proposition on the subject.

About the same time, Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, came into England; whose arrival gave joy to few of the prelates, and to still fewer of the laity, a thing which we are very sorry to say. A grave scandal arose, and also a violent quarrel between the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop elect of Winchester, because the bishop elect had caused the official of the archbishop, by name Master Eustace, to be forcibly apprehended in the church of Lambeth, with one of his chaplains, and to be dragged and torn away in a very indecent manner. Accordingly, as the king laboured earnestly for his brother Æthelmar, and the queen for her uncle, the archbishop, a great confusion arose, which was with difficulty appeased.

The same year, on the first Sunday in Advent, that queen

of all secular ladies, Blanche, died, after much tribulation, which she had endured on account of her sons. John Mansel, chaplain and special counsellor of the lord the king, as his industry well deserved, was enriched with very large revenues and estates.

This year also, Robert, bishop of Lincoln, caused a diligent account to be taken of the revenues in the possession of foreigners in England, as granted to them by pope Innocent, and it was found that none of his predecessors, in three times the same length of time, had ever enriched such a number of persons of his family and country. About the same time, the king very cunningly permitted the men of the religious orders to be oppressed by the nobles, who kept hounds for hunting, and who lived near them, so that their liberties were weakened, and their cultivated lands trampled on. The same year, pope Innocent established a rule that the cardinals should wear scarlet hats.

Concerning the disturbance of a banquet at Winchester.

A.D. 1253. King Henry the Third, in the thirty-seventh year of his reign, was at the time of the feast of the Nativity of the Lord at Winchester; and according to their general custom at that solemn festival, the citizens of Winchester made a noble entertainment, though it was only lately that the king had compelled them to pay two hundred marks in a short time. But this feast was interrupted in no small degree by the quarrel that had already arisen between the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Winchester, the king in some degree stirring it up, on account of some injury which had been done to Master Eustace de Len, his official, by the said bishop elect, who, on this account, had had the sentence of excommunication passed against him. However, this disturbance, by the intervention of the king and queen, was soon exchanged for peace. About this time, all the prelates of England were convened before the king, and as they urgently requested that the charters of their predecessors might be preserved, they easily obtained the consent of the king to this. And when sentence had been given on this point, they lighted their tapers, and published the fact, in return for which they cheerfully granted a by no means inconsiderable contribution, which the king demanded of them.

A certain brother of the order of Preachers, by name

Peter, was secretly murdered by the citizens of Milan, because of his assertion of the truth, and his defence of the faith, by which he repressed their vices, and errors, and heresies. And as he became celebrated for his miracles, the lord the pope judged him a martyr deserving of being canonized magnificently. A citizen of Bologna, by name Brancaleon, was created a senator of Rome, who, as soon as he had received this power, exercised terrible justice upon all men, and hanging all malefactors, governed the city and people committed to his charge in a praiseworthy manner. No small number of Jews were driven out of France, in compliance with a command to this effect, transmitted by the king of France from the Holy Land. For the Saracens reproached the French that the Christians were attacking them unjustly, inasmuch as they permitted the false Jews, who were the murderers of their Christ, to live among them. And that it would be just for them first to expel them, and afterwards to attack others who resisted them.

The abbot of Saint Augustine's died, and the precentor of the convent was elected to succeed him.

The eldest son of Richard, earl of Gloucester, married the niece of the king of England, the daughter of Guy, count of Angoulême, a native of Poitou, a damsel of a very tender age, indeed I may say an infant; the marriage having been brought about by the intervention of king Henry, who liberally gave five thousand marks as a marriage present. The earl of Leicester resigned the government of Guienne, and the king of Spain prepared to claim that province for himself, as he had an ancient charter of king Henry, relating to its bestowal, in sufficiently plain and ample terms, and deeds of confirmation from king Richard and king John. When the king had heard this, he was very sorry that the aforesaid count had retired from that guardianship, because he was a powerful man, and of great wisdom in difficulties, and a very safe defender. And he laboured hard to prevail on him to resume his government which he had given up; on which account the earl privily withdrew into France, refusing to resume that burden a second time. And the French were very desirous to have him as seneschal of France, but they could not by any means prevail on him to agree to it.

Richard, earl of Gloucester, and William de Valence crossed the sea, principally in order to bring the aforesaid marriage

to a conclusion; and secondly, in order, in a spirit of rash enterprise, to prove their own address and courage, and the speed of their horses in a certain tournament, which was being greatly spoken of at that time. But after it was over, having been overthrown, and stripped of their armour and battered, they required a long course of fomentations and baths. About this time, the moon was seen to be four days old before it was calculated that it was new moon. The youths of London having set up a peacock for a prize, tried their strength and the speed of their horses in running at the quintain. But some novices of the king's household being indignant at this, reproached them, opposing themselves to them in the contest; but the Londoners put them to the blush with the fragments of their spears, and wounded them, and cast them headlong from their horses, and put them to flight, and routed them. And as many complaints on this account were addressed to the king, he took his accustomed revenge, and demanded a large sum of money from the Londoners. After a few days, the news was heard that Aiguillon, in Guienne, and Saint Milhan, and several other castles, were taken and lost; and that there had been no inconsiderable slaughter of men. Therefore, the king, being greatly alarmed, lest, in consequence of these losses, all Guienne should be endangered, gave an order that briefs should be sent about, and that in every county proclamation should be made, that every one should make a return of his fit and proper arms, and to show whether they were sufficient, that so, if need should be, every one might be prepared to join in the war. He, moreover, issued an edict, that whoever had estates of fifteen pounds of yearly value should be made a knight; and also, that regular night sentinels should be appointed in every city, who should take diligent care of the paths and streets, and of the different exits and entrances. He also provided that if any one were accidentally injured by a robber or by other persons, they to whom the safety of the country was committed should make satisfaction to the injured party, and should prosecute the malefactors, and rid the country of them. But all these provisions, because they were enacted without the common consent of the barons, were in general accounted of little validity.

Master Richard de Witz, bishop of Chichester, died on the second of April; he was a man of eminent learning and extraordinary holiness, and at one time chaplain and especial

counsellor of the blessed Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury. And it was from the information he received from the accounts given him by this Richard, and by Brother Robert Bacon, of the order of Preachers, that Brother Matthew Paris diligently wrote a history of the life of the aforesaid Saint Edmund, as it had been related to him by credible men.

After the retirement of earl Simon from Guienne, the people of Guienne began to war with one another, and to invade one another's castles, to take men prisoners, and to reduce their houses to ashes. And among the first of these warlike leaders was Gaston, lord of Biarde and Perigord, who transferred his allegiance to the king of Spain, that by this means he might more readily attack the king of England. And he encouraged the enemies of the king in Guienne to such a degree, that Bourdeaux, which had used to supply provisions to all Guienne, began to feel want. The lord the king granted a privilege to the church of Waltham, and formally confirmed it, that as often as it should happen that that church was vacant, the convent should have free power of disposing both of the barony and of the possessions of the church, according to their will; besides which, he granted them two markets, and conferred other advantages upon them; and as to these particulars, he renewed the charter which had been obtained from them before.

As the church of Rome was a long time deprived of the presence of its shepherd and prelate, the lord the pope was solemnly entreated by the Romans to return to Rome, and to govern his flock as their shepherd. And as he still delayed, he was entreated a second time with great solemnity, with this addition, that he must come now or never. And when the lord the pope heard this, fearing to incur danger by his delay, he withdrew from Perugia, and hastened to Rome. And although the Romans had repayment of the money which they had expended for him against Frederic, withheld as if it had been a fine due from them, nevertheless he was received joyfully and reverently by them all. The day fortnight after Easter, a great parliament being assembled, nearly all the prelates being met together, requested that the king, observing their charters and liberties as he had often promised, would also permit the Holy Church to enjoy its liberties, especially in the matter of the elections of prelates of the cathedral churches, and of the churches of convents: all which the king pro-

tested that he would observe inviolably, and thus obtained the consent which he desired from them and from the other nobles, to the subsidy which he required for his pilgrimage. Accordingly, there was granted to the king one tenth part of all the ecclesiastical revenues for three years, and from the knights a scutage[1] for that year, at the rate of three marks for each shield. And the king promised in all good faith that he would inviolably observe all those things which he had on other occasions repeatedly sworn to, and which had been originally granted by his father John. And that they might feel more sure of his promise, he ordered sentence to that effect to be publicly pronounced in his presence, which was also done in the following manner:—

The sentence of excommunication pronounced against the transgressors of the liberty of the church.

Accordingly, on the third of May, in the larger royal palace at Westminster, in the presence of, and under the authority of the lord Henry, by the grace of God, king of England, &c. &c. And after this was done, the charter of his father John was produced before the assembly, in which the said king John had granted the same things of his own absolute will, out of which charter they caused the aforesaid liberties to be recited. But while the king was listening to the aforesaid sentence, he held his hand to his breast with a serene and willing countenance; and at last, when all the tapers had been thrown down and were smoking, each person said, "So may all those who transgress this sentence be extinguished and stink in hell;" and the king, with all those who were standing by, answered, "Amen, Amen." But Robert, bishop of Lincoln, suspecting the stability of this affair, immediately caused the aforesaid sentence to be repeated throughout the whole diocese of Lincoln.

About this time, the citizens of Bourdeaux intimated to the king, that unless he came speedily into Guienne, he would lose everything, adding, that in consequence of the tyranny of Simon, earl of Leicester, he had already lost many subjects and friends; which was false, because the earl had repeatedly subdued many rebellious and powerful persons, and compelled them to submit to the king's authority. Therefore, the king caused proclamation to be made by the voice of a herald

[1] From *scutum*, a shield.

throughout Guienne, that no one, from that time forth, should attend to or obey earl Simon; adding, that on account of his oppressions and their complaints, he deposed the aforesaid earl, and he redeemed, for a sum of money, the patent by which he had appointed him to the government of Guienne for the three years subsequent to the signing of it; which step was very pleasing to the people of Guienne, as they saw by it that the power of earl Simon had expired, and that they could more easily complain to the king of their enemies.

Ernald de Bosco, a knight, was appointed prime forester, in the room of Robert Passelowe, in all the southern provinces of England, up to the river which is called the Trent, and John de Lexington, another knight, was appointed over the northern parts of the island, from the aforesaid river Trent to the borders of Scotland, in the room of Geoffrey de Langley. Many undeniable miracles were performed at the tomb of Richard, bishop of Chichester; whose body, when taken up and examined, was found to be wrapped in hair cloths, and bound round with iron hoops. Master John Clipping was elected to the bishopric of Winchester, having been a canon of that church before. A mandate from the Apostolic See was sent about, to the effect that every bishop, whether in foreign countries or in England, was strictly to visit all the monks who were established in his diocese, those who were exempt as well as those who were not, and compel them to the observation of certain articles, which neither belong to the rule of Saint Benedict, nor do they exist in his order; on which account, the monks of France, thinking to provide tranquillity for themselves, having given four thousand pounds of the coinage of Tours to our lord the pope, prevented the edict from reaching them. In like manner, the abbot of Saint Alban's, with the rest of his peers, and the convents which they ruled, appealed without delay to the presence of our lord the pope.

About the first of June, the king having received intelligence of the desolation of Guienne, caused all the knights in England who owed him military service, to be summoned to be present in the course of the week after the feast of the Holy Trinity at Portsmouth, ready to cross the sea and sail with the king to Guienne, in order by force to restore it to the authority of the king its master, and to peace. In the meantime, about a thousand ships having been engaged for the

expedition, their crews being unable to get a fair wind, delayed them for three months, and the king, having by this time consumed the greater portion of his treasure, was prevented from putting his design in execution, because that voyage appeared destitute of the favour of God. William, bishop of Llandaff, died, and his death had been preceded by blindness which had lasted seven years. Earl Roger Bigod, mareschal of England, having been healthfully instructed by the judgment of the church, came cheerfully to the marriage, and gladly received as his wife the daughter of the king of Scotland, whom he had formerly despised. But the king, when at last he got the fair wind he desired, on the sixth of August bade farewell to England, and committed himself to Neptune, having appointed earl Richard, his brother, and his queen, guardians of his kingdom, and having also entrusted to their his care eldest son Edward. And about the feast of the Assumption of the blessed Mary, the king landed in Guienne at Bourdeaux, and the citizens coming out to meet him, received him with reverence as they ought. Accordingly, he immediately ordered the town of Arguillon to be surrounded with a siege, as a great many of his enemies from Gascony had taken refuge there, though Gaston himself had fled to the king of Spain, with whom he had formed a friendship, and to whom (pledging him his hand, as it was said) he had promised the dominion of Guienne. But the French hearing that the king of England had arrived in Guienne, and fearing lest the people of Poitou should go over to the party of the king of England their lord, sent thither a small body of knights, not permitting them to have the guardianship of any castles or cities; and so, being made faithful against their will, they did the French no harm, and could not do the English any good. Thomas of Hereford, archdeacon of Northumberland, died, the week after the feast of Saint Lawrence, with a holy and blessed end: at one time he had been a pupil in the school of the blessed Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, and also a familiar companion of his, owing to which, he continued one of his most confidential friends till his death. And in like manner also, Master Richard, who was afterwards made bishop of Chichester, endeavoured to follow his steps. He, because he was a lover of the poor, bequeathed his body to a certain very poor house, that, namely, of the Brothers of Mount Carmel. And this holy archdeacon Thomas, and this Richard,

bishop of Chichester, too, although they have not been canonized at Rome, we, without any hesitation, believe to have been associated in the company of Saint Edmund. These three blessed men, then, Edmund, Richard, and Thomas, England produced in this age we are speaking of, as glorious confessors of God.

One of the picked knights of the king of France, who was at this time in the Holy Land, being angry in no slight degree because of his son, a most gallant knight, whom the said king, without his knowing it, had caused to be hanged for some offence, for which deed, also, the aforesaid king faithfully promised his father to make him amends, abandoned the Christians, and went over to the soldan, and from having been a friend to the Christians, became their enemy, and having joined the pagans, proved a very formidable apostate.

When the lord the pope had by an apostolic writing enjoined Robert, bishop of Lincoln (as he had done repeatedly to many other persons), to do something which to that prelate appeared to be unjust and inconsistent, the said bishop wrote an answer to the lord the pope in these words:—

Robert, bishop of Lincoln, writes an answer to the lord the pope.

"Health, &c. May your discretion know, that with the affection of a son, I devoutly and reverently obey the apostolic mandates," &c.

When this letter had reached the pope, the lord the pope being exceedingly indignant at it, proposed to confound the bishop, and to plunge him into such distress, that he should be a wonder and an example of terror to the whole world. But at last, being softened by wiser counsels, he dissembled his anger, and allowed the matter to pass over, that he might not appear to stir up too great a tumult on the subject. On the vigil of the Assumption, the venerable man, Ranulph, abbot of Ramsey, died, leaving his house and his flock abounding in all spiritual as well as temporal riches.

The king sent formal ambassadors from himself to the king of Spain, namely, the bishop of Bath, and John Mansel, his own especial chaplain, to demand the king's sister in lawful marriage for his eldest son Edward, the heir of his kingdom of England, and promising himself to invest the aforesaid Edward with the belt of a knight. Robert, bishop of Lincoln, being detained on the bed of sickness, and knowing that

troubles to the church were near at hand, recited some actions of the Roman court in the presence of his chaplains, and bitterly accused the Preaching Brothers and the Minor Brothers, saying that their orders had been established in voluntary poverty, that they might have spirit more freely to reprove the errors of the nobles; but in that they did not reprove the sins of the nobles boldly, he said, that they were manifest heretics, and he added, "Heresy is an opinion chosen by human sense, contrary to Holy Scriptures, openly taught, and pertinaciously defended. For heresy* is in Greek what election is in Latin. But to give the care of souls to a young child is the act of a prelate, which he elects to do according to his human sense, from yielding to the flesh, or out of rashness, and is contrary to Holy Scripture, which forbids those persons to be made shepherds who are not able to keep off the wolves; and such an opinion or action is openly taught, because the sealed or bulled charter is openly shown; and it is pertinaciously defended, because if any one opposes it he is suspended or excommunicated. And he in whom the whole definition of heresy agrees is a heretic. But every faithful believer is bound to oppose heretics as much as he can; he, therefore, who can oppose them, and does not oppose them, sins, and appears to be a favourer of error, according to that saying of Gregory, 'He is not free from suspicion of a secret complicity in the act, who declines to oppose a manifest crime.'" But when the aforesaid bishop had said this and many other melancholy things about the state of the church, with a querulous voice, he departed happily from the exile of this world which he had always hated, to be with the Lord, dying on the night of Saint Denis, at his manor of Bugden. But the same night, as it is said, Fulk, bishop of London, when he was near that manor, heard some most beautiful music sounding on high; also some of the Minor Brothers, who were hastening towards that spot, and who were ignorant of his death, heard a sweet sound of bells ringing on high, among which they particularly remarked one very sweet note of especial beauty and distinctness. And afterwards, both the bishop and the brothers knew that the hour of that vision, or rather hearing, was the very one in which the aforesaid holy bishop departed happily from the body. This Robert, bishop of Lincoln, derived his origin from a family in the lower part of Suffolk, in the

* αἵρεσις, from αἱρέω, to choose; *election*, from *eligo*, to choose.

town of Stradbroke. Also William de Vescy, a knight, who was one of the noblest barons of the northern parts of England, died, while the king was still in the province of Guienne, and entrusting the government of that country to a foreigner. Robert, bishop of Lincoln, being dead, as has been already mentioned, a quarrel arose between the archbishop of Canterbury and the canons of Lincoln. For the archbishop claimed the power of conferring the prebends and bestowing the revenues which fell in that diocese while the bishopric was still vacant; but the canons, with many of the secular clergy, who were not unacquainted with the law of this matter, opposed him, on which account the archbishop excommunicated them and all others who opposed him; but Master William Wolf contradicted him to his face, and appealed on behalf of all his party to the Apostolic See.

Eleanor, queen of England, bore a daughter in London on the day of Saint Catharine, who was baptized by the archbishop of Canterbury, and who, from the day on which she was born, received the name of Catharine.

A terrible quarrel arose at Paris between the scholars and the Preaching Brothers, for the Brothers would not submit to the established customs and laws of the university, but claimed a right to manage themselves, and to be idle or not, according to their own pleasure, and to do other things contrary to the welfare of the community; on which account Rome was appealed to by both sides at a great expenditure of money and labour, and at last peace was, though with difficulty, re-established. But in the church of Lincoln miracles were added to miracles every day; for, the Lord working on behalf of the before-mentioned Saint Robert, other saints who rest in the same church (namely, Saint Remigius and Saint Hugo) were also roused up to confer benefits on the faithful. But as to this Robert having good zeal for the Lord and for his neighbours, although he had harassed his canons a good deal, and had fulminated terrible decrees against persons of the religious orders of both sexes, I nevertheless confidently say, that his virtues pleased God more than his excesses displeased him, as is now manifestly shown by the miracles which are so brilliant at his tomb.

Concerning the sojourn of king Henry at Besancon.

A.D. 1254. King Henry the Third, it being the thirty-eighth

year of his reign, was at the feast of the Nativity of the Lord at Bezas, in Guienne, where he bestowed precious donations on the people of Guienne, in double garments and other desirable things. And when the queen recovered from her confinement, she sent her lord the king five hundred marks out of her private revenues. On the day after the feast of the blessed Thomas the Martyr, the canons of Lincoln elected as their bishop Master Henry de Lexinton, dean of the same church, who, though he crossed the sea to be presented to the king, yet feared to appear before him, because the king had entreated and solicited him and his whole chapter to elect the bishop of Hereford, which, however, they all refused to do; nevertheless, the king, as he found no cause for rejection in the said bishop elect, admitted him.

About the same time the king had invited the queen and his eldest son and heir, Edward, requesting them not to delay to come to him with all speed, in order that the arrangement which has been already mentioned as having been entered into by him and the king of Spain touching the marriage to be contracted by the prince, might be brought to a conclusion. Some Saracens who had been converted to the faith of Christ came into France, some of whom had been baptized, and some still wanted to be baptized. And this was the cause of their conversion, that they had formerly seen the king miraculously delivered from the hands of the most powerful soldan of Babylon, and also the exceeding patience of the king in adversity, his inflexible constancy in his designs, and how he had continued in them even after his captivity, fortifying castles and strengthening cities against the enemies of God; how, too, for the love of his God, he had deserted his kingdom to expose himself to the dangers of the sea, of wars, and of foreign lands, labouring to gain over the souls of the infidels. Moreover, they learnt, by the information of the orthodox, that the foul law of Mahomet is full of poison to the soul; and they brought with them letters patent from the king of France, saying that they were to be supported at the king's expense till he himself returned to his own country, when he would make fuller provision for them.

On Septuagesima Sunday some ships of barbarians, which had been tossed about by the fury of the winds, of great size and elegance, the like of which there were not in the possession of England, well found in all their naval armament, and

in all kinds of warlike stores and provisions, were driven on our coast, and anchored not far from Berwick. And when the sailors were asked who they were, they either would not, or perhaps could not, explain intelligibly, or say who they were, or why, or from whence, or in what manner they had come thither, nor did any one of the bailiwick understand their language, so that they were allowed to depart in peace. And some other ships resembling them were also seen at sea.

Gaston de Biarde having collected a multitude of the king's enemies, rashly made an attempt to enter the city of Bayonne, in a seditious and hostile manner, and to occupy it; and Bayonne is situated on the sea coast, and is the second city of all Guienne. But a number of the citizens, who had admitted some of the king's enemies, because they also hated him, were arrested by the faithful subjects of the king, and punished with other traitors. Also John Hansard, who was not the least among the nobles of the north country, died, in the general mortality which accompanied that expedition. But when the severity of the cold, which had continued with fearful rigour during nearly the whole of that winter, ceased, such a fatal pestilence among the sheep and game ensued, that the sheepfolds were bereft of their sheep, and the forests of their game, and of large herds, scarcely one half survived.

The lord the pope, taking into his consideration that the liberal sciences had now been nearly all turned into mechanical ones for the sake of gain, and that young persons, very little advanced in either age or knowledge, were promoted most unworthily to the office of teacher, in order that, by bing thus elevated, they might be feared, and being thus made more venerable, might climb to higher places, though destitute of any sound foundation, wrote an elegant letter on this subject to all the prelates existing in the kingdoms of France, England, Scotland, Wales, Spain, and Hungary, giving them wholesome counsel against such indiscreet presumption, which letter a diligent seeker will be able to find elsewhere. Pope Innocent thinking, as is generally said, to cast the bones of Robert, bishop of Lincoln, out of the church, the next night that same bishop appeared to him, as it is said, arrayed in his pontifical vestments, and with serene countenance, and austere look, and terrible voice, addressed the pope himself, pricking him in the side with the point of his pastoral staff, and said to him: "O, pope Senebald, have you cherished the idea of throwing my

bones out of the church, to the disgrace of me myself and the church of Lincoln? Whence did such rashness enter your head? The Lord will not at all permit you to have any power whatever over me. I wrote to you in the spirit of humility that you should correct your errors, but you despised my salutary warnings. Alas for you who despise, shall you not also be despised?" And so departing, he left the pope pierced through as it were with a lance, sighing and groaning heavily. On the twenty-eighth of March, the bishop elect of Lincoln, namely, Henry de Lexinton, formerly dean of the said church, was confirmed by Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury. And the same month, namely, on the thirteenth of May, Silvester, bishop of Carlisle, died of falling from his horse on his head, and having broken many bones, he so expired. About the same time, that is to say, on the twenty-fourth of March, William, son of William, and count of Ferrara, died, a man of great prudence and skill in the laws of the kingdom. He used to be carried about in a carriage or litter, and as one day his carriage was overturned and thrown down on a certain bridge, namely, at Saint Neots, he himself had some limbs broken, and so went speedily to death. The same year, a confirmation was held in the church of Saint Alban's, by Richard, the venerable bishop of Bangor.

About this time, a most bloody battle was fought on the confines of Flanders and Brabant, between the French and the Flemings on the one side, and the countess of Flanders and her allies, namely, William of Holland, king of Germany, and many other nobles of Brabant and Germany, on the other side, on behalf of the two sons of the aforesaid countess by her two husbands; in which battle many gallant warriors perished lamentably, so that ten thousand men were slain of one city in Flanders. At last, the victory declared for the king before mentioned, William of Holland, and the Germans; and the French were defeated and wounded, and for the most part slain, and so got the worst of it. The French, therefore, being precipitated into the abyss of despair and desolation, gave notice to the lord the king of France, who was still remaining in foreign countries after his release from captivity, that he ought to hasten to return to his own country with all possible speed; adding, how the crown of France was tottering in consequence of the pride of a woman, namely, the countess of Flanders, who, relying on her two sons and her two husbands, filled the whole kingdom of France with embarrassment.

About this time, the lord John, prior of Newburgh, was sent into those parts on the business of the kingdom of England; and he being certified of these events, committed them to writing in a full detail, and in regular order; and the number of nobles, and knights, and esquires, and men-at-arms who were taken prisoners or slain in that battle, is said to have amounted to more than a hundred thousand men.

In the course of the fortnight after Easter, the nobles of England, being assembled in Parliament, in London, waited for the arrival of earl Richard for three weeks to no purpose; and the king intimated to them that he stood in need of money and a reinforcement to his army; and they all replied that they would, under no circumstances, delay to come in person to the succour of the lord their king, if, as they said, they received fuller information of the hostile arrival of the king of Spain, who threatened such a proceeding; and they marvelled that the aforesaid king had never laid claim to Guienne during the time that Simon, earl of Leicester, was governor of it. These, then, were their arguments. But afterwards the nobles, having learnt the real state of affairs from the aforesaid earl, who just at that time returned from foreign parts, and told them the real truth, and finding that the message which they received had no foundation, returned home in great indignation. When earl Richard required of the Jews a sum of money of no inconsiderable amount for the service of the king, who was in great want of it, Elias of London, the high priest of the Jews, made answer on behalf of them all: "My lords, we see that the lord the king proposes to wipe us all out from before the face of heaven; we ask, therefore, that he will give us his royal licence; behold, we are prepared to depart from the kingdom, and we will depart and never return." This he said with sobs and most bitter tears, on which account the nobles, pitying them, allowed them to depart. Another fierce battle took place between the French and Germans. The Frieslanders, who had previously observed a neutrality, were attacked in a hostile manner by William of Holland.

About this time, that is to say, on the seventeenth of May, Henry de Lexinton, bishop elect of Lincoln, was consecrated and installed in his diocese by Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, while he was in a foreign land. As some Welchmen, who were serving in the king's army in Guienne, were punished by the king's brothers and the people of Poitou, without

any complaint being previously lodged against them before the earl of Hereford, who is well known, according to his ancient right, to be constable of the royal army; and when the said earl had addressed a complaint of this proceeding to the king, and got nothing but ridicule, the English, being indignant at this, proposed to attack the Poitevins; but the king being alarmed, humbly besought their pardon, but could hardly check their fury so as to prevent blood from being shed abundantly; on which account, some of the nobles, seeing that anything like a lasting peace was at a great distance, obtained leave from the king, and returned with all speed to their own country. That cruel sentence, by which Henry Delamere, when going his circuit as justiciary, had caused the house of Saint Alban's to be amerced in a hundred marks, because the servants of the abbot did not come before him out of the liberty of Saint Alban's, as they had no right to do, was revoked and annulled. In consequence of which, the said abbot procured letters from the king on the subject, the queen and earl Richard being the guardians of the kingdom, the king himself being in Guienne.

The same year, permission was obtained from king Henry that the monks of Westminster and their successors should have extracts from the rolls taken before any of the justiciaries concerning the amercements and every kind of fine of those who dwelt on their lands, and concerning the chattels of those among them who fled or who were convicted of anything. And a charter had been previously drawn up and granted to them on this subject, A.D. 1252. In which, also, permission was given them for their convent to have for its own whatever revenues accrued during the time of any vacancy.

As the people of Winchelsea had prepared a very sufficient ship for the queen, when she was about to cross the sea, but the men of Yarmouth had equipped a much finer one for prince Edward, a quarrel arose between them, so that when the finer vessel was wrecked, they attacked the crew and wounded some of the sailors and slew others. On which account a very grave complaint was made, and the men of Yarmouth, with one accord, bent their thoughts to taking revenge for this transgression. But while the queen was grieving, being very much disturbed by such a contention, when everything was prepared for her crossing the sea, and when she herself was ready, behold! another message comes from the king, con-

trary to his former one, desiring that the queen would not cross the sea. She, therefore, being vexed and perplexed on all sides, deliberated what she ought to do. At last, having made up her mind, she determined not to abandon her intention, but with her sons and her noble household, she embarked on board ship at Portsmouth, on the twenty-ninth of May, under the conduct of her uncle, the archbishop of Canterbury; and on the thirty-first of May, she arrived at Bourdeaux. And Walter de Grey, archbishop of York, was appointed regent of the kingdom in the queen's stead.

That year, the north-wind blowing uninterruptedly for three months, did great injury to the spring flowers and fruits. About the first of July, just at the time of the summer solstice, a sudden torrent of rain mingled with hail, such as was never seen before, burst forth, lasting for an hour or more, and tearing off the roofs of the houses, and breaking the branches of the trees.

In the month of May, died that hope and glory of the English, that youth of great beauty and promise, Henry, son of the emperor Frederic. And he died, as is asserted, owing to the intrigues of Conrad himself, which is, however, not credible, nor is there any proof of it; as the said king Conrad, after his death, never wore the cheerful countenance that he did before. But the real truth was, that a wicked man, John the Moor, administered poison to him, and while he was still panting and near death, smothered him with a towel. A violent quarrel arose between the lord the pope and Conrad, king of Sicily. For the pope accused him of many crimes, namely, of heresy and murder; but he replied to every one of the charges, giving them a steady denial.

Edward is sent into Spain to be married.

Edward, the eldest son of the king, was sent with great pomp and magnificence to Alfonzo, king of Spain, where he married the youthful Eleanor, the sister of the king, at Burgos, and was invested by the said king with the belt of a knight; and Edward returning with his bride to his father, brought with him a document from the king of Spain, sealed with a golden bull, in which he claimed quiet possession of the whole of Guienne, for himself and his heirs. But the king of England had conferred on his before-mentioned son at the time of his marriage, and on his wife, Guienne, Ireland, Wales, Bristol,

Stamford, Grantham, with other places. From that time forth the king began to prepare for a speedy return into England. And it was found, by careful computation, that the king, on his expedition into Guienne, had consumed in his expenses twenty-seven thousand pounds and more, without counting the estates, and guardianships, and revenues, which he had bestowed on foreigners, and a sum of thirty thousand marks which he had expended on his uterine brothers. At the feast of the translation of Saint Benedict, the bishop of Norwich came to Saint Alban's, in compliance with the orders of both the pope and the king, in order to take tithes of all the property of that church, with the exception of the barony; according to the grant which had been made to the king for three years, on condition, however, of his going on a pilgrimage for the relief of the Holy Land. Therefore, he convoked all the rectors and vicars of churches, and all the keepers of churches in the district of St. Alban's, in order that their property might be taxed, the value being first estimated on oath. And he caused all the officers of that monastery to tax their property with strictness and good faith, asserting that a strict examination into that taxation should be afterwards entered into, with diligent and strict investigation. Moreover, he shewed the autograph letters of which he was the bearer, both from the pope and the king, and declared that he had submitted to that task very unwillingly. On which account, a thing of unprecedented strangeness took place. For, hitherto, the people of the district had been accustomed to pay tithes to the prelates, but now the order being quite inverted and changed, the prelates were compelled against their will to pay tithes to the laity. But about the time of the anniversary of the before-mentioned translation, that, namely, of Saint Benedict, the lord the king of France came from the Holy Land, at the earnest entreaty of the nobles of his kingdom, as has been already mentioned; and when, after a fair voyage, he had landed at Marseilles, which is at no great distance from Mont Pesilan, he stayed there a few days and rested. But as his nobles were urging him, he hastened to proceed on to France, because the king of Germany, the aforesaid William, was with difficulty prevailed on to grant a short truce to the French or to maintain it. Therefore, the aforesaid king coming to his own country, immediately deliberated how he might (by the intervention of justice) pacify the before-mentioned dis-

session, which was the cause of his being thus pressed to hasten his arrival.

On the ninth of August, Hugo, bishop of Ely, died, who had formerly been abbot of Saint Edmund's, and who in the two churches had served God in an exemplary manner for about forty years. And his body was buried with great respect in the cathedral of Ely, in the new presbytery, which he had built from its foundations with great magnificence, at his own expense. And by his death the Black Friars lost the flower of their order, inasmuch as he was the abbot of abbots in England, and was distinguished as the bishop of bishops. On the vigil of the Assumption, about one o'clock, a clap of thunder, accompanied with lightning, sounded, attended also with a vast storm of rain, and the thunderbolt fell on the tower of Saint Peter's church, in the town of Saint Alban's, and penetrated it with a horrible crash, twisting the large beams of oak as if they were rags, and crushing it and scattering it into minute splinters. Master Thomas de Vieux Ponts was elected bishop of Carlisle, although the lord the king was very earnest in his petition for some one else, namely, for the prior of Newburgh.

This summer, some nobles belonging to the Greek empire arrived at the court of Rome, clothed in gold, with riding horses, and sumpter horses, and a very numerous household, who attacked the lord the pope, and in most violent language charged him with having erred enormously in the faith, and also with having been the cause that all the people of Latium had erred, who say that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son, inasmuch as by them he was asserted to proceed from the Father, according to the demonstration and established belief of the Greeks. And this error of the Greeks is one of long standing. They also accused him of other improper things, which his court notoriously practised.

But the pope bestowed valuable presents on them, and sent them away well instructed in the faith.

When Master Albert had returned to Rome, and reported the answer of earl Richard to the lord the pope, he was a second time sent by the pope, on a secret message to the king of England, to offer and grant him the kingdoms of Apulia and Sicily for his son Edmund, urging him to hasten like a king to take possession of them, and to prepare as large a force to assist him as he could without inconvenience. But

the king was so delighted at this promise, that he already began publicly to call the aforesaid Edmund king of Sicily; believing, in fact, that he was already in possession of the kingdom. Accordingly, the king sent all the money he could procure to the lord the pope, that he might subdue Conrad and all his Sicilians and Apulians. And the pope collected a considerable army, and provided it abundantly with necessaries. And when his money began to fall short he informed the king, who sent him letters patent in the way of security, and undertook to make every thing quiet. And the pope acquiescing in such a message as this, having received a treasure of great amount from the usurers, collected a vast number of men in his army, the greater part of whom were of little service to either the king or the pope. Therefore, king Conrad having suffered hostile attacks, and reproaches and calumnies, began to be afflicted with severe grief, and to take to the bed of death. And he said, "Woe is me, miserable that I am! Why did my father beget me? The empire which has flourished to this day, is now withering." And so, cursing the day of his birth, he departed from the body in a miserable state. But when the pope heard of this, he moved down to the further side of Apulia, and seized upon nearly the whole of the kingdom. And when the nobles of the country saw this they were indignant, and setting up a natural son of Frederic, by name Manfred, they adhered to him, doing homage to him; and so the last error was worse than the first.

After the feast of All Saints, a most terrible pestilence came, which is called the tongue's evil, and which caused the death of many horses in England and France, and made many others sick and useless, so that it was afterwards scarcely possible to cure them. But on the day after the Assumption, the monks of the church of Saint Albans set out on a journey towards Rome, with a view of repelling the insolence of the bishops, who were endeavouring to hold a visitation in that church, according to the commands of the Apostolic See, but contrary to the tenor of their privileges; their names being the lord William of Huntingdon, and the lord John of Beretun. The same year, in the winter season, when the sea had overflowed all the neighbouring lands, so that the corn could not be seen, nor could the trees put forth buds or leaves, when the time of autumn arrived all those lands, although they had been diligently cultivated, were found to be barren of every kind of corn, being thoroughly saturated with the

salt water of the sea. And all the trees, too, whether in woods or fruit-trees, being dried by the sun, were fit for nothing but to be cut down with the axe. Owing to which, the sailors who were working on the water, experienced in reality that in that inundation the sea, as if departing from its usual channel, had made sands in the middle, where there used before to be deep water.

The earl of Norwich, John de Pleysiz, Gilbert de Segrave, and other nobles of England with them, proposed to return overland from Guienne to their own country, and had arrived at a certain city in Poitou, which is called Ponts, and they were honourably received by the citizens, who came out to meet them and applauded them. And while they were feasting in security, as they fancied, lo! some citizens running up, in consequence of a concealed treason which had been arranged among them, said to them, "Behold, your companions and your household have already stirred up sedition in the city;" for besides them, there were a great many eminent men of the kingdom of England already lodged in that city. And when the cry "to arms!" had been raised, they demanded that the arms which they had formerly delivered up to their entertainers, should be restored to them. But they refused to restore them, and retained them as it had been originally arranged. And so the armed citizens rushed upon them, and took them prisoners, and cruelly threw them into prison; nor were the letters of the king of France, granting them safe conduct, of any avail to them. But when the king heard of this, he wrote letters on their behalf to the citizens, who, however, despised his commands.

This year, William de Cantilupe, an accomplished and wealthy young man, died, and he was now the third of the Cantilupes who had been removed from this world within a few years. On the festival of Saint Edward, an unprecedented brief proceeded from the king's chancery, ordering enquiry to be made into the manors belonging to the religious orders, in order to see how many plough-lands belonged to them in fee, and how many were liable to fines, and whether they could make any plough-land greater or less, and in like manner of rented lands. Also of what value each plough-land was by itself in common years, after deducting all expenses. Also of what value the services of the farmers were, and what was the extent of their revenues; and this reqiusition was ap-

pointed to be made by four trustworthy men of the religious orders, and also by the provost of the place of each manor. And Master William of Kilkenny filled the office of Chancellor with great modesty and virtue, and he also had the title of chancellor. And not long afterwards, the same Master William was elected bishop of Ely.

About the same time, three abbots died in the Fens, namely, the abbot of Croyland, the abbot of Thorney, and the good abbot of Ramsey, by name William of Hacholt. On the seventeenth of October, the king of France returned to his own home, and would admit of no consolation, but keeping his eyes fixed on the ground, with the deepest sorrow and frequent sighs, he kept recalling his captivity to mind, and the general confusion of Christendom on account of it. At length a certain holy bishop comforting him, said, "Beware, O lord, lest you be precipitated into such weariness of life and such sorrow; for it is a very great sin, because it is to the prejudice of the Holy Spirit. Bring before your eyes the patience of Job, the endurance of Eustace, and likewise of others." But the king answered him, "If I alone suffered the disgrace and misfortune, and if the consequences of my sins did not affect the universal church, I would bear these things with equanimity." And so, a mass having been chaunted to the honour of the Holy Spirit, by the grace of God the king received the warnings of consolation. The king of England, too, having made a general peace with the king of Spain, hastened to return to England; and having obtained permission of the king of France, he preferred returning by land. Moreover, as he desired to visit the kingdom of France, he sent ambassadors to the king, and obtained leave to pass through France. And when the countess of Cornwall heard that the king of England, with the queen, her sister, was about to pass through the kingdom of France, and also that the queen of France, her other sister, was going to meet them on their journey, she, by the indulgence of her husband, the earl Richard, crossed the sea, attended by a large retinue, to visit her two sisters.

In the meantime, Æthelmar, bishop elect of Winchester, miserably oppressed his monks, so that some of them, worn out with bitterness of spirit, never recovered afterwards. Accordingly, the whole chapter, seeking safer plans of refuge, dispersed to different houses of the order of Black Friars, for the sake of sojourning in them. And the king reproved him

for this, saying that he was ungrateful in requiting honour with disgrace, and showing ill-will in return for benefits. But the bishop elect did not at all yield to injuctions of this kind, but invested unworthy persons with the cowl, in the place of those who had retired. And when the prior went to Rome, a new prior was introduced by the bishop elect, who threw them all into great confusion, in compliance with the wish of the bishop elect. About the time of the feast of Saint Nicholas, pope Innocent the Fourth died at Naples, having been afflicted with a twofold grief. For after Robert, bishop of Lincoln, had pricked him with the point of his staff, he suffered under a continued languor; and after his army was scattered and defeated, from that time forth he was hardly more than half alive. And the very same week a vision of him presented itself to one of the cardinals in his sleep, who saw in a dream that the said pope, being brought, and bound down, before a judge sitting on his tribunal, was vehemently accused by a certain very noble matron. And he, entreating pardon for the matter whereof he had been accused, received the final reward of his extortions. And when he awoke, he related this vision at greater length, and it became notorious in those parts. He was succeeded by another man of a very fairly religious character, namely, the bishop of Ostia, the nephew of pope Gregory, who took the name of Alexander the Fourth. And at the beginning of his papacy, he wrote to all the prelates of the churches, humbly requesting them to pray for him, that the Lord would give him power, and grace, and will to govern the church of God in a fitting manner, and worthy to be called the Vicar of God, and the Successor of Peter. He, by the advice and persuasion of some of his counsellors, continued the war which had been begun by his predecessor Innocent, against the adherents of Frederic, and especially against Manfred, the natural son of Frederic: that the king of England might not be disappointed of the hope that he had conceived, because of the promise made to him about the kingdom of Sicily.

Of the passage of the king of England through France.

Then the king of England coming to a noble nunnery, that, namely, of Fontevraud, caused the body of his mother Isabella to be removed into the church and buried there. In like manner, when he came to Pontigny, where he was ill, he prayed at

the tomb of the blessed Edmund, and recovered his health. And whilehe was hastening through France, the king of France ordered the nobles of the land, and the citizens of the cities through which the king of England would pass, to remove everything which could offend his eyes, and to deck everything with ornaments, and to receive him reverently, going out to meet him, and following in his train. And the king himself came to meet him at Chartres. Moreover, the king ordered everything that was necessary for the table to be provided for the king of England at his expense, as long as he was in his kingdom, which the king accepted in good part. For he had in his retinue a thousand of the finest horses, without counting two horse chariots, and sumpter horses, and his own riders. There came to meet him also, the queen of France, and his sisters, the countess of Anjou and the countess of Provence, who came in order to meet their sisters the queen of England and the countess of Cornwall, who were travelling with the king. And their mother was also present, whose name was Beatrice, and who was called the countess of Provence. But the Parisian scholars, and especially those who belonged to the English nation, suspending their lectures for the time, brought waxen tapers and festive garments, and all sorts of things which could betoken their joy, and having prepared singers with garlands of flowers and chaplets, and musical instruments, they went out to meet them on their arrival, and so they passed all that day and the next (the whole city of Paris being adorned in a wonderful manner), with joy, and polite songs, and sounds of exultation. But the king of England, though he had the palace of the king of France offered to him to lodge in, nevertheless did lodge in the Old Temple, and immediately on his arrival there, gave orders that the next morning, at day-break, all the houses belonging to that court should be filled with poor people, who should obtain refreshment there. On the next day he visited all the remarkable places in Paris; and the king of France feasted with the king of England, and after dinner, the aforesaid king of England sent to each of the French nobles magnificent cups, and other valuable presents. And there were present at the banquet the two kings, the two queens, twenty-five dukes, twelve bishops, and of illustrious knights a host, beyond all calculation, and eighteen countesses. And that night the king of England lodged in the palace of the king of France, in the middle of the city; for that was

the desire of the king of France. And in this manner the two kings amused themselves with each other's company for eight days. And when he departed, it was found that he had lavished a thousand pounds in his expenses at Paris, without counting presents of incalculable value that he had given away. But when the king came to the sea-shore, as he did not find a fair wind, he stayed some days at Boulogne against his will, where Peter Chaceporc, a native of Poitou, and the king's treasurer, and also his chaplain and especial counsellor, died.

Ch. XVI.—From A.D. 1255 to A.D. 1258.

Great exactions of the king—The first elephant is brought to England—War between the Pope and Manfred—Complaints are made of the violation of Magna Charta—The earl of Cornwall is crowned king of the Romans—The Poitevins are expelled from England.

Concerning the great distress caused in England by exactions.

A.D. 1255. King Henry the Third, on his return from Guienne, was at Saint Mary's of Boulogne on the day of the feast of the Nativity of the Lord, it being the thirty-ninth year of his reign, where he was waiting for a fair wind to cross the channel into England; and while there, he caused the body of Peter Chaceporc, who had died on the eve of the Nativity, to be honourably buried. This Peter bequeathed six hundred marks for the purchase of land in England, that on it a church might be built, at Merton, for a body of religious canons, who should be elected, and that it should be maintained there for ever, to the honour of God, and for the benefit of his soul, and those of all faithful believers.

But on the Sunday the king crossed the channel, and with a fair wind landed at Dover, and on his arrival he was met by earl Richard, his brother, and other nobles who had been summoned from distant parts for the purpose, and who, with the other prelates, presented him with gifts of great value. When the lord the king had accepted the election of Master William Kilkenny, trusting in the fidelity of lord Henry de Wengham, he committed to him the custody of his seal, which the said Master William, bishop elect, had previously had; and the Londoners offered the king on his arrival a hundred pounds,

which he had greatly longed for, though he refused to look upon it as a gratuitous present, saying that it was only a payment of what was due to him. And when they heard this, they added besides a very valuable vessel, and then they received his thanks.

Not long afterwards, the king making an investigation into the conduct of the Londoners, in the matter of a certain clerk, who had been condemned to death, and imprisoned in Newgate, and had escaped from thence, exacted three thousand marks from them by way of punishment. But they answered that the king had given up the prisoner to the bishop, on the ground of his being a clerk; but because the bishop had not a proper prison, he requested the citizens to lend the aforesaid prison to him for the confinement of the said clerk, who, after having been placed there, escaped; and they urged that "such an escape, made through the fact of two guards of the bishop having been deceived, ought not to be imputed to us." But though they thus excused themselves, they could not obtain a remission of the fine from the king.

Hernald de Bosco, one of the prime foresters of England, died on the sixth of February, and was buried at Bethelesdene, before the great altar. Moreover, the king exacted from the Jews eight thousand marks, which they were to pay in a short time, on pain of being hanged. But they (as has been already mentioned) requested leave of the king, and desired to leave England, never to return. But the king delivered them over to earl Richard to punish them, and to extract the money from them; and in consequence, the earl lent the king, on sufficient security, a very considerable sum of gold.

Violent storms of wind, with heavy rain, lasting from the feast of Saint Valentine into the following month, day and night, caused an unprecedented confusion. In the diocese of Norwich, the sea cast up a beast of a very monstrous character, which had been much injured, and killed by the tempests and the waves; it was called a very huge whale, yet it was not a whale, but a monster, and it enriched the whole of the neighbouring district; an elephant, too, was sent into England, having been given as a present by the king of France to the king of England when he was in the country of France, and we believe that no other elephant was at any time seen in England. Besides this, the queen of France gave the king of England a peacock, being a stone bath of marvellous work-

manship, which in its form exhibited a resemblance to a peacock, and it was covered all over with eyes like a real peacock, made of precious stones, which are called pearls, and gold, and silver, and sapphires.

When the king came to Saint Alban's, he remained there six days, and each day and night he visited the blessed martyr with a large taper, and offered precious vestments, and one choral cape at his shrine. And about the days of the passion of our Lord, the son of a certain knight, by name John of Shelford, belonging to the body of knights of Saint Alban's, in order the more speedily to obtain the inheritance of his father, procured his death, and did not leave one canon of those he found with his father alive. And being convicted of this, he was dragged to the gallows in London at a horse's tail, and there hanged with one of his kinsmen, who was his accomplice.

The same year, during Lent, according to a relation that has been given us as true, a certain nocturnal vision appeared to pope Alexander, who had been newly created. It was nearly the same as had previously appeared to one of the cardinals, as was recorded in the case of pope Innocent, lately deceased. Therefore, the pious pope ordered alms to be distributed in his name, and masses to be offered.

A fortnight after Easter, all the nobles of England met in parliament in London; to whom the lord the king complained that he was involved in many debts, and that he could not be freed from them without their assistance, entreating them that he might receive a full portion from those baronies which were not included when the tenths were granted to him before. They, therefore, having taken counsel with one another, agreed that they had a right to complain of many points in the observance of Magna Charta ever since it had been granted. Therefore, they demanded that they might have authority to elect, by their joint deliberation, the justiciary of the kingdom, and also the chancellor and the treasurer, as had been the custom of old; and also that these officers should not be removed without the common deliberation and consent of the kingdom. But they received for answer, that the king would by no means grant that. At last, this business was postponed till the feast of Saint Michael, in order that in the meantime the parliament might test the king's good faith in the matter of the observance of the charter which had

been so often promised and broken, and then they would endeavour to assist him to the utmost of their power.

At this time the weather was very unseasonable during nearly the whole of the spring season, and very unfavourable to flowers and trees, because the whole of the month of April there was neither rain nor dew to soften the dry earth, or to give it even the slightest refreshment. Walter de Grey, archbishop of York, in the aforesaid parliament, having his brain softened by his daily fastings and anxieties, so that he had entirely lost his appetite for eating, and was wasting away, went to Fulham, the manor of the bishop of London, where, on the third day after his arrival, he expired in perfect happiness. He had ruled his church of York with great vigour for about forty years, all but three months and three weeks. And so, about the first of May, he went the way of all flesh, and his body was honourably conveyed to York, under the conduct of Walter, bishop of Durham, one of his suffragans, and honourably buried in the church of York. Intimation was given to the chapter of Lincoln, by Master Hugh de Mortimer, officer of the archbishop of Canterbury, that, as the appointment of William Wolf, formerly archdeacon of Lincoln, had been annulled, they should, without delay, elect some one else in his stead; or else Master Hugh, by the authority of the Apostolic See, and that of his lord of Canterbury, would do it himself, and punish the canons for their disobedience. Therefore, the canons created a new archdeacon, the aforesaid Master William submitting to this very patiently, and manfully exerting himself for the liberties of his church.

The lord Alexander the pope sent the cardinal Octavian with a large army to destroy Nocera, with king Manfred, who had thrown himself into it. So when Octavian, having marshalled his forces with the aid of a certain skilful and powerful marquis, had arrived almost under the walls of the city, a great alarm seized both the armies, so that the citizens did not venture to attack in a hostile manner those who were coming against them, nor did those who came venture to attack the citizens. At last, the marquis said to Octavian, "My lord, let a third part of our army retreat, for Manfred and his army are, as it were, besieged and shut in, for they do not dare to come forth." Moreover, the same marquis diminished his army a second time, so as to retain scarcely twelve thousand out of sixty thousand. And when he had done

this, then that traitor marquis secretly went to Manfred, and told him that all this had been done by his means, inasmuch as he was a most faithful friend to Frederic. Therefore, Manfred and his army marched out, and when they came near the pope's army, they took them all in their toils like birds, Octavian himself scarcely escaping, and slew them all except the household of the marquis.

That Magna Charta be observed.

Proclamation was made in all the counties, and announcement was made in all the churches, that the great charter should be inviolably maintained which king John had granted, and which he had also in person repeatedly confirmed, and sentence was formally pronounced against all its violators, though the king himself was far from observing it, since he cruelly seized upon the possessions of the church of York in the vacancy of that see, and said, "Why do not the bishops and nobles themselves observe towards their own subjects that charter which they so much cry out to have observed by me?" To this it was replied, "My lord, it would become you to set the example of observing the law, and others would follow it."

Robert de Ros and John of Baliol are accused of having conducted themselves unfaithfully and dishonestly towards the kingdom of Scotland, and the king and queen, the guardianship of whom had been entrusted to them. But this accusation originated with Master Reginald of Bath, a physician, who having been sent into Scotland, in order to devote his attention to the king and queen, perceived what was the matter with them, and informed the king of England of the whole matter. On which account, the said master impeached their guardians, on account of their state, and not long afterwards was poisoned in that country, as it is said, and so took to his bed and died after a short illness. Some noble churches in England were embarrassed with heavy debts in great numbers; for instance, the church of Canterbury had a debt of four thousand marks. On which account, they gave up six of their manors to John de Gatesden, a knight, to release them from their debts, and to retain the manors under fair conditions till the debts were paid. In the same manner, the priory of Rochester, being involved in debts of incalculable amount, gave itself into the power of the aforesaid John and their other creditors. Also, the noble priory of Winchester, having been

weighed down by irretrievable losses, felt its injuries very properly, as has been already mentioned. Why need I relate the confusion of the church of the convent of the blessed Mary at York? or of other noble churches?

But that the indignation of God might be made manifest to men, an open display of discord took place in the state of the heavenly bodies above, for the moon suffered an unusual eclipse in the month of July, on the night after the feast of Saint Margaret, and lasted nearly four hours. A noble baron, the noblest and wisest of all the nobles of England, died, by name Warren de Munchenesy, whose property, as bequeathed in his will, is said to have amounted to two hundred thousand marks. And the king conferred the guardianship of his heir on his own brother, William de Valence, who had married the daughter of the aforesaid Warren. John Francis, the principal chaplain of the lord the king, having been stricken with palsy, died, much lamented by the monks of Saint Mary of York, and of Selby. John de Guy, a knight of modesty and discretion, and of excellent learning, withdrew from the king's court. The lord the king having collected an army, directed his course and his standards towards Scotland, intending to carry on a grave investigation into the conduct of Robert de Ros and John de Balliol. And when he came near the kingdom of Scotland, he sent forward the earl of Gloucester and John Mansel, to enquire into the truth of the aforesaid accusations; and when they arrived at Maid's castle, in which the king and queen were, they entered cautiously, having removed to a distance the retinue which accompanied them; and afterwards their train followed them singly. Then the king's deputies having heard from the queen the truth of her condition, and of the grievances already mentioned, comforted her with courtesy and moderation: strictly charging Robert de Ros to come before the court of the king of England, to answer the charges which were thus brought against him. And when, at last, he came on certain conditions, he promised his lord the king of England to reply concerning all the matters brought against him; but the king, acting on the advice of his counsellors, caused the lands of the aforesaid Robert to be seized, and himself committed to close custody. But John de Balliol, who had heavy accusations brought against him just the same as Robert had, made satisfaction to the king by money, of which he had abundance, and so procured himself

peace. When, therefore, everything was peaceably settled, and when the lord the king of England and his queen had had a sufficiently long conference with the king of Scotland, and with the queen, their daughter, the king hastened his return to the southern districts of England; and when he had arrived at Durham, being informed by some secret whisperers of a considerable sum of money which was deposited in the said church, (and his informants were bishop Nicholas, of Farnham, and the bishop of Ely, William of Kilkenny, and some other clerks), he ordered the locks and seals to be broken through, against the will of the monks, in order that his servants might take the money which they found there for his use, not as if he meant to seize on it, or rob them of it, but only to borrow it, and repay it to them faithfully at a future time. Master William of Kilkenny was consecrated bishop of Ely, in foreign parts, that is to say, at Belesme, by Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, on the day of the Ascension of the Blessed Virgin Mary. But the other bishops of England, and also the convent of Canterbury, grieved at this, being alarmed lest it should be drawn into a precedent: because bishops were always accustomed to be consecrated in England.

In the course of the week of the Nativity of the Blessed Mary, the archbishop of Toledo, brother of the king of Castile, by name Sancho, a youth twenty years of age, came to London, and with him came a powerful noble of Spain, Martin Garcia by name; why they came was not known, but the real object was to see the difference of the various countries and nations. And the lord the king commanded that they should be honourably received, and that no hindrance should be offered to them or their companions. But when the king of France heard that the king of England had concluded the marriage treaty with the king of Castile, which has been mentioned in a previous chapter, he, looking on this marriage with suspicion, demanded that a daughter of the same king of Castile should be given as a wife to his son, in order that he might thus place himself in a better condition, inasmuch as he obtained a daughter, while the king of England had only obtained a sister, which was all that he asked. The bishop of Hereford, Peter de Egeblanche, instilled into the king's ears that he would do well to take care and provide himself with three or four genuine seals of some of the prelates

of England. And he by that means so industriously brought over the rest of the prelates to bind themselves, that the need of the king, which had come to his knowledge, was soon relieved; owing to which proceeding, as the king was inclined to consent, he went to Rome, where he found the pope sorrowful and involved in very serious debts: to whom the bishop said, "O, holy father, let not your paternity be anxious about the amount of your debts, because, before our departure from England, a most certain form was provided for your release from them, provided that by your favour and permission I may be allowed to prosecute the idea which I have conceived;" to which the pope consented.

Concerning the sentence passed against the transgressors of the liberties of the Church of England.

A.D. 1256. Sentence was pronounced against all the violators of the liberties of the church of England, and also against all transgressors of the great charter, in the matter of forest rights, in the following terms:—

"A.D. 1256, in the Great Hall of the king, at Westminster, in the presence and with the consent of Henry, by the grace of God, king of England, and of the lords Richard, earl of Cornwall, his brother, Richard de Clare, earl of Gloucester and Hereford, Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk and Suffolk, and mareschal of England, Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hertford and Essex, John de Warren, earl of Sussex and Surrey, and other nobles of the realm of England; we, Boniface, by the divine mercy, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, Fulk, bishop of London, Hugh, bishop of Ely, Robert, bishop of Lincoln, Walter, bishop of Worcester, Walter, bishop of Norwich, Peter, bishop of Hereford, William, bishop of Salisbury, Walter, bishop of Durham, Silvester, bishop of Carlisle, William, bishop of Bath, and Laurence, bishop of Rochester, clad in our sacred vestments, with our candles lighted, do hereby excommunicate all transgressors of the ecclesiastical liberties, and of all the liberties or free customs of the realm of England, and especially of those rights which are contained in the common charter of the liberties of England, and in the forest charter; and we do solemnly pronounce sentence in this form—

"By the authority of God the Father Almighty, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and of the glorious mother of

God always a Virgin, the blessed Mary, and of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and of all the apostles, and of the blessed Thomas, archbishop and martyr, and of all the holy martyrs, and of the blessed Edward, king of England, and of all the confessors and virgins, and of all the saints of God, we do excommunicate and anathematize and cut off from the threshold of our holy mother all those who in a manner knowingly and maliciously have deprived the churches and these liberties of their rights; and likewise all those who have by any art or device violated, infringed, or diminished the ecclesiastical liberties or ancient approved customs of the nation, and especially those liberties and free customs which are contained in the common charter of the liberties of the realm, and in the forest charter, having been granted by the lord the king, the archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of the church, the earls, barons, knights, and freeholders: or who have in any way either openly or secretly, by word, or deed, or advice changed them at all, or said or done anything contrary to their provisions, or have attended to any change so made, or have obeyed any such change so introduced, or whoever shall admit of any such change, and likewise all framers of any devices by which those charters may be changed, and all advisers or executors of such, and all who shall presume to give judgment in accordance with such decrees. And all and each of the aforesaid persons are to know that they will incur this sentence by the very fact of having knowingly committed any of the above-mentioned actions; but those who do so ignorantly, and yet after having been warned, do not, within fifteen days from the time of this warning, correct themselves, and make full satisfaction to the ordinary for such their offences, are from that day involved in the sentence against heretics."

On the day of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, king Henry celebrated that festival in a splendid manner at Woodstock; having invited on that occasion Alexander, king of Scotland, with his queen, the daughter of our king, and all the mayors in England being also invited with great solemnity. Sewall, archbishop elect of York, was consecrated archbishop by the bishop of Worcester, and Henry, prior of Evesham, was enthroned as abbot by the abbot of Pershore. The day after Christmas, the before-mentioned Richard, earl of Cornwall, was elected by the Germans king of Germany,

and Elerius, abbot of Pershore, was appointed baron of the king's exchequer at the beginning of Lent.

Concerning the coronation of Richard, earl of Cornwall, as king of the Romans.

A.D. 1257. Henry the Third, king of England, in the fortieth year of his reign, held his solemn court at Westminster, generally till Easter, with all the mayors of his kingdom; and there were present as ambassadors some very illustrious nobles, conspicuous for their personal size and the splendour of their appointments, sent on the part of the nobles of Germany for the lord Richard, earl of Cornwall, brother of the said king of England, whom (as has been already said) they had elected king of the Romans. And he, having received hostages, and being entirely deserving of such an office, arrived on the appointed day at Aix la Chapelle, with great honour and glory, on the Friday next before the feast of the Ascension of our Lord. And all the nobles and mayors, and all the clergy and laity went forth in a body to meet him at the entrance of the city; and received him magnificently and honourably, with great joy and exultation. At length, on the day of the Ascension of our Lord, in the presence of the archbishops, bishops, abbots, dukes, earls, barons, and an innumerable body of the nobles of the kingdom, having been, after the fashion of the German kings, anointed with the chrism of the holy unction, in the seat of Charlemagne, he received the sceptre and crown of the Roman kingdom, his wife Senchia being, as was right, solemnly crowned with him.

The same year, Walter, bishop of Norwich, died, and was succeeded by Master Simon de Wanton; and Radulph of Norwich, the chancellor of Ireland, was, by the canons of Dublin, canonically elected to the dignity of archbishop; but was infamously betrayed at the court of Rome by his procurators, and his election annulled; and the archbishopric was conferred on Fulk de Sanford, who was present on some connection with the cause.

The same year, a detestable war broke out in Wales; for Edward, the king's son, who had received from his father the greater part of that country as a gift, went into the district of Chester; where, being deceived by evil counsel, endeavouring to impose the yoke of slavery on the Welch, to which they were unaccustomed, he utterly alienated from him-

self the hearts of every one; therefore, Leoline, prince of Wales, having collected an army, defended his country manfully, and upholding his native liberties, resisted the English with all his might. So Stephen Bausan was sent to drive him from his strongholds, with many other very gallant knights, nearly all of whom perished on the same day and at the same hour, having been misled and miserably murdered by a traitor named Rhesus Vachan. Out of the number who were hemmed in very few escaped, and the furniture of about two hundred knights was lost in this miserable conflict, and came into the possession of the Welch. And this massacre, alas! alas! was by far the most cruel and terrible which for a long period had befallen the English nation. Therefore, king Henry being made very anxious by this circumstance, having collected a numerous army, invaded the district of Wales in September, penetrating as far as Chester and Samake, and there he staid a month without coming to any battle with the Welch, who retreated according to their custom, and concealed themselves in their mountains, or marshes, or woods, and never dared to come down into the plain to fight the English; so that king Henry could perform no achievement there worthy of his magnificence. Nevertheless, at this time he caused a scutage to be collected throughout England.

Concerning the conference which took place at Oxford, and the expulsion of the Poitevins.

A.D. 1258. A certain master, Arlot by name, having been sent by pope Alexander, came into England after Easter, having been invited thither by the king (as was believed), to assist him in flaying his kingdom. Therefore, the nobles of the land, seeing the kingdom desolated in every direction, by the exactions and taxes of the court of Rome and of the king, and also by presumptuous election of foreigners, and especially of the natives of Poitou, who were raised to much too great a height in the kingdom by the favour of the king, and who usurped all the offices of great power and authority in England, held a general convention at Oxford on this subject, after Pentecost, intending also to deliberate effectually and carefully on the general improvement of the state of the kingdom. And they did not come thither without being properly equipped with arms and fine horses, in order that if the king and the foreigners disdained to agree to the provisions and

statutes which they adopted, they might, by the exertion of a little vigour, be compelled to agree, or, perhaps, the foreigners might be absolutely compelled, without delay, entirely to evacuate the kingdom of England. And the provisions and statutes which they intended to pass at Oxford, were concerning the observation of Magna Charta, as to the general liberties of the kingdom, and the Forest Charter. At last, as the lord the king inclined to the observance of the statutes of his nobles, some of his knights administering the oath by the touching of the holy relics, he committed himself to the deliberation and wisdom of twenty-four prudent men of the English nation, whom they considered the most proper of all their body to be selected for the government of the kingdom under the king. And when this had been done, they compelled every one who chose to dwell in the kingdom to swear fidelity to the king and kingdom, and to promise to stand on all occasions by the judgment of his peers.

There were then some persons, who about that time had, on account of their brotherly recognition by the king, flocked into England, who were entertained in England, so that, by reason of their numbers and arrogance, they appeared burdensome to the English. Namely, Æthelmar, bishop elect of Westminster, William de Valence, Geoffrey, and Guy de Lezen, being all brothers of the king on the mother's side; and they, with some others, refused to condescend to the provisions made by the nobles on their oaths, or to swear to them. On which account, departing from Winchester, they all withdrew with indignation into the district of Winchester. But the nobles of the kingdom being vehemently excited to anger, manfully pursued them with horses and arms. At last, the lord the king and the nobles, all with one accord coming to Winchester, held another Parliament in that city; at which the aforesaid Poitevins being alarmed, and being unwilling to abide its judgment, immediately withdrew from the kingdom by a secret flight, with some of their fellow-countrymen, and went to Provence.

When king John died, Isabella, his queen, mother of king Henry the Third, had married Hugh le Brun, count de la Marche, whose territories lay between France and Poitou; and she bore him five sons, all uterine brothers of king Henry. Namely, William de Valence, Guy, and Geoffrey de Lizenen, all deriving their surnames from the place of their birth. The

fourth was named Hugh le Brun, and the fifth Æthelmar, afterwards bishop of Winchester.

Arlot, the nuncio of the lord the pope, returned to Rome without having succeeded in the business which was the object of his coming. And not long afterwards, Richard, earl of Gloucester, and William de Clare, his brother, were made ill by a draught of poison. The earl, indeed, was relieved by prompt assistance, and recovered; but the other died before aid could reach him. On the vigil of the festival of the blessed John the Baptist, a terrible storm of wind, accompanied by torrents of rain, fell on and raised all the waters of the Severn from Shrewsbury to Bristol, to a degree that has not been seen in our times: owing to which inundation, which, as it were, burst forth (as men say) from the secretest gulfs of hell, all the meadows and all the corn-fields near the Severn were overwhelmed, and the crops utterly destroyed. Some men were even drowned in the violent waters, and innumerable boys, and great quantities of animals of every sort. The same summer, many thousand men died in London, and other parts of England, from being wasted away by famine. And the ripening of the crops was so late in the autumn, owing to the excessive abundance of rain, that, in many parts of the kingdom, the harvest was not got in before the feast of All Saints. This year, Patrick de Chanton, lord of Kedwelly, and Hugh de Vyun, both illustrious knights, were treacherously slain near Carmadin, and many others also, both knights and men at arms, were slain by the Welch.

On the feast of Saint Michael, that splendid church at Salisbury was dedicated, in the presence of the lord the king Henry, and many of the nobles of England, who had come thither at that time. About the Purification of the blessed Virgin, Richard, king of Germany, brother of the king of England, returning home, landed with his queen at Dover, on the twenty-eighth of January. And he caused one of his knights to swear by his soul, in the presence of our king and his new counsellors, and the other nobles of his kingdom at Canterbury, that he, out of zeal for the honour of God and the advantage of the king of England and his heirs, would obey the ordinances and institutions of the counsellors of our king, who were especially sworn to this in accordance with the provisions made at Oxford.

Ch. XVII.—From A.D. 1259 to A.D. 1260.

Negociations between Henry and the king of Scotland—The empire is offered to the king of Germany—Conference between the kings of England and France—War between the English and Welch—A treaty is made between Henry and Louis, by which Henry gives up Normandy—Henry quarrels with, and is afterwards reconciled to prince Edward—Bad news from the Holy Land, in consequence of the invasion of the Tartars—Meeting of the kings of England, France, and Scotland, at Paris.

The king of Germany comes to England. The earl of Leicester returns to England.

A.D. 1259, which is the forty-third of the reign of king Henry the Third, the aforesaid king was, at the feast of the Nativity of the Lord, in London, when a very anxious deliberation was held about Richard, king of Germany, who was earnestly desirous to come to England; but his arrival was by some people looked on with great suspicion, for they were afraid that he might wreak his revenge on the barons for the banishment of his uterine brothers, and might oppose the barriers of contradiction to the wholesome arrangement and happy regulation of the whole kingdom. But while the festivities of Christmas were proceeding, that the joys of this world might not proceed without being mingled with sorrow, on the day of Saint Thomas the Martyr, Philip Lovel, the most especial counsellor and treasurer of the lord the king, died at his church of Hamesle, being, as it is said, wasted away through grief of mind, because he had been accused to the king of injurious conduct and transgression of the forest laws, and the king would not be reconciled to him. And as soon as the said Philip was dead, the king ordered all his property to be confiscated without delay. About the same time, the monks of Winchester, finding that the king would accept no one whom they elected as bishop, except some dear friend of his own, elected the lord Henry de Wengham, the king's chancellor, to be their bishop and shepherd. But he, considering that it was a matter likely to create strife, was unwilling altogether to consent to this, although he was able to get the king to be favourable to the precedent.

About the time of the feast of Saint Hilary, the barons hav-

ing carefully deliberated about the visit of the king of Germany, sent formal ambassadors to meet him, namely, the bishop of Worcester, abbot of Saint Edmund's, John Mansel, and Peter of Savoy, with others, that he might inform them of the object of his visit and proposed stay in the kingdom. But the earl of Leicester was still remaining in foreign countries, not without exciting great wonder on the part of many people; owing to which the council of Banage. But the king, by the proclamation of a herald, ordered the city of London to be cleaned and hung with curtains, and hastened towards the coast, with a train of nobles, equipped with horses and arms, out of caution; for it had been said that the before-mentioned king Richard was bringing one or more of his brothers with him, which the company of barons would hardly endure. But the said king Richard sailing to England, accompanied by his queen, on the day of Saint Julian landed at Dover, and then having dismissed the numerous retinue which he had assembled, he entered that city with only his own private household of moderate extent. And when he landed, the king of England met him, and applauded him vehemently, attended by a very great multitude of persons. And the two kings feasted with Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, and in mutual pleasure passed the days of festivity very happily.

But, on the day of the Purification, the kings and their queens, with the multitude of the nobles, came to London; which, having been cleaned against the arrival of such great princes, was adorned with and made brilliant with many honours, and all kinds of ornaments; the citizens in countless numbers coming out to meet them on their arrival in the great rejoicing. But, the week after the Purification, all the nobles of England assembled in London in parliament, as they had previously agreed to do; and the earl of Leicester, who had been long absent from them, now met them at the same place, with the dean of Berri, who had been sent over, being one of the secret counsellors of the king of France. About the first of March, the lord William of Horton, a monk of Saint Alban's, who lately, on the feast of Saint Catharine, had set out on a journey towards Scotland, in obedience to the king's command, and by permission of his abbot, having completed his business, returned safe home. And the king and queen of Scotland, and the nobles of the kingdom, meeting together in parliament, according to the request the king of England had

made to them by his messenger, agreed to his proposals, considering that it was a hard thing for a prince of the kingdom to leave his kingdom and expose himself to such toilsome and dangerous journeys. At last, they sent formal ambassadors to the king of England and his council, namely, Stephen, earl of Buchan, Master William, the chancellor, duke Alan, the king-at-arms, who conveyed the answers to the king and queen and nobles of Scotland into England, with a writing, sealed with the seals of the aforesaid nobles, which the before-mentioned William de Horton had brought with him; and then, having finished their business, they soon after returned. The same year, when the beginning of March was at hand, Walter de Scotenay, the principal counsellor and seneschal of the earl of Gloucester, was arrested in London, on suspicion of having given poison to the said earl and his brother William; by which poison the earl was made ill, and was with difficulty brought back from the gates of death, and his brother William died. So also they arrested William de Bassey, seneschal and principal counsellor of William de Valence. They had been for some time under the safe custody of their securities, but now they were arrested and brought before the judges, and committed to a lower prison, and put in fetters; for one was convicted of poisoning, and the other of frequent acts of injury and injustice. About this time died Thomas, formerly count of Flanders, who had obtained no small number of thousands of marks from the simplicity of the king and queen; and he had lately, without any reason, injured the church of Saint Alban's, impudently sowing discord between it and the king.

About the first of April, by the command of the king, and the advice of the whole body of barons, the earl of Gloucester, the earl of Leicester, the lord John Mansel, Peter de Savoy, and Robert Vallerant, knights, set out on a journey beyond the sea to the great parliament of the lord the king of France, on account of many important affairs relating to the kingdoms of France and England, having full powers to arrange and establish a lasting peace between the two nations, if the said king of France would turn his attention to observing inviolably the former agreements which had been entered into between his special ambassadors and the king of England. About the same time, having received a convent with a mansion attached to it, a chapter of Preaching Brothers began to

take up their abode at Dunstable, being taught by the example of the Minor Brothers, who had lately built themselves a mansion at Bury St. Edmund's, to the great injury of the abbey which existed in that town. Therefore, the said Preaching Brothers, encouraged by the privileges granted them by the Roman see, built a church, and celebrated divine service with all due solemnity, as they desired. This year, in the first fortnight of Lent, died the countess of Boulogne, through whose tyranny, a few years before, so many thousand men had been slain, and had perished. When, therefore, our ambassadors, who have been mentioned above, had arrived in the countries beyond the sea, the king of France came thither, in order to take those vacant or disputed counties, the counties, namely, of Boulogne, Flanders, and Hainault, into his own possession.

When the towers of the city were thrown down, the Romans assembled with great indignation and fury, and created for themselves two new senators, who, collecting a numerous army, made an insurrection against the senator who had been lately created, the uncle of Brancheleon, and besieged him in a castle which he had at Rome. But he, relying on the oath of fidelity which had been taken to him, and on the hostages which he had in his city, namely, Bologna, of which he was a native, defended himself vigorously, so as not to deviate from the nobleness of his nephew and predecessor. And so the city was thrown into great confusion, and a great part of it was destroyed.

During the same season of Lent a great quarrel arose, both at Oxford and Cambridge, between the scholars and the townsmen; because the clerks had broken the prison, and forcibly carried off a criminal under sentence of death, and who was being kept in prison, and had conveyed him into the church, so as to be protected by that sanctuary. And in a similar manner the university of Paris was thrown into great confusion by the brotherhoods of the Preachers and Minors, who would not adhere to the common rules of the scholars, according to the custom of the university.

In those days, when, during the suspension of parliament, some salutary statutes were provided, words of insult were branded about between the earls of Gloucester and Leicester, to such a degree, that the earl of Leicester, being excited to anger, crossed the sea, and withdrew into Gaul. And when

the earl of Hereford and other nobles on the borders of Wales heard this, they intimated to the earl of Gloucester that he ought to observe the common laws more firmly and faithfully, and to pacify the earl of Leicester, and induce him to return, without provoking him by such insults; and if he would not do so, then they must all unite in an attack on the earl of Gloucester. But when this earl heard this, fearing for himself, he sent Hervey, his seneschal, through all his territories, to uphold the law that had been agreed to; and thus this evil was in some degree allayed. But when the peace that had been already discussed between the kings, through the mediation of the numerous and regularly authorised ambassadors, whose names had been given already, was believed to be on the point of being concluded, lo! an unexpected obstacle arose. For though every one else was crying out for quiet, the countess of Leicester would not allow her party in Normandy to be quiet on behalf of her sons; on which account, words contrary to what was honourable arose between the aforesaid earls, who, however, were reconciled by their common friends, that the French might have no reason to rejoice.

In the meantime, while Richard, king of Germany, was peaceably staying in England, the way was being prepared for him to obtain the empire freely, the lord the pope working for him with great cunning, only not avowedly, that he might not seem an open adversary of the king of Spain, who was eager for his dignity. And the king of Germany was up to this time secretly remaining in England, in order to fortify himself more abundantly with treasures sufficient for his object. About the same time, when the sun was just entering Cancer, a great pestilence and mortality amongst mankind took place. For the oil and wine, and corn, were generally corrupted throughout the kingdom; and this corruption, like the sword of death, sparing no one, destroyed first one man and then another. In that pestilence died Fulk Basset, bishop of London, who was solemnly buried on Saint Urban's day, in the church of Saint Paul, in London. The same week, Walter de Scotenay, who had thrown himself on the judgment of his county, was convicted of having administered poison to the brother of the earl of Gloucester; for which deed he was by judicial sentence dragged through the city of Winchester to the gallows, and there hung. But afterwards, that is to say, on the Thursday after the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist,

the canons of Saint Paul's, in London, being assembled together to elect a worthy pastor, at last, by the overruling Providence of the Lord, the lord Henry de Wengham, the chancellor of the lord the king, was, by the unanimous consent of them all, elected bishop of London, a thorough courtier, but, what is better still, a man of morality and discretion, prudence and circumspection. And he being exhorted to do so by his friends, and prompted by the choice of the canons, cheerfully received his election for the common advantage of the church. For although he had been previously elected to the bishopric of Winchester, yet because another, who had been elected before him, namely, the brother of the king, having been banished from the county by judicial sentence, was at the court of Rome trying to get his election confirmed, he, like a wise man, abandoned that appointment which depended on the pope's will, for that one which offered tranquillity and peace.

About the same time, the lord Hugh Bigod, a man of the greatest fidelity, and chief justiciary of the whole of England, having as his associates Roger de Turkebi, and Gilbert de Preston, began to make the circuit of England, going from county to county, and from liberty to liberty, to do justice to all men according to their deserts. For these men, being skilful in the laws of England, and of the strictest justice in giving judgments, were considered by the whole kingdom fit, above all other men, for this purpose. And they, having been previously elected, as has been said before, were appointed and sworn in to exercise proper justice with calmness, with equal consideration for rich and poor, slave and freeman, foreigner and friend, in all and everything, without regard to presents of any kind, but with a proper allowance of mercy. For if judgment went forward without any considerations of mercy, then the example of the most just judge would by no means be followed. But that men might imitate the example of Christ, who had gone before them as their guide, they both mingled mercy with justice, and also exercised justice in public. Since manfully and energetically following up the investigations lately made by four knights in each county, specially deputed for this purpose, they brought up again many transgressions and injuries of times gone by, which had up to this time lain unpunished and unnoticed, and, as it were, forgotten, avenging them strictly, and disdaining everything which could

blind the law which they designed to uphold. Nor did they yield to either the promises or entreaties of any men, however powerful; but earnestly examining the truth, they as speedily as possible punished all evil deeds. And when they had arrived at Ware, where they were to examine into the state of the county of Hertford, they caused all the people from the liberty of Saint Alban's, that whoever chose to bring forward a complaint, or anything of the sort, on any subject, or against any one, might come before them, to receive justice at their hands. But as it was known to the abbot of Saint Alban's, and to his council, that this was contrary to the liberties and customs of their church, they would not acquiesce in it.

About the same time some formal ambassadors of the lord the pope landed in England, being two of the Minor Brothers, with two Masters, namely, the chancellor of the king of Germany, who had been a long time delayed at the court of Rome, and another person, whose name I know not, but he was a noble and discreet man; and they, in compliance with the injunction of the pope, came with the special purpose of having a conference with the king of Germany, who was at that time sojourning in England. They also brought him letters from the pope, and messages, having reference to the dignity of the Roman empire, which was now without dispute granted and offered to him. And they were bearers of similar messages of exhortation on the same subject, addressed to all the nobles of Germany, begging them to urge their king to embrace the promotion to the empire, in accordance with the decree of the Apostolic See. And, that prince Manfred was very eagerly desirous this honour might not be beforehand with and supplant him, they urged him, relying on the favour and assistance of the Roman court, to put himself forward and vigorously to claim the empire thus offered to him. And after the ambassadors had been honourably received and reverently listened to with many thanks, the king of Germany sent them on to his kingdom, in order that they might there fully deliver to his nobles the message with which they were charged, and carefully discuss the pope's message with them, being informed that he was unwilling to undertake so important and laborious a journey without full preparation, and, on account of the numerous obstacles which he saw, to submit himself without due consideration to the wheel of fortune.

Nevertheless, he was sent to fulfil the commands of the pope as far as he could, and to adopt such excellent advice, especially as it was all for his own honour. And not long after, the formal ambassadors of the king of England returned, namely, the earl of Clare, John Maunsel, Peter de Savoy, and Robert Vallerant, the earl of Leicester still remaining in foreign countries. And they, wishing to relate the manner in which they had performed the business entrusted to them before the parliament of the king of France, laid publicly before the nobles of England, assembled in the presence of the king in London, all the replies and wishes of the French with respect to each of the matters and articles, to establish which between the two kings and kingdoms, they had especially crossed the seas. And when the truth had been related, they were afterwards to speak in public on these articles in their regular order. Accordingly, when this report had been heard, and when a diligent debate had taken place respecting it, the nobles unanimously agreed with great wisdom that, because the aforesaid business was constantly vacillating and swaying this way and that way, owing especially to the want of a personal interview between the kings, therefore in the ensuing autumn the lord the king, with all his nobles, and with the lord Richard, his brother, king of Germany, should cross the sea and be present himself at the parliament appointed to be held at Abbeville, where the king of France would likewise be present with his council. So this was agreed upon on both sides, and the matter was put off till the meeting of that parliament. And when this had been settled, all men who had been summoned, and who owed the king service, had notice given to them, that by the feast of Saint Peter ad Vincula next ensuing, they should all be prepared with horses and arms to make war upon the Welch; and like faithful subjects, to avenge the injuries which had been done to the king and kingdom. After this, when the king and most of his nobles retired, who, as had been previously arranged, were bound to cross the sea with him, a truce was made between the aforesaid parties, the king and the Welch, to last till the same festival in the ensuing year. For this was the best plan, that one affair should be brought to a fitting conclusion, and the other left unfinished.

About the same period of this year a lamentable disaster took place in the country of France, one above all others ever-

lastingly to be bewailed by the men of the religious orders. In the church of Saint Denis, the apostle of the French, there was a certain new erection, raised up on high, supported by a great many beams joined and fastened together. And when, one day, several men of the convent, with several also of the secular clergy, were walking under it, examining what had been done, lo! a great and fearful clap of thunder came, which violently shook the scaffolding of beams, and loosening the fastenings, entirely threw it down, and dashed to the ground and slew a great many both of the monks and secular clergy. And it is affirmed, in the relation of many who visited the spot, that all the monks of that monastery except fourteen, and a vast number of secular clergy, were killed by that one calamity, on which account a great lamentation arose (and no wonder) throughout all France, when life was changed into death, and joy converted into mourning.

The same year another horrible occurrence took place in foreign lands, but it was fortunately turned so as to fall on the head of the contriver. Ingelram de Courci, a great man, and nearly the first of the nobles of France, following the example of his father as to cruelty and wickedness, furiously seized upon two clerical novices, who in fun pursued a beast as far as his boundaries, and, without proceeding to any further trial or investigation, hung the innocent youths. And when this was related to the king of France, he sent for him secretly, and having publicly convicted him of the crime, although many nobles entreated for him, and refused to give their votes against him, the king, recollecting his oath which he had taken at his coronation with his own mouth, pronounced sentence of hanging against him, and caused him to be imprisoned, to wait for the time of his sentence being carried into execution. Nor was there any thing wonderful in one who himself condemned others without a trial being now condemned to a similar punishment, following the example of his father, who having committed similar crimes, was executed in a not dissimilar manner. He left behind him large temporal estates, which he had preferred to all justice, yet they did not satisfy him in life, nor could he procure a ransom for his soul by them.

The following month, the lord the king, on the Wednesday in the week after the Assumption of the blessed Virgin Mary, came to Saint Alban's, and he stayed there only one night,

and the day after he returned again to London. And having heard divine service early in the morning, he caused the coffin which contained the body of the glorious martyr Alban to be brought out, and raised up, and reverently placed in front of the great altar. And when this had been done, and when the convent had been adorned with garlands, the king came thither again with his nobles to offer up his devout prayers. And when they were all prostrated before the martyr, a special hymn, having reference to the martyr, was solemnly chaunted, in memory of this journey of the king. And while a great body of people was standing around with the brothers of the convent, and when silence had been obtained, one of the brethren of the church explained the reason of this visit of the king, namely, because he was the prince and head of the kingdom, and because he was about to cross the seas in the business of his kingdom, wholly ignorant of what might befall him, and of whether he should return; and on that account, he had come hither devoutly and humbly to entreat the leave and assistance of this glorious martyr, and benefit of the prayers of the brotherhood and people here present. And immediately it was agreed by all and every one, that until news of his safe return arrived, a special and daily devout offering of masses and prayers should take place. And then the king and his nobles gave them sincere thanks, and again caused collects for his journey to be repeated, and thus he departed more devout and with a more cheerful confidence. And when he had arrived in London, certain secret news was brought him from the parts of France, by which his immediate design of crossing the sea was hindered, as there were other obstacles also, on which account, as that idea was abandoned, the promised prayers for his safe journey were also given up.

About the same time, while the bishop elect of Winchester, who has already been mentioned, having been banished the country by judicial sentence, was still at the court of Rome, trying to obtain his recall, and offering, for the hearing of the pope, cunning and false suggestions, under the guise of truth, protesting and affirming that it was through the violence and injustice of three or four envious persons, his enemies, that he had been stripped of his treasures, ejected from his bishopric, and violently expelled from the country, contrary to the will of the king and commonalty of England; adding, that the lord the king, and the greater part of the population

of England (with the exception of the persons before-mentioned), would willingly see his peaceful return; for he had at last circumvented the acuteness of the pope by his deceitfulness, and obtained letters from him, enjoining the full restitution of all his possessions in England. On which account, a certain brother of the order of the Minors, by name Walasch, being sent especially in this error by the lord the pope, as legate *à latere*, and having others joined in the embassy with him; and having special command and authority on this point (if it is only all true which they say), by the authority of the pope, to institute the aforesaid clerk to his bishopric, and to re-establish him in all the rights of which he had been deprived, and to pronounce a sentence of excommunication and interdict against all who opposed them, and against all who had plundered or who retained his property. So when Walasch had arrived in England, and had enquired into the truth of these matters from the nobles of the land who were assembled in the king's presence, as they each and every one unanimously agreed, and did not in any particular depart from their original design, or from the account given by their ambassadors who had been sent to argue against the aforesaid bishop elect, he then found out truly that the bishop elect aforesaid had fraudulently obtained the favour of the pope by a complete concealment of the truth. On which account, a demand was loudly made by them all in union with the king, and an appeal preferred against a man who had in this way been lawfully banished, being now restored in consequence of his own fraudulent conduct, and against an affair of this sort being carried further, to the common injury of the kingdom. The ambassadors are sent a second time, a promise being given that the said affair shall be made known more correctly; and when the ambassador before mentioned heard this, he departed of his own accord to return to Rome, and the bishop elect was further than ever from obtaining his end.

About the same time, a general collection of money from the whole clergy of England took place, both from those who had exemptions, and from those who had not; to the amount of one-thirtieth of all ecclesiastical revenues, and arrears, and tithes, and all other proceeds contained in the writings of the bishops; and it was to be paid within a fortnight of the feast of Saint Michael next ensuing, to three bishops, those, namely, of Bath, of Ely, and of Rochester, who bound themselves in the court of Rome, on behalf of the king, in a sum of five

thousand five hundred marks, in order to avoid a sentence of excommunication, which was about to be passed against the lord the king, and a general interdict which was to be laid on the kingdom, on account of a considerable debt due from the king, and not yet paid. And those who desire to see the papal and episcopal letters about the collection of this money sent from one to the other, will be able to find them in the book of additions under this head.

But afterwards, brother Walasch, who has already been mentioned, having received permission to return, when the cause of his arrival became known, a strict enquiry was set on foot under what conditions, and by whose authority, he had been allowed to enter England, without obtaining the general consent of the kingdom. And when it was found out that he had received permission by a letter of the king's, and that the great seal had at that time been kept in the king's chamber, the lord Hugh Bigod, the justiciary, hastened with all speed to Dover, and thus addressed Richard de Grey, constable of Dover, and guardian of the harbour: "Since you, O Richard, have been appointed by the whole people of this kingdom as the most faithful guardian of these ports, and an examiner of all who arrive at and depart from it; and as we have all confidence in your watchfulness, why (although he may have been supported by the king's permission) did you permit such a man to enter the kingdom without giving us notice, when by so doing you contravened the common intention of all of us, and shamelessly violated your own oath? we think it fit that you should resign the office to which you have been appointed, and that you should receive that sentence which is your due, for your transgression, which has brought the general danger on the kingdom." So when he was deposed, the wardenship of the Cinque Ports was taken into the hands of the aforesaid lord Hugh, the justiciary, and also the guardianship of the castle of Dover.

About the time of the feast of Saint Michael, the bishop of Bangor was sent to the king of England on the part of Leoline, prince of Wales, and of all his nobles, for the purpose of renewing and re-establishing peace between them; adding, that they all with one accord would willingly give the king of England sixteen thousand pounds of silver for the sake of arranging and confirming peace between them and their kingdoms; and that they might come to agreement at Chester,

as they were wont to do in old times, rejoicing in their national laws, and the long-established customs of the land. So he, coming to Saint Alban's, stayed there three weeks, and at last, going to the king, he distinctly laid before him what he had been commanded to, but what answer he received is not known. But at the time when the said bishop was staying at Saint Alban's, the queen came thither on her way to London, to which town she was hastening to the feast of Saint Edward, being attended by the bishop of Brest, in Brittany, and John Mansel, and a great many persons of both sexes. And as she arrived at the hour of refection, the whole convent rose from table, having indeed done dinner, and made a solemn procession to meet her, and also present her with a most noble offering of six cloaks. And although she was detained by a severe attack of sickness, nevertheless, the next day, though there was a violent storm, she hastened to London. And the bishop before mentioned, charitably granting them sixty days of relaxation, departed with her, and the following was said to be the cause of his arrival in England, namely, that by his intervention, the count of Brittany hoped to make his request effectual, that the daughter of the king might be given to his eldest son as a wife; and it was for the successful transaction of this affair that he determined to send this bishop into England. And he pushing the affair diligently day after day, at one time pursued the king, and at another the queen, till they asked sound advice on the subject, and so he got a positive answer. But the request for this intermarriage is supposed to have arisen from this circumstance, that by means of it the said count expected to acquire the earldom and dignity of Richmond for himself and his descendants; a place in the dominion over which he had rejoiced in old time. But the king, having taken counsel in this matter (as the bishop whom I have so often mentioned having bidden farewell to England), immediately sent ambassadors into Brittany, by whom he transmitted a reply that he was pleased with the proposal.

In those days, the archbishop of Canterbury, being exceedingly angry against the church of Saint Alban's, sequestered the tithes of Ringeldon, which belong to the almshouses of Saint Alban's, and retained the whole proceeds of them for nearly a quarter of a year. In the same month, that is to say, on the sixth of November, William de Westmilun died,

who had formerly been seneschal of the liberties of Saint Alban's. He had long ago obtained the wardenship of Mikelfeld, from John, the lord abbot; and paid a hundred marks for it to Richard, earl of Cornwall, with which he delivered that land from Judaism, and he moreover gave the same earl five and twenty marks for a store in the same place. About the same time, the countess of Kent died, full of days, and by a natural death. She was a woman of great liberality, and of very high reputation, having been formerly wife of Hubert de Burgh, formerly justiciary of England and earl of Kent, not because he had that earldom by inheritance, but because the lord the king, Henry, had kindly granted it to him as it had just then fallen into the king's hands; so that he obtained dominion over it, retaining the name of earl, and consequently his wife obtained the name of countess. At this time, it was provided in a general parliament of the barons, which met at London, with reference to the justiciaries who were to go the circuit next month, who they should be, and into what counties each should go, with the object of making well known and establishing all the laws of this parliament, and of punishing the transgressions of those provisions which had lately been enacted, in such a way, that before the next Easter, all England should be comprised in their circuits, and that a full scrutiny should take place into all the articles now re-established. And their names, as written down in French by those barons, we have thought it well to commit to writing in another place.

About the time of the feast of Saint Martin, the lord the king, with the queen, and a great multitude of nobles besides, set out on a journey towards Dover, intending to cross the sea into France, for the final settlement of the affairs going on between himself and the king of France, and their kingdoms. And having (as it was said) entrusted the guardianship of the kingdom to the archbishop of Canterbury, and to the lord Hugh Bigod the justiciary, and others of his faithful subjects, on the Friday after the aforesaid feast he embarked at Dover, and landed, after a prosperous voyage, at Whitsande. And in reference to this passage of his, it is said that never at one and the same time had such a noble company of men and horses, and other great things, departed from England, as then disembarked at Whitsande. And many persons, too, who came to meet them in the parts beyond the sea, said the

same thing, adding that they had not thought that the king had so great a number of men with him, counting both infantry and cavalry, as he was now seen to have of sumpter horses, without counting the other most beautiful palfreys of the king and his nobles, and the superb chariots of the queen and her retinue. But when the king of England had a discussion at Paris with the king of France about the business above mentioned, he immediately sent messengers into England, namely, his principal chaplain, who had formerly been the abbot of a house of the Cistercian order, with some other persons, strictly commanding them to take care that every one in England who fancied that he had any right or claim in foreign parts, should hasten to come to him with all speed. And this was done; but as to what ensued from that, that is doubtful to us.

About the same time, the pope, wishing to provide for the church, which was unworthily managed everywhere by unworthy persons, sent a written command to the lord archbishop of Canterbury, and also (as it is said) to the other metropolitans, strictly charging them utterly to remove all and each of the rectors or ministers of the churches which were under their authority, or that of their suffragans, who, whether openly or secretly, had concubines, or anything illicit and disgraceful of that sort, and who therefore were disreputable ministers of spiritual things, from the administration of divine service, and from the possession of spiritual things for the future; and to appoint others who should be worthy, in their places. And the tenor of these commands a careful investigator will be able to find elsewhere.

About the same time, in consequence of the stupidity and inactivity of the king, England was oppressed in many particulars, by the domineering conduct of the Poitevins and Romans, and especially of Ethelmar, bishop elect of Winchester, and William de Valence, both uterine brothers of the king; and of Peter de Savoy, the queen's uncle, who treated both the religious orders of the kingdom, and the secular clergy also, in an unconstitutional way. And if any one having suffered injury at any of their hands, went to William the seneschal to demand justice, he received an answer of this kind: "If I do you injury, who will do you right? The lord the king chooses whatever my lord chooses, but the contrary does not follow." And thus they showed no respect for the king, or to any of the nobles.

So that year passed, not very fertile in corn, and very sparing as to its supply of fruit, and, as has often been seen, very unlike and contrary to the preceding year. England, however, which had been long languid, lying exposed, as it were, to the authority and injuries of different kings, in this year began to enjoy some sort of respite, as justice derived vigour from the application of new remedies. During this year, and especially in the autumn season, there was such fine weather, and a dry time, that though the crops were thin, they were nevertheless got in in good time, to the farmer's wish. And while a little before, the crop had been so great that if it had been all saved, there would have been enough for two years, and yet it was all so utterly spoilt, that within the year there was actual scarcity, and many were in danger from that reason; now in this year, though the crop was but moderate, there nevertheless was such abundance, that owing to the dry season of the harvest, there was a very sufficient provision made quite unexpectedly. Moreover, while this year was in England one of scanty crops, in France the vineyards were utterly spoilt by the rain. As to other matters, it was to the English in many respects a desirable year, and to the French one of peace and harmony. For the council of England was persevering manfully with reforms which it had commenced, and the lord the king having visited the country of France with the view of establishing peace between the kings of France and England, and their kingdoms, was detained for a considerable time in that country.

The count of Brittany espouses the daughter of the king of England. Concerning the Romans who were slain in London. Quarrels between the nobles of the land.

A.D. 1260, which is the forty-fourth of the reign of king Henry the Third, the aforesaid king was, at the feast of the Nativity of the Lord, at Paris, with many nobles of his train, and there he celebrated the usual solemnities in a most sublime and splendid manner with the king of France and his nobles, both nations feasting with one another in turn, and diligently discussing the question of peace between them, and other necessary matters; for there was in each kingdom a considerable number endowed with wisdom and discretion; among whom was the lord Henry de Wengham, bishop elect of London, and chancellor of the lord the king, who had been ordained priest

the week before. At the same time, peace and concord was finally established between the two kings, those, that is to say, of England and France, in the matter of the dominion and sovereignty over Normandy, which the king of France had long held, as his predecessors had also done, although the king of England had claimed it as his right; on which account, having had a long discussion on this point, and a firm convention having been come to respecting it, the king of England, for himself and for his successors, gave up to the king of France and his successors full possession of Normandy, resigning to him all his rights and authority over that country, as is plain by the reading of his documents which are curtailed in that part. In return for which concession he received, under the name of an exchange, some fertile and opulent districts, and also a sum of money, which he was to be paid from the exchequer of the king of France, with this further addition, that, after the decease of Louis, then king of France, Poitou was to revert to the king of England without any contradiction. And this convention and agreement was confirmed by every security which could possibly be devised, and ratified by the seals and witnesses of a great number of nobles of both nations.

In those days, while the king was still delaying in those parts with the queen, Beatrice, his daughter, was married to the count of Brittany, as has been already mentioned; which marriage was brought about by the intervention of the bishop of Brest, who had lately been sent into England with that object; and the district which king Henry had received under the name of exchange for Normandy was now nearly all assigned to this count as a marriage portion.

About this time, a dispute arose between Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, and the chapter of Lincoln, the archbishop asserting that he ought to exercise, and would exercise, jurisdiction in the church of Lincoln while the see was vacant, and that his predecessors always had exercised such authority freely; and all the sons of the church fearlessly resisted and contradicted him, adding, that as soon as a see was vacant, all the jurisdiction was carried on, as it ought to be, by the archdeacons and ordinaries of the church, and that the archbishop had no powers to interfere in it without their consent. Therefore, the archbishop, as he doubted on this point, wrote to all the brethren of the religious orders who dwelt within

that diocese, asking them to cause diligent enquiry if any distinct assertion was to be found in their documents or books, which, having been made by any one of his predecessors, might be of service to his side of the question as to this point, and enable him to bridle the opposite party. So, when a diligent scrutiny had taken place at Saint Alban's, nothing was found that made for either one side or the other, but the answers given by the other convents is not known to us.

As sometimes good fortune is wont to be mingled with bad, and sorrow with joy, an event took place at Christmas in this year which caused great grief and mourning in France. For Louis, the son and heir of the king of France, a man of great personal strength and stature, and loved by all the kingdom, and by every individual who had access to him, and who, in accordance with the arrangements made by his father, was, the next summer, to marry the daughter of the king of Castile, and to be crowned as king of France, went the way of all flesh. And when the king of England, who was still tarrying beyond the sea, heard this news, though he was actually on his way back towards England, he, being struck with grief, immediately returned to Paris, and honoured the funeral of so noble a person with his presence. And about the time of the Purification of the blessed Virgin Mary, there emanated from the chancellor's court a mandate of the lord the king, though he himself was absent from the kingdom, addressed to all the viscounts in whose bailiwicks danger was in the habit of attending on travellers, charging them to take care that all the dangerous passes, or out-of-the-way places, and hollows, and copses, and hedges, which gave any opportunity for any disturbance of the king's peace, should be examined, and immediately mended, either by the owners of the ground or by themselves; and the full tenor of this commission will be shown at length among other briefs, to those who wish to see it.

About this time, the lord Simon, earl of Leicester, returned into England, which had long been deprived of his presence; and coming on the day of the holy virgin Scholastica to Saint Alban's for the sake of visiting the martyr and the convent, he offered a most precious vestment of cloth of gold at the tomb, and early in the morning proceeded on the journey which he had commenced. On the morrow of Saint Valentine the Martyr, the lord Henry de Wengham was consecrated bishop of London by Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, in

the church of Saint Mary of Southwark, in the presence of the bishops of Worcester, Chester, and Salisbury, Richard, king of Germany, and an infinite number of other persons both clergy and laity; and when he was, according to custom, making his profession with an oath, he, with great emphasis, pronounced these words of exception, in the hearing of every one: "I swear and promise this, saving the rights and liberties of the church of London, which I will defend and uphold to the utmost of my power, in every particular." On which account, although the archbishop was indignant, and almost inclined to stop the office of consecration, these words were imputed to him as an instance of great fidelity to the church, and as a proof that he would be a sure defence to it. And it is said that this was done before he actually entered on his bishopric, lest, if it were done afterwards, the archbishop might seem, in consequence, to have a right of entering on that bishopric, and a question might arise like that which was still under dispute and undetermined between the archbishop and the chapter of Saint Paul's, in London, respecting the jurisdiction to which the archbishop was or was not entitled in such cases. But when the consecrator had, though with great indignation, completed the office, all the people present remained with the newly consecrated bishop at the table, namely, the king of Germany before mentioned, the archbishops, and the bishops who have been named, with an infinite number of other persons, so that the noble presents which were offered from every quarter could not be calculated.

On the day after the feast of Saint Matthias the Apostle, a detestable murder was committed in London, being especially such as gave no slight grounds of fear to all the English, both on account of the violation of the holy season of Lent which was involved in it, as on account of the amazing revenge of the Roman see, and the censure and severity of the church. And having given due consideration to the circumstances, I proceed to set forth the deed in detail, with all truth, just as I have been informed of it. The lord Fulk of pious memory, formerly bishop of London, had (which, indeed, was now some time ago) conferred a certain prebend in the church of Saint Paul's of London, on a certain Master Rustand, the pope's nuncio, who was at that time abiding in England; and as Rustand after this, and after he had taken upon himself the habit of the Minor Brothers, was taken ill, his sickness in-

creasing, died in the countries beyond the Alps, the lord the pope immediately bestowed the prebend above mentioned on another person, who was one of his special officers; when just at this time it happened that the bishop Fulk also departed from this world, and so his bishopric came under the king's guardianship. So the king having been informed of the death of the aforesaid Rustand, but not being aware of the fact of the pope having conferred his stall on another, gave the aforesaid prebend to the lord John de Crakehale, his treasurer, and caused him to be publicly installed. And when this was heard of, a certain procurator, by name John Legras, one of the secular clergy of noble birth, was sent into England, well fortified with writings from the pope, to support by his authority as procurator the aforesaid collation to the stall which the pope had bestowed. And the archbishop of Canterbury, deciding on the case as he was ordered to do, after the contest had been long agitated between the two parties, ascertaining at length that the papal donation preceded the king's appointment in point of time, by his formal sentence adjudged the prebend to the Roman before mentioned, utterly excluding the treasurer, although he had been for some time invested. And after the Roman was installed, he endeavoured immediately to take possession of the principal mansion attached to the prebend in the city; but he was denied entrance, on which account, yielding to violence and arms, he withdrew, intending to lay his complaint before the archbishop. And they who occupied the house seeing this, presently followed him behind; and among the crowd of passers-by, some one clove his head in two between the eyes, and escaped without being discovered or arrested by any one. And a companion of his was treated in the same manner, while the slayer escaped. But as an investigation into this deed took place throughout the whole city, and the criminal could not be discovered, sentence was pronounced by the archbishop and the other bishops against all the favourers of that crime, so that all the hearers of it were brought to fear the judicial sentence. But though, by some suspicious persons, it might be supposed that this had been procured to be done by the treasurer aforesaid, yet in reality he was innocent, and it was done by some envious rascals; for the English were indignant that so many Romans should be so frequently enriched with English benefices, while not once even in a year did any native of the

country receive any benefit from them. And because, as it seemed, they trampled exceedingly on the land which was thus made subject to them, they wished by a deed of this kind to deter them for the future from such continual and unprofitable invasions of the country.

The same year, a great baron of high reputation throughout the kingdom died, by name the lord William de Beauchamp. He, being a man endowed with large possessions, was by no means forgetful of God, who had given them all to him; for he confirmed all the benefits of his predecessors, and upheld and kindly augmented them, and was the patron of some religious houses, which were built within his domains, some being appropriated to monks, some to canons, and some to nuns; and as he defended them, so, by the favour of the Lord, ought his successors also to defend them for the time to come.

About the same time, when the king, after having protracted his stay in Gaul for some time, was intending to return to England, a great many evil reports of his son Edward, and of others of his nobles, who were said to be his adherents, were instilled into his mind. Which, however, being, as it is said, destitute of all truth, I on that account forbear to record separately. The king, however, hearing them with great bitterness of spirit, and (though they were utterly false) giving ear to them as true, ordered abundant precautions to be taken by means of a considerable body of armed men prepared for hostility. But after he had done this, he was assured of the falsity of the report, but still he would not believe it to be false. So, hesitating and in doubt, partly disbanding his forces, and partly retaining them about him, bringing with him at least three hundred knights, with a great multitude of their followers, he landed fearlessly at Dover, about the time of the feast of Saint Mark the Evangelist. And his nobles came to meet him in the train of his son Edward above mentioned, and received him reverently and honourably as they ought, with great joy. Some of them, however, there were to whom the king, although they had formerly been his especial friends, addressed neither words of peace nor loving salutation, nor would he receive such from them. And at this time, a deadly discord was sown between many of the chief men of the kingdom, namely, between the king and his son Edward, as has already been mentioned. Also, between the king and Simon, the earl of Leicester; between Edward and the earl of Gloucester, and

also between the aforesaid earls and many others. So that the parties being strengthened on both sides, and their strength united, a formidable war seemed near at hand. And at that time some knights met for a tournament, which was appointed to be held at Blye; and when it was put off for this reason, they at once, equipped as they were for this tournament with arms and horses, marched to London with several more who joined them. So that, unless the lord Richard, king of Germany, who was at that time staying in England, had earnestly interposed to effect a peace, there would have been no small disturbance; but as the king's arrival was daily expected, he in this way exhorted both parties to the better course, in order that, when their fury was somewhat abated, the king might find his kingdom in peace as he had left it.

But the king arriving in London on the eve of the apostles Philip and James, remained nearly a fortnight at Saint Paul's, in the house of the bishops of London; for not only the gates and the streets, but the whole city too was so carefully kept, on account of the deadly war which was excited, that scarcely any one even of the lower class could obtain free ingress or egress, nor did any one of the nobles, except the king and a few others, lodge within the walls, nor would the king go to his own palace at Westminster until he could know to a certainty what would be the result of this discord, the seeds of which were thus sown. But while this dissension was continuing (as evil always succeeds evil in steady succession), the abbot and convent of Bourgh were accused to the lord the king of having lately involved themselves in a heavy debt for the sake of the lord Edward his son, for the augmentation of his strength against him, and subduing his father's power. At which the king was indignant and enraged, and sent for the abbot, and with earnest command demanded of him that he would take upon himself a similar charge for his sake, otherwise he warned him that he would incur his royal indignation. And when the abbot had answered plainly that he could by no means venture to do this, and that his house was unequal to such a burden, adding, too, that for what he had done on behalf of prince Edward he had sufficient security, and that no injury had been done to the king by his conduct, although he had previously been an especial friend of the king, he was now dismissed with great indignation on the king's part, and in great alarm: for the king threatened his

convent and his church very terribly, and afterwards he proceeded to put his threats in execution; and afterwards, when the whole body of barons were summoned into the king's presence, at Saint Paul's, and first of all a discussion took place on the subject of prince Edward, and of the injuries which had been inflicted on the king (as it was said), the said Edward declared that he was ready to prove his innocence of all the charges which were brought against him, and to submit himself willingly to the judgment of the two kings, his father and his uncle, so as to take care to amend whatever they found in him to complain of; saying that all the other barons and earls were not his peers, and that they had no right to debate upon his conduct. On this the truth was debated and sifted on both sides, and the falsehood of all the statements which had been made against the king proved, and accordingly the king was reconciled to his son, and the two peaceably united together, to the righteous multiplication of the confusion of their enemies.

When, then, prince Edward and the king and queen, and all their friends, were thus united, with the exception of the earl of Gloucester and his partisans, a complaint was soon brought forward against Simon, earl of Leicester, respecting many injuries both in England and in the parts beyond the sea, which had, as it was said, been committed against the king. And a day having been appointed for him to reply to these charges, and to clear himself from what had been brought against him, the said count, on the appointed day, though it was rather an early one, declared himself ready at once to reply to all the questions which were put to him, and to hear the truth of the opposing statements thoroughly sifted, and to submit to the decision of any one, whether a foreigner or an Englishman, with the exception of only five persons of no importance, who were sowers of the ill-will against him and prince Edward. So when this answer had been received, the earl of Gloucester, with his adherents, fearing that after the acquittal of the aforesaid earl of Leicester, grave complaints would be brought up against himself, procured the postponement of the day appointed for the investigation to another parliament. And so the tumult was appeased for a time, and the king returned with joy to his palace. But the articles of accusation alleged against the earl of Leicester were numerous, as also were their framers, and such as proved outrageous

offences, if they were only true. But as they are incredible, and are supported by no truth, I think it not fitting that they should be recorded in this page, lest I should be called a writer or inventor of lies. And any one who is very desirous to become acquainted with them may go and imbibe lies from liars, and on this occasion may leave me and go and seek another historian. In the month of June, the earl of Albemarle, who was sojourning in foreign countries for his pleasure, ended his life at Amiens. And his body was conveyed with all honour to England, and received burial in a monastery which had been built by himself. And his inheritance was entrusted to the guardianship of the earl of Gloucester, having fifteen years still to run, according to the age of the heir. But because this is contrary to the regulations of the kingdom and to the oaths taken, the annual value was computed, in order that from that great sum an annual satisfaction might be made to the king.

About this time, the lord Stephen Longsword, a most accomplished knight, and, by the authority of the king, justiciary of the whole of Ireland, having been a long time wasting away under a serious sickness, was now attacked by death, and went the way of all flesh with honour. The same month, about the time of the festival of Saint Bartholomew the Apostle, the lord Roger de Turkelbi, an especial friend of the king, and second to no one in the whole kingdom for justice and knowledge of the laws of the land, inasmuch as he was superior to them all in the nobleness of his sentiments and the glory of his achievements, was cut off, as it were, by a sudden death, and bade farewell to this world, and all his virtues with it, in London, and departed to receive the reward of his nobleness and exemplary life. He, as it was generally reported, went cheerfully to bed one night, but the next day, when he was expected at the bench, his spirit was found to have fled, and to have left only a lifeless corpse. And after his death, it was generally said, that for the whole of the preceding fortnight, although he had been regular in his attendance on the bench of justice, yet he seemed like a person in a trance and beside himself. And when he was admonished by any brethren, or by others, of the salvation of his soul, he answered, "I have nothing to do with you, go to the justiciary." For this is what he was accustomed to say when disturbed by the clamour and entreaties of those who addressed him. How-

ever, we may well believe, that, by the dispensations of God, who willeth not that any one should perish, he by divine mercy received all that he was entitled to; so that exultation at the safety of his soul overcame the grief for his death. And so on one and the same day the death of these three persons was announced to the king, who feeling himself deprived of great advice and assistance, naturally became afflicted with great grief.

After this, a vision was seen by a certain knight in a secret place, where he was sleeping in a corner. For a person appeared to him, commanding him to go in person to the lord Henry de Ba, and tell him that the lord Roger de Turkelbi, the justiciary, summoned him, as he had a certain decree somewhere which required to be passed, and which could not be brought to a conclusion without his presence. And when the knight neglected this injunction, and hesitated, as it were, to fulfil it, the aforesaid precept was repeated to him a second and a third time; and he had notice given him that unless he complied evil was impending over him, and was near at hand. At last, however, he sought the lord Henry before mentioned, and related the vision to him, but it was utterly disregarded and passed over by him; and so, as it is commonly reported, it immediately brought on the following conclusion. For in this the next month, the said Henry de Ba suffered death of the body.

A Templar, who came in haste from the Holy Land, arrived in London on the eve of Saint Botolph's day, bringing a number of letters to the lord the king, and to the master of the Temple in London, and to others; and he also was the bearer of very many to the nobles, both on this and on the other side of the Alps. And he performed that long journey with such rapidity, that, being under the compulsion of most rigorous necessity, he entered London the day thirteen weeks after he left the Holy Land, making only one day's journey from Dover to London, and he affirmed that he had made many other day's journey of similar length. And when his letters were read, the king and the Templars, and all persons who heard them, gave themselves up to such lamentation and grief as no one had ever seen before. For news was contained in them that the Tartars, advancing with an innumerable host, had laid waste and made themselves masters of nearly the whole of the Holy Land as far as Acre. And what was

very strange to hear, they proposed to detain their army there and to occupy that country for forty days, in order that when they had thus (which God forbid) destroyed the major part of the population, they might the more easily be able to extend their ravages. And the same messenger added, that they place all the foreigners who fly to them, or who are taken prisoners by them, in the front rank of battle; and when they fight, men as well as women all joining in the combat, they shot behind them as well as they do in front. Nor, said he, will Christendom be able to assist them, unless it is supported by the powerful hand of God as its ally. For as all the Templars and Hospitallers in that country are already nearly all killed, unless speedy succour arise, a terrible destruction will soon visit the world (which may God forbid). And the same news, as it was said, was conveyed to all the princes whose dominions lie around the sea of the Greeks. But on the day after the feast of Saint Botolph, the lord the king of Germany, who had now been staying peaceably in England for about a year and a half, and had reconciled some who were previously hostile to one another, and brought them together under fixed conditions of peace, having been constantly urged by the invitation of the pope, went with all speed towards Rome, to receive the empire; and embarking on board ship at London, he sailed as far as Gravesend. There his queen met him, and with her and a moderate retinue, he hastened to complete the journey he had undertaken. But when he had departed, then many people felt doubts and perplexity, fearing, since his presence had lately been the prevention of impending war, that the peace which has been mentioned could have no stability if he continued absent.

In the summer of this year, great and enormous prodigies were seen in the air, so that some said that the last judgment was close at hand. For it was found written somewhere, and besides, it had been often declared by many astrologers and others, that the same year there would be so great a pestilence, that of six persons scarcely one would escape uninjured; according to which, there was now an intolerable famine, and such excessive and uninterrupted thunder-storms, that scarcely any one dared to go out of his house, and many people were killed, and the lightning destroyed houses and fields of corn, and woods, and inflicted unheard-of dangers in the country. Also, there were such hailstones, that the stones were not only

like peas, but of the thickness of three fingers, and in some places as thick as fifteen fingers. Moreover, in some places, as was declared upon oath, great stones were found to have fallen of such a weight, that it required three men to lift them. And in other places, the crops which had been expected to be abundant were so utterly destroyed, that they were hardly sufficient to repay the reapers. So that these and similar calamities being spread over many places, processions to sacred shrines and fasts were ordered, and prayers were offered up devoutly with a frequent amendment of people's sins. And not long afterwards a war broke out, which increased rapidly, being one of great mischief to England, and great terror to Wales. For a royal edict (as it was said) went abroad, addressed to all who owed the king service, commanding them with all speed to provide themselves with all things necessary and unnecessary, as they were to make an expedition into Wales, for the purpose of avenging the injuries of the king. And because the before-mentioned Welch arrayed themselves in a hostile manner for battle, not fearing death, the lord Simon, earl of Leicester, was appointed general and commander of the English army against them, as a prudent and mighty warrior of England. And as each party thought that they saw an opportunity, they attacked one another; but as impediments subsequently arose, a truce was sought, and the war was deferred.

On the eve of Saint Lawrence the lord William de Kirkham, bishop of Durham, a man of exemplary character and of ripe age, bidding farewell to this world and to the body, after he had governed the church of Durham gloriously for twelve years, at Hoveden gave up his blessed soul to his Creator. And from thence he was conveyed away with reverence, and on the following Monday was honourably buried (as he well deserved) in his church at Durham. Although he was one of the middle class of people, and educated in it, nevertheless he was illustrious throughout the whole kingdom, and very liberal, and a man of tried gentleness and courtesy towards all men. And among other good deeds of his which were widely diffused, he appropriated two churches of the annual value of three hundred marks, by name Herteburn and Egelingham, in the diocese of Durham, to the church of Saint Alban's; and he also brought the dispute which had long existed between the church of Durham and that of Saint Alban's to a

final peace. But while these deeds were being accomplished, having waited for a proper time to place the parties in the possession of the things which were admitted to belong to both, under the name of exchange and peace, the good bishop was removed from this world, and so, of necessity, the business was not brought to the same end that it would have been. And immediately the guardianship of the aforesaid bishopric was entrusted by the king to John Mansel, which was contrary to the common provision. And afterwards, on the Friday after the Nativity of the blessed Virgin Mary, the lord John de Krakehale, treasurer of England and archdeacon of Bedford, bidding farewell to the world while it was smiling on him from every quarter, died at London; and being possessed, as it was said, of no inconsiderable wealth, he left eighteen thousand pounds untouched behind him. He also released the church of Wantham from the payment of no small sum of money which it owed him, and having conferred other benefits on that church, he also bequeathed his body to it, to be buried there.

When the lord William de Kirkham, of blessed memory, bishop of Durham, had been taken from among men, the chapter of Durham, taking care that their church should not be too long in want of a shepherd, fixed a day for the election, and then, on the day after the feast of Saint Michael, with unanimous consent elected the lord Robert de Stichil, one of the monks of their own body, and the prior of Finchale, to be their bishop and pastor, an accomplished, discreet, and praiseworthy man; for although they had been canvassed by the royal request in favour of the secular clergy, still, having God before their eyes, they, without any favour towards or fear of any one, decided their election by a choice from among themselves. And the bishop elect, embracing the proffered honour as what was bestowed upon him by the divine interposition, which he was bound to obey, being conducted by his own prior of Durham, went at once before the king's presence. And so coming to London about the feast of Saint Edward at the time when parliament was sitting, as some persons tried to hinder him, he found the king for a time adverse to him, but at last, after he had remained at the court a fortnight, he brought him over to be as favourable to him as he wished. Therefore, being received by the king and doing him homage for his barony, and having sent off the king's letters to the guardian of the

bishopric before mentioned, he was instituted to the full temporalities of his see; but for the temporalities he had to appear in the presence of the archbishop of York. But on the day of the feast of Saint Edward, when numbers both of the foreign and native nobles, and a great many other persons also were flocking to that splendid banquet of the king, the lord the king invested with the belt of a knight John de Brittany, son of the count of Brittany, who had lately married his daughter Beatrice, with whom he had received as dowry all the territory which he had received in exchange for Normandy. Moreover, the king made twenty-four other new knights, the two sons of the earl of Leicester having been already invested with the knight's belt by Edward, his son. And then they all crossed the sea with as little delay as possible, with the aforesaid Edward, John, and Henry, the son of the king of Germany, to a tournament, which had been appointed beyond the sea, to display the prowess of each individual, as is the custom of new knights.

And at the parliament before mentioned, a discussion took place respecting the justiciaries of England and the chancellor and the treasurer, as to who were entitled to the chief power the next year. For the lord Hugh Bigod, who had formerly been justiciary, was at this time absent; Henry de Wengham, formerly chancellor, obtained the bishopric of London, and the Lord John de Crakhale, formerly treasurer, had expired a little before, as has been already mentioned. Therefore, after a long debate on this subject, at length, with the consent of all parties, the king's seal was entrusted to Master Nicholas, archdeacon of Ely, and the office of treasurer to the abbot of Burgh, and the power of justiciary to the lord Hugh Despenser. But in the month of October the lord Richard, king of Germany, who had been frequently summoned by the invitation of the pope to possess himself of the empire, having lately departed from England on a journey to Rome, now returned secretly and unexpectedly, in such a way as to strike every one both on this side of the channel and the other with surprise, owing to the diminution of his retinue and magnificence. For it was said that he had landed with but few men and fewer horses, making his journey each day very long, and having laid aside all his regal magnificence; but that soon afterwards, as his men followed him, he was again surrounded with his accustomed honours, so that many asserted

that he had been baulked of his object by prince Manfred and others, who were eager to obtain the empire of the Romans, and who therefore intercepted his journey, plundered his treasure, and put his esquires to flight, with this further addition, that if he presumed to cross the Alps he would very speedily find himself in great danger in consequence. Nor is it at all strange that, as he had not foreseen this, and as he was not forewarned against it, he avoided his enemies and retraced his steps without delay. But others said that he had been forewarned and hindered beforehand also by the counsel of his nobles of Germany, so that he was not desirous and did not think it desirable to undertake so long and dangerous a journey at the beginning of the winter season; thinking that when the winter was over, he could perform it with more security in the season of fine weather. Adding this consideration also, that he at present had and was still likely to retain his kingdom of Germany and all the inhabitants in peace, and he knew, too, that they would assist him in his business before mentioned without any evasion. So he acquiescing in their advice, presently returned to England, as I have already said, in order to arrange his estates and possessions, which were not under very good management there, as seemed expedient for himself and his son Henry; and that when a suitable time arrived he might cross the sea never to return. Others also said that he returned in consequence of an admonition from the pope, in order, forsooth, that Master Albert, his nuncio, who had been sent to England for several reasons, might enter the more secretly, contrary to the provision made by the barons, following behind so great a leader; and that so, when the business of the pope had been finished, the king might find him more favourable to him in his own business.

About this time, an intolerable dissension arose in the university of Cambridge. For, as a certain quarrel had broken out between two youths, one from the south and the other from the north, the compatriots of each presently came to their assistance; so that one party attacking the other, a great many were stricken and wounded on both sides. And in this way at last the whole town was thrown into confusion, because every one, both clergy and laity, left their houses, and flew in bands to the fray. Therefore, while the clergy were absent, some of the laity secretly entered their houses, and carried off property of all kinds from thence. For the

chancellor had called out the laity of the town to aid and assist in appeasing the fury of the disturbers, so that the other plunderers had confidence in their opportunity to plunder. Therefore, as a complaint respecting this affair was laid before the queen, Lawrence de Broke was presently ordered to go thither, and, having held a strict examination on the subject, he pronounced sentence, and some of the plunderers, to the number of sixteen, belonging to that same town, were hanged on one day. And a great number more, both clergy and laity, either fled to the churches, or else were committed to strict imprisonment, and remained there.

The king of Scotland comes to England.

In those days and that month, the king of Scotland came to England, influenced by a variety of causes, for instance, with the object of visiting the king and the queen of England, and of exercising his legitimate authority and power in his county of Huntingdon. And besides this, avowing the most especial cause of his coming, he demanded of the king that four thousand marks should be paid him, which he said the king of England had promised him formerly at his marriage with his wife. He also demanded the whole of the land between the Tyne and the Wentsbeck, which he asserted had been formerly bestowed upon his predecessors. And besides this, he claimed powerful assistance from the king and nobles of the land against his enemies, as the king had formerly promised him, and the mayors of Scotland by his written letter, signed by his own hand, and procured and transmitted by his brother, William de Horton. And at this time the kings of England and Germany were both in London, on which account there was, as it was quite fitting that there should be, such a prodigal magnificence and pomp, that the whole of the surrounding country was put to intolerable expense. And a few days afterwards he was followed by his queen, who was near the time of her confinement, and who came for the sake of visiting the king and queen, and the country of England, and, if God so willed it, of being confined in their neighbourhood. And being conducted by the venerable man, the bishop of White House, she was met by her younger brother, Edward, about the hour of evening, at Saint Alban's, and received with a solemn procession, and honourably entertained. In the morning she proceeded on to London; and when she had

been received there, there were then three kings, and as many queens in that city, of whose equipments and magnificence who can think without admiration? And the bishop, having presented the queen to her parents, returned into Scotland with all speed, loaded with precious gifts of various kinds. And the king, after he had completed all his business in every quarter, returned after him, and on his return, being hospitably received at Saint Alban's, he presented the church there with a pall.

At that time it was stated that this king of Scotland received a hundred shillings from the king's purse every day that he was this side of the Humber, both while going and returning, as his predecessors had been used to claim when they were summoned to England by the king's command. But although this was several times demanded as if of right, still it never, if one may trust the assertion of several competent persons, was given except through liberality. But in the following month of December, Ethelmar, formerly bishop elect of Winchester, and uterine brother of king Henry, when he had been nearly three years in the court of Rome, endeavouring to obtain the restitution of his bishopric, at length having obtained the papal benediction, he was (as it was said) consecrated bishop by the pope himself. And so as he was on his way with all speed into England, with full powers, by the will of God he ended his life in France, and received honourable burial, as he was well entitled to, at Paris, in the church of Saint Genevieve. And his death, though mournful to some persons, appeared nevertheless to many, and especially to those of the English, who were the framers of the provisions of Oxford, a salutary event. And, indeed, it was considered by them as a great miracle, because if he had peaceably recovered the bishopric of Winchester, and if all those who were previously ejected were recalled, the provisions of the barons before mentioned would come to nothing, and while his revenge was raging against his enemies, the last error would be a great deal worse than the first.

So this year passed by, not very rich in crops, but one which produced great abundance of fruit. For the orchards, and gardens, and woods were all so fertile in their different kinds, that they appeared sufficient to make up for the scantiness of the corn crops, which was very grateful to the eye. For the price of corn, as it existed at the end of the autumn,

was said to have fallen by Christmas on this account. And although this year was one full of great terrors to the Holy Land, in respect of the incursions and threats of the Tartars, still, with the exception of the mortality which took place in those lands, it was one very tolerable to the French and English.

This year there died Walter, bishop of Durham, Ethelmar, bishop elect of Winchester, William de Beauchamp, earl of Albermarle, Roger de Turkelbi, earl of Bedford, Henry de Ba, the justiciary of the lord the king, John de Crakehale, his treasurer, and Stephen Longsword, justiciary of Ireland, with the addition of a great many others, whose memory and whose number can be preserved by God alone.

Ch. XVIII.—From A.D. 1261 to A.D. 1263.

Henry violates the provisions of Oxford—The pope is afraid of an invasion of the Tartars—Prince Edward espouses the cause of the barons—The earl of Leicester forms a confederacy against the king—Prince Edward invades Wales—Treaty between the king and the barons—The civil war breaks out again, and is continued with great fierceness—The quarrel is submitted to Louis of France, who decides in favour of the king.

Of the fineness of the weather about Christmas.

A.D. 1261, and the forty-fifth of the reign of king Henry the Third, the said king celebrated the feast of the Nativity at Windsor, with his own queen, and his daughter, the queen of Scotland, who was staying there, waiting for the time of her confinement. There was also there, Richard, king of Germany, who had lately returned with unexpected rapidity into England, but his queen had all the time stayed uninterruptedly at Berkhampstead. And at this season, there was such unbroken fine weather and softness in the air, that you would have said that it was the pleasant time of summer rather than winter.

And about this time an event took place which was strange, and which seemed more and more marvellous to all who heard of it. For two persons, who had not undeservedly been committed to perpetual imprisonment, namely, Roger de Clare and John Ealriche, when one had been confined in Newgate and loaded with chains eighteen years, and the other more

than ten, escaped by night, taking with them others also of their companions, all of whom, at their departure, were bearing and carried off no small number of fetters. But Roger, with some of them, took sanctuary in a church, and John, with the rest, escaped as secretly as he could out of the city of London. And another strange matter was here unfolded to the hearers. For about the time of the Purification of the blessed Virgin, when there ought to have been fine spring weather, there was a continuance of snow and frost for a fortnight, that no one for many years had seen such a contrariety of seasons and weather. But on the Sunday after the feast of Saint Scholastica, that is to say, on the thirteenth of February, Robert de Stichille, bishop elect of Durham, was consecrated and installed in his bishopric, by the archbishop of York, at Southwell; and having celebrated a glorious banquet there, he went with all speed to his episcopal see, which he was said never to have visited since his election.

About the same time, Margaret, queen of Scotland, brought forth her eldest daughter, in the castle of Windsor, where she had been staying a long time with her mother. And the Scots when they heard this, were very much grieved at their queen having been confined out of her own kingdom, as they were altogether ignorant when she departed that she was so near the time of her delivery. For she had carefully concealed this from the people, and from the king, that so she might return to her native country, and there with greater freedom gratify her wish of having her child born there.

The king goes against his oath.

About the same time, in February, the lord the king of England, who, during his whole reign, had been considered extravagantly liberal towards foreigners, having now taken thought with himself secretly, that from being subjected to the provisions made by the barons he had been, contrary to his customs, compelled to stay his hand, was greatly grieved at being forced to adhere to their guardianship and arrangements, however useful they might be, and determined, with a resolute heart, to alter them. Therefore, having convoked his nobles, he said to them, "All of you laboured perseveringly on behalf of the general advantage and benefit (as you asserted) of the king, and for the sake of increasing my treasures, and diminishing my debts; and you unanimously

agreed to a provision which was to be observed upon oath, to the observance of which you also bound me and my son by a similar oath. But now I have experienced beyond a doubt, that you are desirous not so much of the advantage of the king and kingdom as of your own, and that you are altogether receding from your agreements, and that you have reduced me, not as your lord but as your servant under your authority. Moreover, my treasury is exhausted to an unusual degree; my debt increases in every direction, and the liberality and power of the king is almost overthrown and put down. On which account, I desire you not to wonder if I do not walk any more by your counsel, but leave you to yourselves for the future, and allow myself to seek a remedy for the existing state of affairs." And when he had said this, having sent ministers to Rome to procure absolution, the king wrote a special letter to the king of France, and to his son Edward, entreating them to furnish him with assistance. And the king of France promised him a large army, which he would support at his own expense for seven years, if it should be necessary; and Edward exerted himself, as it was said, in collecting forces of every description; endeavouring to release Henry, who was no longer a youth, but a veteran, from the confinement in which he was kept, and to make him master of his kingdom, as he had been used to be. In the meantime, the king having neglected the statute made by his nobles, and being deceived by flattering counsels, entered the Tower of London, and having forced open the bolts, seized the treasure which was deposited there, and spent and dissipated it. Moreover, he hired workmen, and caused the Tower to be strengthened in every part, and he ordered the whole city of London to have its locks and barriers strengthened, and to be fortified all round. And having convoked all the citizens of twelve years old and upwards, he caused them all to swear to maintain their fidelity to him, the crier making proclamation that all who were willing to serve the king should come to receive pay from him. And when they heard this, the nobles flocked in from all quarters with their forces, encamping without the walls, since all entertainment within was entirely denied to them. And so a deadly war was expected on every side, which, indeed, had never been so near in past years.

About the same time, it was generally known all around the kingdom, that all the bishops of England were designing to

recall from the men of religious orders, and especially from those who had exemptions, all the churches which had been appropriated to them; and, for the purpose of obtaining power to carry out this design, to send, with the sanction of their whole body, and maintain procurators to the Roman court, to solicit its countenance. And they made little doubt that they should prevail, because they assigned various and plausible grounds for their request (as they said), and because, too, they spared no expense to procure the permission that they prayed for; so that great fears were entertained that as a corporeal war was maintained among the laity, so too, a spiritual discord would arise among the scholars, in consequence of the diminution of the incomes of some of them.

About the same time, though the lord the pope had lately determined to hold his general council at Rome, in the fortnight after Easter, having (as it was said) already informed the archbishop of Canterbury of this intention, afterwards, when he heard of the invasion of Christendom, by the Tartars coming nearer, he postponed the fulfilment of this decree, and sent brother Walter de Reigate into England, to make wise arrangements as to this and other matters. But afterwards, when the pope heard that fifty-two thousand of these Tartars above mentioned had been slain in Hungary, fearing that the remainder would soon do him and the rest of the Christians much injury, he caused all the Transalpine prelates, and all, too, who were nearer Rome, to be summoned to meet at Rome before the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul, to consider how they might offer the most effectual resistance to the aforesaid enemies. Accordingly, when the aforesaid brother Walter arrived, he caused all the prelates of England to be summoned to meet in London in his presence, in the fortnight after Easter, and, when they had heard the papal message, not to be slack in framing a proper answer.

About this time, that is, about Easter, a letter from the pope, respecting the absolution of the king and his son Edward, from the oaths before mentioned, was obtained; but though the king accepted it, Edward voluntarily bound himself again by a repetition of the oath. And when the nobles heard this, they persevered firmly in their original design, and sending mediators to the king, they earnestly demanded that he should inviolably keep the oath which had been administered to him in accordance with their unanimous decision.

And if any portion of it was particularly unwelcome to him, they begged that he would point it out to them, that they might correct it. But he would not agree to this, but would scarcely allow them to appear before him, threatening them harshly and answering them wantonly, and saying, that he would no longer endure their departing from the agreement that they had made, but that each of them had better for the future provide for his own defence. At length, however, through the mediation of some discreet persons, he was, though with difficulty, so far appeased as to allow two persons to be chosen, one on one side and one on the other, which two were to choose themselves a third, and then, having heard the complaints of the king and the answers of the other party, to provide for a firm peace on both sides. And this, after it had been accepted by both parties, was agreed to be put off till the arrival of prince Edward. But when Edward heard this, namely, that the dissensions which were existing in England would sooner be healed by peace through his arrival, having gained the victory in the tournament, he returned with speed to his own country, bringing with him John de Brames, his sister's husband, and William de Valence, who had lately been banished from the kingdom, and who then could scarcely obtain leave to enter it, though he took an oath on his admission that he would adhere to the provisions established by the barons in every particular, and would, if it were needful, reply to all the complaints that had been, or should be, alleged against him. But Edward being fully informed of all points respecting the vain counsels and counsellors of the king, and being greatly displeased at them, of his own accord kept aloof from his father's sight, and with all good faith gave in his adhesion to the barons, as he had previously sworn to do. Therefore, when all the partisans of the aforesaid contention had been sought out and ascertained, they all with one accord united with Edward in an oath, that they would never agree with the king till he had removed some persons whom it was unnecessary to name from his councils. Adding, that it was owing to the suggestions of such disturbers of peace, that the king was often deceived, and that the provisions so beneficial to both king and kingdom were abrogated by the effect of the papal absolution before mentioned. On which account, their secret councils being now revealed, "the king will never be able (said they), while the advice of such men is

interposed, to agree with his barons as he ought." But the king, when he heard this, immediately withdrew with these men into the Tower of London; and Edward remaining outside with the nobles, there was very soon a formidable body collected.

But the earls of Gloucester and Leicester, who were before this at variance, in consequence of violent language that had passed between them, now made firm peace with one another, and confederated with Edward and other persons, pledging themselves to one another to remove the body of disturbers before mentioned from the king, or else to unite in stirring up civil war, and to prosecute it to death. Therefore, the counsellors before mentioned, being greatly alarmed for themselves, kept themselves for a long time under the protection of the Tower of London, being protected on all sides by arms and soldiers; till at last, by the intervention of the queen, they were, though not without difficulty, reconciled to some of the nobles, and the two parties saluted one another with the embrace of peace about Easter. After this event, the king showed himself more fearlessly outside of the Tower, having dismissed the lord John Mansel within the fortress, and immediately travelled toward Dover. And coming there with a small retinue, they freely gave him entrance to the castle, which, indeed, had not been taken from nor forbidden to him, but (being, as it were, the key of the whole kingdom) had been committed by the barons to faithful keeping. When the king presently found that he had been deceived by false suggestions, and that he was everywhere, although without his knowing it, supported by the fidelity of his barons, he committed the wardenship of that castle to the lord Robert Valeran, and then went to the castle of Rochester, and to some other forts, and everywhere found free admittance and free egress according to his wish.

About the same time, some travelling justiciaries were sent through England by command of the king, but this was contrary to the common provision made by both parties, and utterly without the consent of the barons. And when these judges came to Hereford, and when the county had been summoned to meet them, wishing to hold their sittings on the Monday, which was the Hokeday,[1] immediately some persons

[1] The Hokeday (which, however, according to Ducange, fell always on the *Tuesday* fortnight after Easter) was an annual festival observed in

on the part of the body of the barons approached them, strictly commanding them not to presume to do this, and forbidding all people to answer any of their enquiries; both because the summonses had not been issued a reasonable number of days beforehand, that is to say forty, and also because, according to the provision, the itinerant justiciaries were not to hold a sitting in any county more than once in seven years. On which account, as their appointment was silently suspended, they presently demanded of the king a reply on this point, and having received his command to desist, they took their way to Northampton with all speed.

But in the month of May, all the prelates of England, that is to say, the archbishops, bishops, and abbots, both those who had exemptions and those who had not, and priors, and archdeacons, and the other ordinaries of the churches, having been summoned, as has been said above, to hear the message of the lord the pope, and there to satisfy him with positive answers; on the Monday before the feast of Saint Dunstan, all the bishops of the southern districts met in London before Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, and his brother William, whose name has been mentioned before as the nuncio of the lord the pope. And on the Monday following, the bishops of the north country met at Beverly under the archbishop of York, who had a similar charge committed to him, and a council being held on the before-mentioned points, they provided some new statutes, here and there affecting the state of the English church, which they established, and ordered to be observed with the others which had been previously enacted among the provisions of Oxford.

And with respect to these and other articles, and especially to the common provision which was to be made for resisting the Tartars, they determined to send prudent men with full powers to Rome as ambassadors, who should be supported out of their common purse, and who might inform the lord the pope of the answers they had agreed upon in the council above mentioned, which was to be held at Rome. These men (as is generally said) then swore, in the presence of the bishops before mentioned, that they would not patiently allow anything

England in commemoration of the expulsion of the Danes by king Ethelred, in the year 1002, when he made a great massacre of them, and drove them out of England. The massacre itself, however, took place on Sunday, November 13, Saint Brice's day.

to pass to their prejudice, but that they would exert themselves to oppose the men of the religious orders, and particularly those who had exemptions. On which account, those who claimed such exemptions, when every one else gave in certain answers, answered with one voice in the following manner:—

"Ye are sending deputies to the court of Rome for yourselves alone and against us, and you are compelling us to contribute for this purpose. Now, if you are willing to send general ambassadors for the common advantage of us all, in that case we will cheerfully contribute with you; but otherwise we will not consent to do so." And when this had been heard, the bishops immediately drew an excuse from it, writing to the pope that they could not give a positive answer, because of the separation of those who had exemptions. Therefore, those who had exemptions being alarmed, sent special messengers without delay after the others, who should act in opposition to the deputies before mentioned, or should procure the revocation of any decisions which had been come to in their favour by contradicting them.

At this time, the king wishing (as being released by absolution from the observance of it) to break the oath which he had formerly taken, boldly went round the cities and castles of his kingdom, wishing to make himself absolute master of them and of the whole kingdom; animated by the fact, that the king of France, and all the nobles of that kingdom, had lately promised to assist him with all his might. On which account, the count of Saint Pol and Gerard de Rodes came to his assistance with a numerous body of followers. This count, as it was said, took the oaths of fealty to the king as far as military service went, and for this he received every week ten marks from the treasury; and the aforesaid Gerard did the same; but all the rest before their arrival had received their full pay for forty days. Therefore, the aforesaid king, coming to Winchester, entered his castle there without any opposition, as he did in other places, and there he celebrated the feast of Pentecost with his followers. And having summoned his justiciary and his chancellor, who had been lately appointed to their offices by the whole body of barons, to meet him at that place, he commanded his seal to be restored to him, and the oaths of the justiciary's office to be given up to him. But as they replied, that they could not by any means do this without the consent and sanction of the barons assembled in council

with the king, the king immediately became angry, and, without consulting the barons, appointed the lord Walter de Merton his chancellor, and the lord Philip Basset his principal justiciary throughout the kingdom. And when the nobles heard this, they considered it contrary to their interest and to the provisions which they had agreed to; and so, fearing that the king would take upon himself utterly to overturn their arrangements, they strengthened themselves with arms and troops, and marched thither with all speed. But when John Mansel heard this, he, fearing that danger was being prepared, from this proceeding, for the king and for himself, and for those who agreed with him, went secretly to Winchester, though greatly alarmed, and privily advised and warned the king to return secretly to London. So when he had returned, the king silently departed from the castle, and hastened to London without delay, accompanied by a small band of followers.

The same year, as the see of Winchester had been vacant no inconsiderable time, the monks of Winchester themselves elected the abbot of Middleton, who had formerly been their own prior, as their bishop, though they had previously elected some one else, who, during the lifetime of Ethelmar, and while he was at the court of Rome, had involved his church in an infinite amount of debt, endeavouring to prevail against him; but he, as he had been formerly elected while Ethelmar was still alive, by whom he himself also had been appointed prior of Winchester, rightly appeared to have no right to retain the bishopric; on which account, now that Ethelmar himself was dead, they wished to elect this abbot in opposition to the other. But in the month of May, when the papal indulgence (of which mention has already been made), conferring absolution on the king and the other conspirators, had been obtained, the lord the king caused it to be published and made known to every one. And the same year, grave dissensions broke out between king Henry and his barons, because he refused any longer to give his consent to the provisions which had been established in the conference at Oxford, and confirmed by mutual oaths on both sides. Therefore, showing his utter contempt for their counsel, he seized the castles which had been committed to their guardianship; he also removed those royal officers, such as the justiciary, the chancellor, and others, who had been appointed by the barons, in whose places,

relying on his own will, he appointed others, according to his pleasure.

After Easter, Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, relying on the authority of the Apostolic See, held a provincial council at Lambeth, near London, by the advice of the prelates of his province, to take steps for the execution of the mandate from the Apostolic See against the Tartars, which has already been mentioned, since they had now terribly overrun the greater part of the world, as has been fully related above. And for the effectual removal (by the grace of God) of this scourge of the divine indignation, the holy fathers who assisted at this council, passed a resolution that men ought to recur to processions, and fasts, and other works of piety of this kind, by means of which, if they were offered to the Lord in a spirit of humility and with a contrite heart, the divine anger, which had been kindled to vengeance by the sins of the people, would be appeased, and then they trusted that the faithful people would be mercifully released from their sufferings.

About a fortnight after Easter, the count de Saint Pol came into England, having been, as it was said, invited by the king with about eighty knights and as many guards, who used the cross-bow, but not long afterwards, having failed in attaining his object, he returned with his followers to his own country.

About this time, the itinerant justiciaries held their sittings at Gloucester, and then, intending to sit at Worcester in the week after the festival of Saint John the Baptist, they found no one to come before them on their summons, or to make them any answers as if they were justiciaries, because they were making their circuit within the seven years, before the completion of which period they could not lawfully hold their courts according to the provisions of the kingdom. Moreover, the people of that district were offended at the short notice given by the summons, which did not allow them any sufficient or reasonable time, according to the salutary decisions which have been pronounced in England in former times.

On the twenty-seventh of July, a most violent thunderstorm, attended with incessant flashes of lightning, alarmed the north country; and a thunderbolt falling at Evesham, hurled down a vast stone which was placed in the edge of the corner of the upper part of the church tower, with such force, that it fell down into the choir and was broken to pieces by

the violence, and penetrated into the ground, and the stone was nearly a foot long. And soon afterwards, the roof of the tower was discovered to be on fire in consequence of the lightning, and burning downwards, the tower was destroyed for a distance of about thirty feet, or, as some say, fifty, counting the weathercock; and a terrible fœtid smell ensued, which men's noses could not bear. At last, the monks and the people coming up, and bursting into the tower with admirable daring, endeavoured to extinguish the fire, by throwing water on it; but they laboured in vain, as it were, to quench it, or to extinguish the devices of their enemy, till (as they say) a ray of the sun streamed on the fire caused by the lightning, and so entirely put it out and extinguished it by the command of God.

The same year, on the festival of Saint Urban, formerly pope and martyr, which happens on the twenty-fifth of May, pope Alexander died, and the pontificate of the Romans was vacant for about three months and a fortnight. At length, he was succeeded by the patriarch of Jerusalem, who took the name of Urban.

This year there was a great sedition and disturbance among the people throughout the counties of England, excited in the matter of the institution of the new viscounts placed by the king in each hundred; the former viscounts, to whom the counties had been entrusted by the barons and commonalty of the land, being removed by the indignation of the king. But the inhabitants of the counties, being instigated by the assistance of some of the nobles of the kingdom, and supported by their advice and countenance, being also prompted by great sagacity, gallantly drove away the viscounts above mentioned, and refused to attend before them or to give them any answers. On this account, therefore, king Henry, being disturbed by grave anxiety of mind, for the purpose of awakening the devotion and feelings of loyalty of the people, sent letters to all the counties of England, full of great incentives to piety, and calculated to regain the good will of the people who were subject to him, the tenor of which letters shall be given at the end of this book,[1] together with the provisions of Oxford.

Wherefore, since, as has often been said, great dissensions had arisen between the king and the barons, which increased

[1] They are not given, however.

very much from day to day; the nobles of England met in London and the neighbouring districts with bands of armed followers, about the time of the feast of All Saints. And as the king was very much afraid of their power, which had grown very troublesome to him, he took post with his adherents in the Tower of London, and did not delay to summon from all quarters all those who were bound to do him military service, to come thither with all the speed they could. When, therefore, the partisans of each side had assembled, the quarrel rested for a time on account of messengers going to and fro, in the hope of re-establishing peace without the noise of war, each party being inclined to peace by the advice of some of the nobles who were appointed to consider the matter. And so all the labour and all the long-cherished designs of the barons, by the cunning of some of their body, as it was thought, was brought to nothing at this time, and withered away, because

Of all sad evils, sure delay's the worst.

This year, Senchia, queen of Germany died, and was buried at Hayles, in the monastery which the lord the king had founded. Also, Edward, son of king Henry, returned from foreign lands, bringing with him William de Valence, and other inhabitants of Poitou, who, as has been said before, had departed under compulsion from England.

The canonization of Saint Richard, bishop of Chichester.

A.D. 1262. Saint Richard, bishop of Chichester, was canonized at Rome, and enrolled in the catalogue of the saints, and the day of his festival is celebrated on the third of April. Meantime, king Henry had obtained from pope Urban absolution from the observance of the grant that he had made at Oxford, and from his oaths, and all other engagements which affected those same ordinances or statutes, which provisions, indeed, he soon commanded to be abrogated throughout England. Richard, king of the Romans, returned to Germany, and Henry, our king, crossed the sea, about the time of the translation of the blessed martyr Thomas, and tarried a long time in France, where he was attacked by a severe illness, and nearly all his household, too, were terribly afflicted with a quartan ague, and many also died. Among whom, Baldwin of the Island, earl of Devon, was withdrawn from this life, in

the middle of his days, as one may say; and Richard de Clare, the illustrious earl of Gloucester and Hereford, died about the same time in Kent, and was buried at Thekesbury, of whose virtues and pre-eminent character a heroic stanza speaks as follows:—

"Hippolytus' modest grace,
Ulysses' sense, and Paris' face,
Anchises' son's religious fear,
And filial duty, all lie here."

Also, Henry, bishop of London, died, and was succeeded by Richard Talbot, who himself also ceased to live soon afterwards. Master John of Exeter obtained the bishopric of Winchester by the collation of the lord the pope.

After England had been now for six years and more oppressed by a general failure of the crops, at last, in this present year, the earth recovered its fertility, and a joyful and fertile time returned to the productive fields; and so the heart and flesh of all men exulted in the one God. About the time of the feast of Saint Andrew the Apostle, there was a violent storm of wind, which threw down not only houses and trees, but also towers, whether built of wood or stone; owing to which, the church of Croyland, or at least the greater portion of it, with the tower, fell down, and overwhelmed five men who were standing under it. This year also, Andrew, prior of Saint Swithin's, at Winchester, was, as his conduct well deserved, arrested in his chapter-house by the bishop of that city, and thrown into prison at the abbey of Hyde; but soon afterwards he cunningly broke his chains and escaped. At the time of the Advent of the Lord, the Welch, with their chief, Leoline,[1] bursting forth from their country, attacked in a hostile manner the territories of Roger de Mortimer, and ravaged them; and attacking some noble and gallant men, both knights and esquires, at the attack and defence of the castle of Kennet, which had formerly been burnt by them, they shut them up in the castle and blockaded them, and cut them off from all hope of obtaining provisions; and, in consequence, at last that castle, and another place of great strength, and the ensign of Roger himself, was surrendered to them; and the Welch, as is their custom, rased it to the ground, and reduced the foundations to a level plain. Therefore, Roger de Mortimer, a man worthy of everlasting fame, being excited to

[1] The same as Llewellyn.

vehement anger, being assisted by an auxiliary band of some of the nobles of the marches, devised proper manœuvres against them, suited to the place and occasion, and attacked them in frequent sallies, slaying sometimes three hundred men, sometimes four hundred, sometimes five hundred, and even more, till they amounted to an incalculable number; and thus, with his victorious army, he inflicted miserable slaughter on them; but once, of the infantry who entered the marches, he lost about three hundred men himself, who were treacherously slain by that people.

The same year, the king's palace at Westminster was nearly all consumed by a conflagration, which some persons interpreted as an omen of evil fortune; but the lord the king, guided by the wholesome advice of his faithful friends, in order to have peace with his nobles, and to further the improvement of his kingdom, of his own pure free will ordered the constitutions of Oxford, which had been published long before, to be inviolably observed, and sent orders to that effect to each county; but even by this step the kingdom was not rendered entirely peaceful, as will plainly appear in the ensuing chapters.

Giles, bishop of Salisbury, died, and was succeeded by Walter; and Richard, king of Germany, having, according to his custom, exhausted all his treasures in Germany, returned to England; and of the way in which he obtained that money, it may be truly said,

"Good issues seldom wait on sordid gain."

Concerning the expedition against the Welch.

A.D. 1263. Edward, son of king Henry, came into England after Easter, with a great body of knights, some of them foreigners of high reputation, whom he had brought with him from France, and some of them English; and advancing towards Snowdon, he marched on a mighty expedition against the Welch; but as they retreated, and as our soldiers, by reason of the inequalities of the ground, the thickness of the woods, and the darkness of the deep morasses, could not venture to pursue them so closely as to bring them to battle, we must suppose that their rebellion was assisted, and the valour of Edward and his comrades hindered by this circumstance. At length, having strengthened the fortresses in those parts with abundant supplies of provisions and a powerful garrison

of armed men, he was recalled by his father, and returned to England. This year, John, abbot of Saint Alban's, died, and also John, abbot of Gloucester; the first of whom was succeeded by Roger, and the latter by Reginald.

After the feast of the Holy Trinity, there was a great convocation of the pontiffs and clergy of England and Westminster, having been summoned, at the command of the lord the pope, before Leonard and Berard, his nuncios, for the purpose of extorting money from the English for the service of the emperor of Constantinople, who had been for some time driven from his empire. But they would not contribute anything of the sort, either from the revenues of the kingdom, or from those of the church, putting forth in public all kinds of reasons, drawn both from the dissensions and depressed state and poverty of the kingdom, for the crop had long since failed, and scarcity increased among the people. So, for these and other most evident reasons, answer was distinctly made that they ought rather to succour their own lord and themselves, in such a state of imperious necessity, than any foreign prince. I have taken care that all these things should be inserted for the instruction of posterity, that, taking caution from the past, future ages may be fortified beforehand, being taught by the unanimity of this answer, dictated by the communion of mutual will, and so preserved from contributions and taxes of this sort. About the same time, the famous and eminent monastery of Bec, in Normandy, was burnt to ashes. The barons of England, being bound (as has been often stated) by an oath to the observance of the statutes of Oxford, having taken the advice, and being supported by the effectual assistance of Simon de Montfort, the most noble earl of Leicester, a man most skilful in military affairs, no longer hesitated to bring to a conclusion a design which they had long since entertained with reference to that subject. And first and principally they waged war against all the foreigners whom the king and queen, and also Edward, their son, loved more than they ought; and, despising their native subjects, promoted them to high dignities to a shameless extent; and so on a sudden they carried off booty in every part of England; and while every one else was thinking of nothing of the sort, they made a hostile attack upon the counsellors of the king, and all whom they knew to be his adherents in any respect; and invaded in every direction, and wantonly destroyed their ma-

nors, domains, fortresses, and towns, and all the property which they could find, whether belonging to the church or to the laity. On which account, Peter, bishop of Hereford, a Burgundian by birth, was arrested in his own cathedral church, and conducted to the castle of Erdesley, his treasure, of which he had a great store, and all his farms being given up to plunder and confusion. But the secular canons, his fellow-countrymen, whom he had introduced into his church, being arrested in like manner, were sent off with him, and committed to prison. After this, that army advanced as far as Gloucester, and besieged the castle there for four days, in which Matthias de Besill, a foreigner, to whom the county and the governorship of the castle had been committed by the king, was shut up with a small garrison. And he maintained himself in it so long, positively refusing to surrender to the besieging army till the first gate towards the city was burnt; and then by the treachery of those who were in prison, and who were released from confinement that they might be a help to the besieged, a postern in another part of the castle was opened to the entrance of the besiegers, and so the barons suddenly entered; and Matthias was compelled to take refuge in a very strong tower, fortified with triple gates of iron, and the strongest bolts. But nevertheless that entrance was broken in with iron hammers and axes, and so the enemy entered, and Matthias was taken prisoner, though even now, neither the fear of death, nor the threats of the enemy, could make him willing to surrender, which was remarked to his praise, even by his enemies. And therefore he was conducted to the bishop above mentioned, to be treated in a similar manner to him. After that, the enemy marched to Worcester, and entered in without any opposition, or any barrier, although the citizens had received letters from the king on the subject of keeping the town and city safely. Having received oaths of fidelity from the citizens, the army proceeded to Bruges, and there took the royal town, which the citizens nobly defended the first day, and kept the barons out; but at last they made a covenant with them, that the Welch (an innumerable host of whom were assailing the city on the other side) should not be allowed to enter, and then on the following day they surrendered. After this event those barons turned their steps towards the southern parts of the kingdom, taking with them the aforesaid earl as their general, by whom

they were directed; and in consequence the number of those who joined them increased every day. For already nearly all the persons throughout the whole kingdom who were pre-eminent for power or conspicuous for nobility of birth, had come over to them; and each in his own province miserably oppressed the foreigners with all kinds of depredation and plunder, so that it was a sad sight, even to those who were jealous of the strangers, to see their confusion. For whoever was unable to speak the English language, was considered a vile and contemptible person by the common people. Owing to which, it happened that many persons of foreign nations, both members of religious orders and others, escaped under the protection of secret flight, fearing the punishment of death, or at least the ruinous danger of imprisonment, and so fled from the kingdom. And even John Mansel, the rector, or I should say the occupier of many churches, and the magnificent possessor of such revenues as were beyond calculation, so that there was not one of the clergy in the whole world richer than he, even though he was not invested with the episcopal dignity, from fear of the barons, fled away secretly from the Tower of London, where at that time the king and queen of England were maintaining themselves, and escaped across the sea. But Henry, son of the king of Germany, pursued him as he fled, and he was taken prisoner on his landing at Boulogne, by Ingerand de Fiennes, through the management, as it was supposed, of the queen.

Meantime Edward, the king's eldest son, garrisoned that very strongly fortified castle of Windsor, than which there was not at that time a more splendid castle in all the countries of Europe, with a large force of foreigners, whom, as I have said before, he had brought with him from England, and whom he now introduced into the castle. But our king remained in the Tower of London, and seeing himself surrounded and hemmed in by his enemies on all sides, at last agreed to peace with the barons, and promised observance of the provisions of Oxford. But the queen, being irritated by womanly feelings of annoyance, strove with all her might in the opposite direction, and refused to consent. On which account, when she left the Tower, going by the Thames to Windsor, when the foreigners were assembled, she was intercepted at London, and most cruelly abused and cried out against by the citizens, and shamefully driven back, when

under the bridge by stones and mud, which were thrown at her; and that this conduct of theirs was a great hindrance to peace, will appear in what comes afterwards.

The conditions of peace.

And these were the conditions of peace which were agreed to at that time between the king and his barons, namely, that Henry, son of the king of Germany, should be released by the king and queen; and that the king's castles should be committed to the custody of the barons. Also, that the provisions and statutes of Oxford should be firmly and inviolably observed as well by the king as by other persons. And that the kingdom for the future should be governed by faithful and competent native Englishmen, under the lord the king. Moreover, that the foreigners should depart from the king, and not return any more, with the exception of those in whose stay the faithful subjects of the kingdom should unanimously acquiesce. But the foreigners whom I have already mentioned, most gallant knights, who had been introduced into the noble castle of Windsor, to the number of about a hundred, with a much more numerous body of guards, had fortified and strengthened that castle in a most admirable manner, and were plundering and devastating the country around in every direction.

In the meantime, while Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, and the barons, were occupying themselves about the parts near the sea-coast with effecting the deliverance of the aforesaid Henry, son of the king of Germany, Edward arrived at the castle of Bristol. And when he had stayed there in that city some days, lo! as fortune smiled upon him in no direction, a great sedition broke out between his soldiers and the citizens, to such an extent, indeed, that the whole town, which ought to have been under his authority, altogether renounced its fealty and obedience to him, and the citizens even prepared to besiege him, feeling quite secure of taking the castle. Edward, therefore, thinking that every thing in every direction was turning out unfortunately for him, because all England was inflamed with anger and indignation against him and all the favourers of the foreigners, and against all who opposed the barons, having sent for Walter, bishop of Worcester, who was a partizan of the barons, promised him, under the cloak of dissimulation, that he would be willing to make peace with

the barons; and when the bishop, having taken security, as it was thought, had undertaken to carry out the project of peace faithfully, he violated the covenant to which he had agreed. For when he had set out on his journey towards the court in order to perform his promise, he threw himself into the aforesaid castle with the foreigners; therefore, having assembled all their forces by the day of the feast of Saint Peter ad Vincula, the nobles of the kingdom and upholders of the provisions of Oxford, together with the king, who had received verbal intimation of all this from the son, determined to assail that castle. Therefore, Edward, departing from the castle as if for the purpose of treating about peace, met his father and the barons about half way between Windsor and London; and when, after the discussion was over, he was preparing to return, he was detained by the cunning of the earl of Leicester, and Walter, bishop of Worcester, who suspected sinister designs on his part, and so he was prevented from re-entering the castle. And so that noble castle was surrendered to the king and the barons, on this condition, that those foreigners who had been placed in it should leave the kingdom with their horses and arms uninjured, without any hope of returning; and some of the barons conducted them to the coast.

About that time, Llewellyn, prince of Wales, ravaged the territories of Edward in the marshes of Chester; and he besieged the fine castle of Dissard, and took it and levelled it with the ground; and in like manner he treated the castle of Gannoc, which was not inferior to the other either in beauty or situation. The same year, on the twenty-ninth of July, a certain very marvellous and wonderful prodigy appeared in the firmament, about midnight, in the direction of the north. And very soon afterwards, on the sixth of August, an eclipse of the sun took place about nine o'clock, which was a beautiful sight to the eyes of the beholders. At the feast of the Nativity of the blessed Virgin, a vast assembly was collected in London of the nobles and other prelates of the kingdom, such as had not been seen for a very long time in England, in which conference the statutes of Oxford were publicly promulgated, and ordered to be observed in all their integrity throughout the kingdom; and restitution was ordered to be made in every case of depredation and plunder which had been inflicted on ecclesiastical persons, (which, however, was likely to be very difficult), and also on some nobles who

had been favourers of the king's party, in respect of which discord and dissensions, which had already arisen among them to some slight extent, were much feared in England. Peter, bishop of Hereford, was released from the custody in which he had been detained, and his fellow prisoner also, Matthias de Besill, and all the others, were liberated at the same time.

About the time of the feast of Saint Michael, our king and queen, and earl Simon de Montfort, with many other nobles, crossed the sea, to hold a conference with Louis, king of France, which was to take place at Boulogne, on the subject of the disturbed state of the kingdom of England. But this meeting had been arranged by the contrivance of the queen and her family, because, in consequence of the atrocities which had been committed against her (and which have been mentioned above), she had conceived a vehement hatred against the Londoners. And not long afterwards a great parliament was assembled in London, in which, as a schism (alas! alas!) now prevailed among the barons, according to that saying in the gospels, "Every kingdom divided against itself will be brought to desolation," &c., many of them who had previously been very active and violent in making incursions of cavalry and depredations, now began to adhere to the king and to Edward, who was a man of great prowess, having been converted by their honied promises, and by large estates, which were either promised to, or absolutely bestowed on them.

After this, the king, with a large army (for by this time the most powerful persons in the kingdom had become his adherents), in great numbers marched upon Dover, in order to gain that castle out of the power of the barons, in which he did not succeed. Therefore he returned with great indignation to Westminster, and in the mean time sending secret letters to some of the citizens of London to charge them to guard the gates and so prevent the barons from entering, in consequence of which the famous Simon de Montfort was nearly betrayed, for he was outside the city in the suburb of Southwark, attended by only a very few followers, owing to their respect for the king's army. For that army, with its squadrons in battle array, was now at no great distance, and approaching fast to attack him, who was expecting nothing of the kind; and it was advancing with all security to take him prisoner, when on

a sudden, the deception being discovered, the Londoners, whose hearts were all favourable to the barons, rushed on, and with the impetuosity of great courage, broke the barriers, opened the gates, and pushed forwards in crowds to succour him. And so, by the mercy of God, the general was that day saved from the hand of his enemies. For the lord the king, when he had been informed by his scouts that a numerous multitude of the Londoners was coming to the earl's assistance, withdrew his own army. After these events, both sides exerted themselves to bring about a peace with great earnestness, both on the side of the king of France, and the bishops of the kingdom of England. At length both the king of England and his barons came to a compromise, and submitted the whole question of the contests which affected the provisions of Oxford, and the depredations and acts of plunder which had been committed to a great extent on both sides, and on account of which divisions had arisen between many persons, to the decision and regulation of the king of France; and so after Christmas they went to France to hear what regulations the king of France thought it proper to impose with respect to these subjects; therefore, the day after the feast of Vincent the Martyr, an innumerable body assembled at Amiens, consisting of kings, bishops, and nobles; and Louis, the king of France, having come to a full understanding of the designs, and defences, and reasons of the two parties, pronounced his decision and sentence in all due form in favour of the king of England against the barons, utterly annulling the statutes and provisions of Oxford, and all similar ordinances and obligations.

And at this convocation the king of England was present, and also queen Eleanor, and Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, and Peter, bishop of Hereford, and John Mansel, both of whom having been driven out of England, never ceased from contriving all the harm they could to the barons. And from that time forth the last error became worse than the first. In the meantime, Roger de Mortimer plundered the lands which were the domain of the earl of Leicester on the Marches of Wales. Therefore that general, having already made Llewellyn a prince of Wales, his friend, sent thither a noble army, which partly ravaged the territories of Mortimer, and took the castle of Radnor, and burnt it. And when Edward, on his return from foreign countries, had flown to his

assistance, attended by a large body of troops, he pursued the barons, but did not attack them, because he was unable to bring them to battle. Nevertheless, Edward besieged the castles of Humphrey de Bohun the younger, namely, that at the Hay, and Huntingdon Castle, and took them, and he also compelled the castle of Brecon to surrender, all which, with the provinces and rights pertaining to them, he delivered to the aforesaid Roger, to be guarded by them. And at this time Robert de Ferrars, earl of Derby, came to Worcester with a large army, and the citizens occupied the walls and gates of the city, and guarded them gallantly and resisted him manfully; but at last he unexpectedly effected an entrance by the old castles, and destroyed the town, and put down the Jews who lived in it. But the barons returning from Wales, entered the city of Gloucester, not by force or after a siege, but made themselves masters of it by some prudent manœuvres. Edward, too, conducting himself with great boldness, suddenly appeared in their rear, and having quickly repaired the bridge over the Severn, which had been previously burnt by the barons before mentioned, he entered the castle in spite of the barons, who were on the spot. And the next day, by the intercession of Walter, bishop of Worcester, Edward, too, practising the cunning of a fox, a truce was made, and the barons retired from the city. But Edward having thus got possession of the city and the castle, put the burgesses in prison, and compelled the town to pay a ransom of a thousand marks to its great misery. After that, he went to his father at Oxford, who had now returned from France, and had summoned all those who owed him military service all over England, to march upon the conspirators. And the king, for the time, compelled the whole body of the clergy at Oxford, to evacuate that city. And he went in person, with great devotion, to visit the holy virgin, Frideswida, which, beyond all doubt, no one of the kings of England before him had ever ventured to do in person.

In the meantime, Edward, and the rest of the nobles in those parts, did not cease to ravage the possessions of the barons of the opposite party, and to burn their estates, and to destroy their manors. And the Londoners sallying forth from their city with an innumerable multitude of men, ravaged with fire and destruction all the estates and possessions of the king of Germany, and of Philip Basset. And they took the

king's chaplains and the barons of the king's exchequer, and the justiciaries of the king's bench, and threw them into prison.

And so this year passed, torn to pieces by intestine hostilities and civil discord, to such a degree, that no one knew whom he could trust, or to whom he could commit the secrets of his mind. And so it terminated miserably to both parties.

CH. XIX.—FROM A.D. 1264 TO A.D. 1265.

The barons are defeated at Northampton—The battle of Lewes—The king of Germany and prince Edward are given as hostages for peace—The battle of Evesham—A recapitulation of the events of the civil war.

About the taking of the barons at Northampton.

A.D. 1264. About the middle of Lent, a conference was held at Oxford, at which the king of England and the nobles of the kingdom were present, and also Richard, king of the Romans, his brother; and then the king marched with an admirable army, with colours flying, against Northampton, where there was no inconsiderable body of the barons all collected together. And the king vigorously assailing them, shut up in that town as they were, at last battered down the walls and his army entered, and all of a sudden, as it were, took them all prisoners;—barons with standards about fifteen in number, and sixty knights, and of men-at-arms a multitude too great to be counted. And the chiefs of them were Peter de Montfort the younger, who took refuge in the castle, but surrendered the next day. There was also among them Simon de Montfort the younger, the son of the earl, who fought with all his might, resisting the entrance of the king's party into the town, in consequence of which conduct he gained everlasting renown. This event took place on the first day of the week of the Passion of our Lord; and all the prisoners were led away to the army, and their lands were transferred to the possessions of others. But the king proceeded to Leicester, and was entertained in that town, which no other king before him had ever ventured to enter, on account of the warnings which some superstitious persons uttered on the subject. After that, he marched to Nottingham, and entered the castle without meeting with any resistance. For those who were in it of the

party of the barons came forth to meet him, and gave him up the keys. And while he was there, there came some nobles of the northern parts of the country, bringing him assistance; namely, John de Baliol, Robert de Bruce, and Peter de Bruce, and many other barons, with several thousand soldiers; and the lord the king celebrated the festival of Easter at that town.

Also, the king sent his eldest son, Edward, with a very gallant army, into Derbyshire and Staffordshire, and the prince laid waste with fire and sword the estates and manors of Robert de Ferrars, earl of Derby, and overthrew his castle of Tutbury, and inflicted miserable destruction in it. And in every direction, wherever the army of the king and prince Edward advanced, three companions, rapine, conflagration, and slaughter, attended on it. And owing to this, every province through which they marched was indignant, and was agitated like a bed of reeds which is shaken by the blowing of the zephyr. There was no peace in the kingdom, everything was destroyed by slaughter, conflagration, rapine, and depredation. Everywhere there were outcries, and mourning, and horror. At this time, John Giffard, a soldier of wonderful prowess and courage, with others, to whom was entrusted the guardianship of Kenilworth Castle, which the earl of Leicester had fortified and repaired with wonderful solidity, and had furnished in an admirable manner with all kinds of engines, which had never been seen or heard of among us before, took the castle of Warwick by treachery, and took prisoner the earl of that title, by name William Manduit, because he had lately become an object of suspicion to them by reason of his conversion to the king's party, with his wife and family, and put them all in prison at Kenilworth; and the castle of Warwick they destroyed, that the king's party might not have it as a place of refuge.

In the week of the Passion of our Lord, some Jews in London, having been detected in treasonable plots to be put in execution against the barons and citizens, were nearly all put to death, and a treasure of great amount was acquired from the whole body of Jews. After the festival of Easter, Simon de Montfort, and the other barons who still adhered to him, uniting themselves with a strong auxiliary body of Londoners, besieged the castle of Rochester, into which, John, earl of Warrenne, and the earl of Arundel, and Henry, son of the king of the Romans, and many other nobles, had been intro-

duced, who, after the conference at Oxford, which has been mentioned before, were commissioned by the king to see to the protection of those districts. And when the king, who was in the northern provinces of the kingdom, heard this, he in great haste directed his steps back again, and hastened thither with the object of compelling the raising of the siege, which he effected. For when they learnt that the king was coming up with his army, they at once abandoned the siege of the town, which was one of great strength, but which, as it had been almost subdued already, by frequent assaults, and blows of military engines, and subterranean mines, they would have taken the next day, and so they returned to London. Therefore, the king, now that his nobles were delivered from this hostile attack, went down to the sea coast, and ravaged in every direction, with plunder and conflagration, the manors and possessions of those who had conspired against him, both on the right and on the left. He also took the castle of Gilbert de Clare, which is called Tunbridge. And of the barons of the Cinque Ports, some submitted themselves to the king, and some did not, and these last withdrew themselves by sea, having loaded some vessels with their property. While these events were taking place on the coast, Simon de Montfort, the illustrious earl of Leicester, and the barons, having assembled their forces from all quarters, and collected troops, both of the Londoners, whose army had increased to fifteen thousand men, and of men from other parts in countless numbers, marched thither with great impetuosity and courage. Accordingly, they encamped at Flexinge, in Sussex, which is about six miles from Lewes, and three days before the battle, they addressed a message of the following tenor to their lord the king:—

"To the most excellent lord Henry, by the grace of God, king of England, &c. The barons and others, his faithful subjects, wishing to observe their oaths and the fidelity due to God and to him, wish health, and tender their lawful service with all respect and honour. As it is plain from much experience that those who are present with you have suggested to your highness many falsehoods respecting us, intending all the mischief that they can do, not only to you but also to us, and to your whole kingdom, we wish your excellency to know that we wish to preserve the safety and security of your person with all our might, as the fidelity which we owe to you demands,

proposing to overthrow, to the utmost of our power, all those who are not our enemies but yours too, and the foes of the whole of your kingdom; and if any other statement is made to you respecting these matters, do not believe it; for we shall always be found your faithful subjects. And we, Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, and Gilbert de Clare, at the request of the rest, have, for us and for them too who are here present, affixed our seals. Given at," &c.

But the king, despising this letter from his barons, was eager for war with all his heart, and sent them back the following letter of defiance:—

"Henry, by the grace of God, king of England, &c., to Simon de Montfort and Gilbert de Clare, and their partisans. Since, from the war and general confusion existing in our kingdom, which has all been caused by you, and by the conflagrations and other lawless mischiefs, it is distinctly visible that you do not preserve the fidelity which you owe to us, and that you have in no respect any regard for the safety of our person, since you have wickedly attacked our nobles and others our faithful subjects, who have constantly preserved their fidelity to us, and since you still design to injure them as far as in your power, as you have signified to us by your letters, we consider their grievances as our own, and look upon their enemies as ours; especially since those our faithful subjects before mentioned are manfully standing by us and maintaining their fidelity in opposition to your disloyal conduct, and we do not care for your safety or your affection, but defy you, as the enemies of us and them. Witness my hand, at Lewes, on the twelfth day of May, in the forty-eighth year of our reign."

"Richard, by the grace of God, king of the Romans, always Augustus, and Edward, the illustrious eldest son of the king of England, and all the other barons and nobles who constantly with the labours of sincere good faith and devotedness have adhered to the aforesaid king of England, to Simon de Montfort, Gilbert de Clare, and each and all the others who are accomplices in their treason. By your letters which you have sent to the illustrious king of England, our dearest lord, we understand that we are defied by you, although a verbal defiance of this kind was long ago sufficiently proved to us by actual reality, through your hostile pursuit of us, your burning of our properties, and general devastation of our possessions; we, therefore, wish you to know that you are all defied

by each and all of us, as public enemies, and that we are your enemies; and that we will labour with all our might to the damage of your persons and property, whenever any opportunity of injuring either is offered to us. But as to what you falsely charge us with, that we give neither faithful nor salutary counsel to the king your master, you do not at all say the truth; and if you, Simon de Montfort or Gilbert de Clare, choose to assert this same thing in the court of our lord the king, we are prepared to procure a safe conduct and to come to the said court, and to prove the truth of our innocence in this particular, and your falsehood as perfidious traitors, by another who is your equal in nobleness and blood. And we are all content with the seals of the lords above mentioned, namely, of the king of the Romans and the lord Edward. Given as above."

Concerning the miserable and horrible battle fought at Lewes.

As, therefore, God did by no means admit of their coming to agreement, a most terrible battle took place between them, at Lewes, on the fourteenth of May, such as had never been heard of in past ages. The barons (among whom there was in all things and in every danger but one faith and one will, since they were so unanimous in their fraternal affection that they feared not even to die for their cause,) came the first thing in the morning in front of Lewes, and placed their tents and baggage on a hill, the chariot of the earl of Leicester, with his standard, being carefully placed below under the brow. And so the army and line of battle were arranged, and a speech of great persuasiveness was made to the soldiers by their general, Simon de Montfort, by which all were encouraged, and prepared to fight for their country with every feeling of security. Moreover, all of them having made a confession beforehand, crossed themselves on their shoulders and breasts. Therefore, the king and the other nobles, being informed of their sudden advance, wakened up all through the camp, and speedily assembled in arms, and marshalled their army for battle, arraying a vast multitude of men armed with breastplates; but the greater number of them being false and factious, and destitute of all proper principle, marched forward on that day without any order, and with precipitation, and fought unskilfully, and showed no steady perseverance. And in the actual battle the noblest of the knights and esquires, to

the number of about three hundred, lost all courage, and turning their backs, fled to the castle of Peneneselli. Among them, were John, earl of Warrenne, William de Valence, Guy de Lizunac, both the two last being brothers of the king, Hugh Bigod, and many others. But the king's army, which was adorned with the royal standard, which they call the dragon, and which marshalled the way to a fierce contest to the death, advanced forward, and the battle began. For the royal troops rapidly opened their close battalions, and boldly urged their horses against the enemy, and attacked them on the flank. And thus the two armies encountered one another, with fierce blows and horrid noises. Therefore, in this way, the line of battle of the barons was pierced and broken; and John de Giffard, a gallant knight, who had been ambitious to gain the honour of striking the first blow, was taken prisoner, and led away to the castle. But Edward got among the forces of the Londoners, and pursued them when flying, and letting the nobles escape, he followed them, as it is said, for a distance of about four miles, inflicting on them a most lamentable slaughter. For he thirsted for their blood as a punishment for the insult they had offered to his mother, for, as has been already recorded, they had heaped a great deal of abuse on his mother. But a part of the king's army, in the meantime, thirsting for the spoils, and booty, and plunder of the baggage which was on the hills, slew some of the citizens of London, who, for security's sake, had been introduced into the earl's chariot, hoping that they had found the earl himself there. But that earl, and Gilbert de Clare, and the other barons, acting with more sagacity, put forth all their strength to effect the capture of the king of England, and the king of Germany, and the rest of the chiefs. And there the fiery valour of the barons was visibly displayed, who fought eagerly for their country, and at last gained the victory. For the king of England was taken prisoner, after a very fine horse had been killed under him; and Richard, king of the Romans, was taken prisoner, and many others were taken also, namely, John de Balliol, Robert de Bruce, John Comyn, and other barons of Scotland, and nearly all the men-at-arms whom they had brought with them from Scotland were slain, to a very great number. There were also taken, Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, William Bardolph, Robert de Tatteshale, Roger de Somers, Henry de Perci, and Philip Basset,

who ought of right to be named the first, inasmuch as, above all men who fought that day on the king's side, he deserved glory for the blows which he gave and inflicted. There were also many others, all the most powerful persons, as we may say, of the whole kingdom, and of the greatest renown for military exploits, some of whom were taken prisoners, and others sought safety in flight, so that two did chase ten thousand, the rest who remained being slain (alas the day!) to a man.

Alas, for the miserable sight of the dying! Alas, for the marvellous change of the fortunes of noble man! Now, then, let human presumption learn what is man, and what is the strength of man. This caused a great loss of the strength and power of both parties, because they were men of more mature age and of greater renown for war in the kingdom before mentioned, so that they did not believe that the enemy would dare to assail them; but that day they found him too near, and so lost a great many of their men, not without great danger to the rest also, who did not escape so completely but that a great slaughter was made of them, especially through the charge which Edward made upon the Londoners. And it is said, that in this lamentable and miserable conflict five thousand men fell on each side.

Among the rest there was a certain knight, the justiciary of the king, by name William de Wilton, and also Fulk Fitzwarren, one of the king's barons, who were both among the most eminent of those who were slain, one being killed by the sword, and the other drowned in the neighbouring river. And on the side of the barons there was the baron Radulph, Heringunder, and William Blund, the standard bearer of the earl of Leicester. Let a poet enumerate all the various occurrences of the day with more licence or at greater length, and dwell upon the different kinds of death by which men fell, but brevity keeps us in by a stricter law, and does not allow us to say how each thing happened, but only what took place. Edward returning from the slaughter of the Londoners, although the opposite party had gained a triumph over his father and his uncle, the king of the Romans, rallied his forces, and prepared to renew the battle and attack the enemy. When, therefore, the two armies had again drawn near one another, behold nearly all those who had been fighting on his side took to flight! Some of them, as it was said, were

neither able to strike a blow with the sword nor to recognize their usual strength in their blows. What was Edward to do, who, when all his soldiers were dispersed in this manner, remained alone, as it were, on the field of battle? Therefore he returned to the priory of Lewes, and put off his revenge to a more favourable time. But the following night a peace of some sort was re-established between the king and the barons, and Edward, with the consent of his father, and Henry, son of the king of Germany, were given as hostages for peace, and committed for a time to safe keeping in Dover Castle. But the king of Germany himself was placed as a prisoner in the Tower of London, and the rest of the captives were shut up in castles in different places. And perhaps the evils of this war, and the calamities and miseries of this day so terrible and so very bitter, and of this sedition thus excited, and of this war between fellow-countrymen of the same land, may have been portended by the signs which in the preceding year were seen in the firmament on the fifth of August; also, on the thirtieth of July, as has been related in a previous chapter.

Three days before the battle, the greater part of the city of London was treacherously burnt by a fire which broke out at Westcheap. The lords Marchers of Wales, by name Roger de Mortimer, James de Andeleg, Roger de Clifford, and Roger Leyburn, Hamond Strange, and the knights of Turbeville, with many others, who had lately escaped from the battle of Lewes before mentioned, having assembled their forces, stirred up war in the Marches, and endeavoured to resist the barons. Therefore, Simon de Montfort, having united himself in friendship with Llewellyn, prince of Wales, went into those countries with a large army, and entered the castles of Hereford and of the Hay; giving up all the territories, estates, and domains of Roger de Mortimer to fire and devastation in every direction.

But Hugh de Mortimer was compelled to surrender himself to the barons, giving up his castle, which is called Richat, and his other estates to guardianship, and entrusting them to John Fitz John; and the castle of Lodelawe was also surrendered. From thence the united army of English and Welch advanced to Montgomery, where the aforesaid Roger and James made a deceitful peace (as it turned out afterwards) with the barons, giving and receiving hostages on both sides. But the earl of

Leicester hastened to the sea-coast to encounter the foreigners, the arrival of whom, with a great multitude and exceeding valour, under the guidance of the queen and of Peter, count of Savoy, and of many others, was greatly feared in England, as if they were the evils which afflicted the whole of Europe. And to resist them all the strength of the kingdom was collected from all quarters, at Canterbury, and around the counties on the sea-coast, and was summoned by the royal edict from every city, and town, and village. The bishops, too, received from all the religious houses, and from all the rectors of churches, a tenth part of their spiritual revenues, as a subsidy for this purpose. And at this time, you might have seen on Berhandown, such a multitude of both cavalry and infantry collected into one multitude to oppose the foreigners, as you would not have believed existed able to bear arms in all England.

But the queen of England, with the army which she had collected from many nations, and with such a number of dukes and earls, and such a fleet as would scarcely appear credible to any one, remained for some time at Bruges, in Flanders, having stationed that vast fleet in the harbour of Dam, which was every day threatening to invade England, the leaders showing themselves panting and eager for the heat of battle, boasting with swelling language. And our men, and especially the Cinque Ports and the pirates, fearlessly desired their arrival, and had not, as it seemed, the least fear of their power in any respect. But at length, all that countless host of noble men, both knights who received pay, and others who went to the war at their own expense, and the kinsmen and friends of the queen, returned to their own country, being by the mercy of God utterly disappointed of their wishes. There were some who said, knowing their strength and the number of their army, that if they had landed in freedom, they would, beyond a doubt, from their enormous multitude and their valour, have reduced this land under their power. But the Father of mercies and God of all consolation, knowing the secrets of all men, is aware of everything and searches the hearts of every one, and condescended to look down from on high on his people of England, and so caused the magnanimous hearts of those mighty men to waste away, and ordered all those enemies who were approaching to return to their own country, without having succeeded in their objects, after having

vainly exhausted and wasted an incalculable treasure. But this I may weave into my story to the praise and great glory of the noble Eleanor, queen of England, that like a most gallant woman she bravely laboured to succour her lord and Edward, his son, with all possible energy and manly courage. Therefore, Urban, the supreme pontiff, being stimulated with an adverse desire, inclined his favour to the other side, and turned his mind against the barons, desiring a stimulus to anger and vehement indignation from the occasion of the spoliation to which they had subjected ecclesiastical persons; and he is reported to have said, that he did not desire to live longer than was necessary to subdue the English, on which account he sent as legate into England, an excellent man, the lord Sabinus, a cardinal bishop, to lay an interdict on the land, and to excommunicate the barons who were confederated in support of the provisions. But as he found that he could not enter the country as he wished, owing to their resistance, he summoned first of all to Amiens, and afterwards to Boulogne, some of the bishops of the kingdom, and some other persons, and committed to them the execution of the sentence of interdict and excommunication which had been fulminated against the city of London, and the Cinque Ports, and some illustrious and noble individuals of the kingdom. But they, considering that that sentence had been pronounced contrary to justice, appealed to the pope, or to better times, or to a general council, and to the supreme judge of all certain causes and laudable reasons. Which appeal was afterwards recited in England, at a council assembled at Reading, and approved and ratified by the bishops and clergy. But the bishops above mentioned having, though against their will, received the interdict from the legate, brought it with them. But when they had landed at Dover, a search of their baggage being made at that port according to custom, the interdict was discovered and taken possession of by the citizens, and torn to pieces, and thrown into the sea. And some ambassadors of high reputation, both from the king of France and the king of England, namely, Philip Chamberlaine, a man of noble birth in France, and Henry de Allmaine, and others, landing at Boulogne, while the before-mentioned pontiffs were there, were very severely handled by the townsmen, and many of their retinue wounded, and nine of the English cruelly slain; nor was any deference shewn to the French either, because

they had come thither under the guidance and conduct of others.

For at this time all that maritime district, or indeed one may say all France, as far as the Alps, being stirred by the king of France, Peter, earl of Savoy, Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop elect of Lyons, and the other noble relations of the queen, conspired against the English, who were standing in arms against king Henry; and even the other parts of Europe, such as Brittany, Guienne, and Spain, the sister of the king of which country was married to prince Edward, were also excited with similar hostile feelings, and were full of hatred and vehement indignation against them. But the illustrious earl of Anjou favoured the party of the earl of Leicester, being his brother, and, as it was said, bound to him by an oath of fidelity; but the apostolic man before mentioned, Urban, before he had fulfilled his promised vow, which he had some time before solemnly made to the English, ended his days at a very fortunate time for them. And about this time, Elerius, abbot of Pershore, on account of his ill health, resigned his office, and Henry was canonically elected as his successor.

Now the lords Marchers, who have been mentioned above, rising in rebellion, according to their usual practice, broke the treaty of peace which they had made, and came to an agreement among themselves; and while the aforesaid earl of Leicester, having collected an armed force, was advancing towards the Marches, as has been mentioned before, they traversed the provinces on both sides of the Severn with their army, which was always accustomed to plunder and rapine, agitating the natives all around with fear and excessive trembling, to such a degree, that wherever they appeared the men of the province fled to the churches, and made themselves abodes in the cemeteries, for the sake of saving their lives and properties. The chief author of this evil was Hamond Strange, a man of the greatest notoriety as a plunderer, who, although he had often borne himself gallantly in the shock of battle, nevertheless, in consequence of his tyrannical cruelty, deservedly received the brand of Traso, instead of his name of Tyro.[1] And they strengthened themselves by the castles which they took

[1] Tyro means a recruit or novice. I suppose Traso must be derived from the Greek, θρασὺς, bold, meaning here pitiless, or shameless. If so, it should be Thraso, as it is in Terence.

from the lords Marchers themselves from Bristol as far as Chester, and in other parts, and having mastered them, they detained them in the name of the king and prince Edward. Besides this, they each in their several districts plundered the living, and letting loose the reins of cruelty, raged about in a pitiable manner; and Robert Walerand and Warin de Bassingbourne, the guardians of Bristol, coming before day-light with an armed force to the castle of Wallingford, in which Richard, the captive king of Germany, and Edward, the son of king Henry, were detained as hostages, they made a vigorous assault on the castle, in order to deliver them from confinement; but they could not succeed, for the garrison of the castle speedily woke up and expelled them. For they had hoped to receive succour and aids from the lords Marchers before mentioned, as had been agreed upon between them; but they, when they were already making towards them, with their army, were met at Pershore with evil news arising from this event, and being greatly afflicted, returned back with all speed. But the earl of Leicester, who has often been mentioned, being wrought to indignation by their rebellion and violation of good faith, summoned a conference of the nobles of the kingdom at Oxford on this subject, and took with him king Henry, who at this time was so well inclined to him, that he could do nothing of importance without him.

They came to Worcester accompanied by a countless multitude of knights and other warriors, intending to fight against the lords Marchers as against the public enemies of the kingdom. It appeared, however, that the king's heart and that of his friends was inclined to them, because they had stirred up war and sedition among the people on behalf of the king, who was, as it were, in confinement, and also for the sake of prince Edward, his son, whom he greatly loved, and who was still detained as a hostage. For after the battle of Lewes, which has been mentioned above, great divisions and internal hatred prevailed among that party. Therefore the aforesaid lords Marchers, although they were few in number, nevertheless presuming on their courage, contracted their forces, and resolved to oppose them on the other side of the river Severn. For they had broken down the strong bridge of Worcester, and all the other bridges along the bank of the river, and had sunk all the small vessels and ferry boats; but they laboured in vain when they endeavoured to oppose or to

contend against so many nobles, and especially against that most sagacious warrior Simon de Montfort. Moreover, Llewellyn, who had by this time advanced beyond the borders of Wales, was now above them, preparing to attack them in the rear, and so they were compelled to come to terms of peace. Therefore, that Edward, that illustrious youth, the son of the king, might be released from confinement, he was compelled to agree to peace on the other side, though on hard and oppressive terms. For he was forced to agree that he would not leave the island of Britain for three years, and in the mean time would plot no evil against either the kingdom or the nobles, on pain of losing his inheritance. And for the confirmation and security of this agreement, nearly all the castles which his partisans had in their keeping, and which were dotted about the Marches, all the way from Bristol to Chester, were given up to the earl of Leicester; and likewise Chester itself, which had been the county palatine of prince Edward, in consequence of an exchange made with the aforesaid earl, was transferred to another master. Hereford too,[1] and other castles, situated towards the southern district of Wales, had been some time before surrendered, and entrusted to the keeping of Peter de Montfort and others of the barons.

After these events, the king returned to his splendid palace, which is called Woodstock, where he celebrated the feast of the Nativity of the Lord with all due solemnity. But the earl, as fortune smiled on him in every design which he conceived in his mind, celebrated the same festival in his castle of Kenilworth, attended by a large company of knights. And he is reported to have had in his own household at least a hundred and forty knights receiving pay, besides a great number of others devoted to his service, when he went on any expedition. By this time, therefore, all England, except the most remote districts of the north (which still, under the influence of the king of Scotland and John de Balliol, conspiring against him), was favourable, and indeed subject to him; so that nothing of any importance was done in the whole kingdom without him. Every thing was ordered by him, all the king's castles were entrusted to his government. Nor indeed was the king himself, who was now in the fifteenth year of his reign, considered anything more than a shadow of a name,

[1] The text here is quite unintelligible, and probably corrupt. I have therefore borrowed the real terms of the treaty from Hume.

so that he was unable to travel or move through his own territories, without being utterly under the guidance and in the power of his rival.

After pope Urban was dead (as has been mentioned above), he was succeeded by Guy of Sabionetta, who had been lately sent into England as legate, and who was called Clement the Fourth. About this time, John Mansel, that over-powerful occupier of ecclesiastical benefices, reached the end of this life, in the countries beyond the sea. Also Godfrey, archbishop of York, departed from this world, and was succeeded by Walter Giffard. After a great conference on the subject of securing the peace of the kingdom had been held in London during Lent, Edward, the son of the king, who had been detained as a hostage ever since the battle of Lewes described above, was released from the custody of the earl before mentioned; but he was not yet left entirely his own master, but was still in some degree under the power of the earl and his sons. Which, however, Edward concealed, waiting for such a time and place as might give him the opportunity of escaping.

Of the battle of Evesham.

A.D. 1265, which is the fiftieth of the reign of king Henry, Gilbert, earl of Gloucester, being excited in indignation against the earl of Leicester, who had usurped for himself and his sons the dominion over the whole of England, made a treaty with the lords marchers, and united his army with theirs. Therefore, Edward, the eldest son of the king of England, went with his guards outside the city of Hereford for the purpose of taking the air, and mounting a destrier, passed on beyond his appointed ground, and fled away, and was joyfully received by the army of the lords marchers. And then the earl of Leicester being full of fury, leading about the king of England, supported by the assistance of the prince of Wales, destroyed the castles and towns of the lords marchers with fire. Therefore, the king of England and the earl of Leicester came in the silence of the night, with a numerous army, to Evesham, and were pursued by Edward, the king's eldest son, and by Gilbert, earl of Gloucester, with an army eager for battle. Therefore, on the fourth of August, the earl of Leicester and his partisans were slain in the plain in front of

Evesham, and the king of England, having received a slight wound, was withdrawn from the battle by his son, and cured.

'While that most illustrious and glorious prince Henry the Third, by the grace of God, king of England, reigned, his kingdom was for a long time silent and tranquil, and the Lord the Prince of Peace gave peace to his territories, and filled them with the fat of corn. But after the French, and Poitevins, and Savoyards were introduced into the kingdom, whom their relationship and affinity to the aforesaid monarch, and his own liberality, raised up to dignities, and after they, as became the royal magnificence, were promoted without prejudice to the rights of others, because all power is naturally impatient of a partner, a cause of quarrel arose among those very relations and connections of the king and his native subjects, to see which of their bodies was more powerful and greater than the other. Among them were Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, formerly seneschal of Guienne, and John the son of Geoffrey, formerly justiciary of Ireland, both of whom were recalled from those offices; and being stimulated by an ambition of greater power, and by a common dislike to the bishop elect of Winchester and to William de Valence, the king's own brothers, they became accomplices, and indeed leaders in faction.

In those days, the number of the pretexts for interference on the part of the Apostolic See in the ecclesiastical benefices of England increased greatly, and the yoke of the Roman church pressed heavily, demanding money of the merchants for the service of the kingdom of Apulia, and also imposing severe exactions on general grounds. These were the causes of discord between the foreigners and the native English, both nobles and prelates, few of whom were influenced by any regard for the commonwealth, but many by envy, and many by considerations of private ambition. The bishops too (not to say the Pharisees), convened a council against the anointed of their lord the king, saying, "You see that we profit nothing if we let the king go thus. For the Romans will come and take away our coffers, money, and all; let us, therefore, appoint twenty-four elders around his throne, who, excluding the Parthians, Medes, Elamites, and Roman strangers, and delivering our Jerusalem from Egyptian slavery, may arrange all and each of the affairs of the kingdom; reserving the highest seats at banquets, and the salutations in the market-place, for

the king's magnificence. Accordingly, in the forty-second year of this reign, the knights, and barons, and prelates assembled at Oxford, and issued public edicts, being attended by a powerful and very numerous company of armed men; and by their joint deliberations, or, I might say, delirious ravings, published these orders:—

That, "because the said kingdom of England required a very general reform of its constitution, the said king should appoint twelve persons out of the kingdom on his part, and the whole community of his subjects should appoint an equal number on theirs, who, being supported by the royal power, should undertake the care of the whole kingdom, and should provide for the perpetual annual election of the justiciaries, chancellors, treasurers, and other officers and ministers of the kingdom, and should cause the castles to be kept by them and their troops."

And the fear of perpetual imprisonment compelled the aforesaid king and his eldest son to consent to this ordinance, threatening all rebels with capital punishment, without any respect to condition or rank, by a formal edict. And the aforesaid Æthelmar, bishop elect of Winchester, and William de Valence, the uterine brothers of the aforesaid king, and many others who resisted the first steps of the beginning of this faction, were all expelled from the kingdom and banished; and each and all of the rest of the prelates, earls, and barons, took their corporal oath to the faithful observance of this disloyal ordinance, and a sentence of excommunication was passed against all rebels by all the archbishops and bishops of the kingdom. Moreover, it is a fit subject for wonder, with what a face the conscript fathers, and the aged bishop of Worcester, and some other prelates, fathers, and judges of men's consciences, gave their voluntary consent to the subversion of the king's power, after they had taken their corporal oath to preserve his earthly honours to the aforesaid king and his heirs; an oath which they kept very ill, by ordaining that neither he nor they should ever govern, but that they should be governed by others. For if the intolerable prodigality, or the deficiencies of the king himself, evidently required the attention of a guardian, still it is nowhere provided, by either divine or human laws, that where there is no actual vice or crime, the punishment shall pass on to his heirs. Let not the iniquity of the father attend the son. Let not punishment advance too far, so as to be a crime. And that we may return

to the regular order of events, the twenty-four captains before mentioned, being then promoted in England, and all the officers and ministers of the kingdom and the king's court being ordained under them, they had a sort of continual parliament, and provided themselves with escheats and wardships, and their sons and nephews with churches which belonged to the patronage of the king. The treasury got nothing; God's anointed king got nothing; nothing went to Cæsar, nothing to the palace; everything went to the Cæsarians and people about the palace, not to pay the ancient debts of the king, but to defray the expenses of the upholders of the provisions, and the whole treasury was destitute of freedom. And because England, as had also been the case with Rome, was unable to support several kings, soon a deadly quarrel arose between the earls of Leicester and Gloucester, the two principal captains of their party, to such a degree, that the aforesaid king, at the suggestion of the earl of Gloucester before mentioned, led a numerous army, driven from the French territories, against Edward, his own first-born son, of whom the aforesaid earl of Leicester was at that time an adherent. But, through the mediation of those mighty lords, the king of Germany, and Peter of Savoy, and some formal ambassadors of the illustrious king of France, his son before mentioned was re-admitted to the favour of the king his father, and the earl of Gloucester's name was erased from the number of the captains aforesaid, and peace was made between him and the earl of Leicester, out of hatred for the rest. And so, through the power and energy of those earls, a new disturbance arose in England, worse than the first.

Therefore, the twenty-four chiefs who have been already mentioned, as having been elected in this way, for the government of the king and kingdom, seeing, since there were now so many heads, and since the monarchy was thus put out of sight, that the general discord was rapidly gaining strength, and that a danger of that confusion, which eventually did take place at that time, was impending all, with the exception of the five whose names I will here set down, namely, the bishop of Worcester, and the two earls who have been already mentioned, and Hugh le Despenser, and Peter de Montfort, agreed to annul the provisions and ordinances of this kind that had been enacted, and to restore the kingdom to its proper state. And although nothing is so natural, as that any

law of any kind, being enacted by common consent, and as such being lawful and indissoluble, and binding men while it is in force, may, if the wickedness of men increases, and if, therefore, it has a tendency to produce injurious effects, to attend, if the inclination of those who originally enacted it, or if the greater part of them be changed, or may even be entirely abolished, just as it is recorded, that Hezekiah very properly destroyed (when the people were led into error by it) that brazen serpent, which had formerly been lifted up in the desert to the salvation of the people, at the command of the Lord; nevertheless, it seemed good to the king and nobles before mentioned, who were afraid of blame where no blame was, to procure absolution from the oath which they had taken from the unerring wisdom of the supreme pontiff. But the aforesaid five, obstinately persisting in the wantonness which they had conceived, (crying out, "What we have written, we have written,") endeavoured to establish pragmatic sanctions of this kind, confirmed by their common consent and common oath, thinking that the force of an oath so taken, could not be dissolved by any consent to a contrary effect, and that the apostolic absolution was null and void, and making of their own deliberate purpose, like Herod, the oath to stand as a bond of iniquity to bind them to resist laws and canons, and to involve their consciences in schism and error, drawing with them, as a strengthener of their error, many false prophets, rapacious wolves in sheep's clothing, murmuring against the vicars of Christ, and against the anointed of the Lord, their own king, not as the Holy Spirit gave them utterance, but as their disdain of a superior power taught them abuse. But when, in process of time, they advanced to an enumeration of the provisions, and when, in consequence of the death of the earl of Gloucester, and of John, the son of Geoffrey, and of the arrival of the king of Germany, and of Peter of Savoy, the aforesaid king of England began to prevail over those who were rebelling against him, the aforesaid earl of Leicester, despairing of succeeding in his audacity, departed into the territories of France, and, in the meantime, the Burgundians, and French, and the inhabitants of Champagne, who had been banished by the provisions of Oxford, having been recalled into England, the king's eldest son honoured them above all his friends in England, and entrusted them with the safe keeping of his castles, and committed to him the

office of mayor of his household. On which account, some gallant knights, formerly his friends, being vehemently indignant, having made a confederacy with all those who had at any time been offended by any exercise of the royal power, endeavoured to re-kindle the old coals, and recalled the earl of Leicester back into England; who immediately after his entrance into the kingdom, having united himself with the Welch, the deadly enemies of the aforesaid king and kingdom, and with many of the nobles of England, all of whom he caused to shave their heads in token of the folly which was thus begun by them, he caused the lord bishop of Hereford, whom his conduct in laying the churches and monasteries of England under obligation for the sake of the kingdom of Apulia, and the oppression of his subjects, had made odious to all Englishmen, to be dragged from his church by some nobles of the marches who were at that time his adherents, and to be committed to confinement in prison; and the bishop and all the rest, both native English and foreigners, who were the familiar friends of the aforesaid king, were plundered of all their property by his different armies. In all these preliminary deeds of great presumption, he was consulting his own interest by subtle cunning, so that the people adhered to him out of hatred to the aforesaid bishop, and all his adherents he maintained in pay derived from the property of which he had despoiled him; so that necessity infallibly compelled all transgressors of this sort to become his adherents, as they despaired of grace either from the pope or the king.

Afterwards, having collected a numerous army, he entered the city of London, and compelled the king of England, by his oppression, to surrender to him the castle of Dover, the Tower of London, and all his other strong castles, and in all things to submit to his will; the aforesaid eldest son of the king being compelled to deliver up to this earl the castle of Windsor, from which all his friends who came from foreign countries had been expelled, and they were afterwards banished from the kingdom. And John Mansel, provost of Beverlac, the principal counsellor of the aforesaid king, was compelled, on account of the violence of the persecution, to return into the country of France. But the lord the king of Germany, and the eldest son of the king of England, and the other counsellors and friends of the king of England, seeing the rapine and depredations of this kind which were committed on the prelates

and subjects of the kingdom, both clergy and laity, and that the overthrow of the king and kingdom seemed equally near at hand, procured the aforesaid king of England privily to transfer himself from his parliament at Westminster to Windsor, receiving into his favour the lord Henry, son of the king of Germany, John, earl of Warrenne, Roger de Clifford, Roger de Leybourne, Hamond, called Strange, and John de Valois, who had formerly all been adherents of the aforesaid earl of Leicester, with united forces; and when a long conference on the subject of peace took place through the intervention of some formally appointed mediators between the king of England and his adherents on the one side, and the earl of Leicester and his partisans on the other, at last, in respect of all the disputes that had arisen concerning the provisions of Oxford, a compromise was made, and the matter was referred by both sides to the illustrious king of France, that he should settle it, both in its height and depth, administering a corporal oath to both parties, as is fully set forth in the instrument drawn up on this subject, signed with the seals of all the potentates above mentioned. And when the lord the king of the French, treading in the footsteps of the supreme pontiff, had by his own arbitrary power annulled all the provisions and ordinances of that sort, and whatever statutes had grown out of them, the earl of Leicester and his companions and partisans nevertheless presumed to support them as before, resisting the aforesaid king of France and his injunctions in all particulars, and by every possible means, and uniting with the Welch to demolish the castles of the faithful subjects of the king; and, on the other hand, aiding in the incursions of the Welch, those enemies of the king and kingdom, with which they ravaged the borders of England and Wales, and also uniting with the Londoners to perpetrate violations of churches, and depredations, and to impoverish ecclesiastical persons, and to harass both Jews and Christians with fire and bloodshed, without respect to condition or sex, age or rank. And when the cry of these abominations, through the daily groans and complaints of the afflicted people, ascended to the chiefs of the priesthood before mentioned, all seeking that which was their own, and not those things which were Christ's, they were found beyond all question to be dumb dogs, able but unwilling to bark.

After all these detestable events, it happened that Simon,

son of the aforesaid earl of Leicester, had occupied Northampton, with a numerous army, which town the aforesaid king of England with his powerful army gallantly and manfully took by assault; taking eighty gallant knights prisoners in it, and a great multitude of squires and burgesses. And when this had come to the knowledge of the earl of Leicester, he, like a lion in a wood, raging at the capture of his cubs, and aspiring with all his might to take the count de Warrenne prisoner, united with the earl of Gloucester, who, not being yet twenty years of age, had been beguiled and had become his adherent, and laid siege to the city of Rochester, and having set fire to a ship, burnt down the bridge of that city, and a wooden tower which was erected on it, and at last he took the city itself, with the outer bailiwick of the castle, by frequent assaults of the soldiers, and occupied it. And when this was heard, the lord the king of England, with a gallant body of troops from the marchers and the northern countries, proceeded rapidly towards the neighbourhood of Rochester, to compel the raising of that siege; and the aforesaid earls and barons, who were in rebellion against the lord the king, having been informed of this, ceased to attack the castle of Rochester, and set out on their march towards London. And the king directing his march towards the coast, by his clemency and mercy recalled the Cinque Ports to their duty, which were previously in open rebellion, and granted them peace, which they did not at all deserve.

In the mean time, the earl of Leicester, together with the earl of Gloucester, and the barons of his party, and with the greater part of the citizens of London, departing from London, directed his march to meet the king of England his lord with flying standards; and on the day after the feast of Saint Pancras, in the month of May, he arrayed the lines of his troops in order of battle on the top of a hill near Lewes, placing in his chariot four of the citizens of London, who were faithful to the king of England, and who would not bear arms against him, the standard of the said earl being elevated on high, in order that, in their turn, they might be the more easily transfixed by the spears of the vanguard. And behold! the royal army, finding itself so unexpectedly anticipated, proceeded without much regularity, and in its zeal to encounter them, ascended the acclivity of the hill; and the eldest son of the king of England, being the captain of the first line, di-

rected his attack against the first cohort of the enemy's army, and having slain or taken prisoners many of the nobles of that cohort, he entirely routed it; and then proceeding straight onwards to the line behind, in which there was a great multitude of Londoners, barons, and knights, he struck such terror into them all, that the bloody and beaming sword slew all those whom flight did not save. But as the two kings before mentioned were stationed in their second line, attended by only their ordinary domestic train, the earls of Leicester and Gloucester, and the barons who were stationed in the centre of their army, folding up and lowering their standards, came down the steep side of the hill, and bravely attacked them. And the battle having been fought, and the aforesaid king of Germany being taken prisoner, with John Comyn, Philip Basset, who fought with gallantry beyond all his comrades, and beyond all the other mayors on the side of the aforesaid king of England, and a great slaughter having taken place of many persons whom the two parties had led to the battle, the king of England returned to the priory of Lewes, attended by only a few guards, many noble men, such as the earl of Warrenne, William de Valence, Hugh Bigod, and several more fleeing to Pevensey Castle, and from thence crossing the sea to procure aid. But the third and last cohort, consisting of four hundred guards armed with breastplates, deserting their lord the king on the field of battle, whether it was done guiltily or innocently, fled away in a shameful manner, seeking the hiding-places and sanctuaries of the church.

And the aforesaid earls and barons entering the town of Lewes, took all the property and all the persons whom they could find between the castle and the priory. At last, when the son of the king before mentioned had returned from the slaughter of the Londoners and the rest of the fugitives with his men from the Marches, and the rest of his warlike friends, whose number was twice as great as the number of the enemy; and when he and his men were preparing themselves manfully for the encounter, the cunning of the earl of Leicester circumvented them each and all. For, by means of some of the Minor Brothers, he announced to the king of England and his son, that, imitating the peaceful and benevolent disposition of the said king and his friends, to prevent the effusion of human blood, he and his friends would willingly submit their cause to the decision of any one whom the king thought

proper to select as arbitrator. And if the king and his son, not being content with this moderation and amnesty, still determined to fight with them, in that case they would put to death the king of Germany, John Comyn, Philip Basset, and the other prisoners whom they had taken in the battle, and stick their heads on their lances to serve as standards. Wherefore, the king and his army, being moved by feelings of pity, abandoned their design, and having had a discussion which lasted the whole of the following night long, on the subject of peace, at length an agreement was made by both parties on the conditions given beneath, namely, that the king and his adherents on the one side, and the aforesaid earls and their partisans on the other, should commit the matter to the king of France, so that, by three prelates and three nobles of France, to be named and appointed by the king of France himself, two men of France should be elected, who should come into England, and there associate with themselves a third person from among the English, whom they themselves should choose, and then, whatever these three men should ordain, either in respect of confirming or overturning the king's power, and also concerning all the subjects of dispute which had taken place between the parties, and concerning the general state of England, should be ratified and settled, both parties taking their corporal oath to this effect, and drawing up an instrument besides, sealed with the seal of the king and of all the aforesaid persons, hostages, moreover, being given on the part of the said king, who should be the eldest sons of both the kings above mentioned; and so the king committing himself to his enemies, and his enemies to him, first of all they came to Canterbury, and the aforesaid hostages having been sent to Dover Castle, at last they came to London; the king of Germany and the other prisoners who were taken in the battle being committed to prison in different castles; but the barons of the northern counties, and of the Marches, fearing the cunning of the aforesaid earl, returned to their own homes without delay, and all those who faithfully adhered to the king of England, and who at any time served him, whether clergy or laity, were deprived of all their moveable property. After this, the prelates, and earls, and barons of that district which detained its king prisoner in so seditious a manner, assembled in London, forgetful of the compromise of Lewes, and of the oath which they had taken, and, indeed, of their

own salvation, and set to work to busy themselves about new ordinances for the kingdom, among other things enacting that two earls and one bishop, elected on the part of the community, should elect nine persons, three of whom should assist the king, and from that council of three and nine every measure, either in the kingdom or in the king's palace, should proceed, and that nothing should be done by the king without their advice, or at least without that of three of them. And after these ordinances had been made by the earls of Leicester and Gloucester, and by the bishop of Chichester, who was said, on the day preceding the battle above mentioned, to have absolved from all their sins all those who were going to fight against their lord the king, being the principal counsellors and captains of the kingdom, the king, having been threatened with the election of another king, and the eldest son of the king having been threatened with perpetual imprisonment, if they did not consent, were compelled to give assent to this dishonest proposition; all the bishops, and earls, and barons likewise consenting, and affixing their seals to an instrument drawn up to that effect. And letters were sent to the lord the cardinal bishop of Sabionetta, at that time legate of the Apostolic See, and the illustrious king of France, concerning the complete recall of the compromise at Lewes, and the settlement of a new peace, by the amicable agreement of both parties. And after an earnest supplication had been addressed by the bishops of London, Winchester, Worcester, and some other dioceses of the province of Canterbury, to the aforesaid lord legate, that he would endeavour to promote that peace, he severely reproved the aforesaid bishops for having presumed to consent to such a depression of the king's power, and because he had no entrance into the kingdom, he, by public edicts published at Boulogne, formally cited them to appear on the third day at Boulogne, to discuss with him the affairs of the kingdom. And when they had been for some time expected at the appointed time and place, being waited for even beyond the proper day, and as they did not choose to appear either by themselves or by their proctors, the legate suspended them from the celebration of divine service; and he pronounced sentences of excommunication and interdict against the aforesaid earls of Leicester and Gloucester, and their partisans, and against the citizens of London, and of the Cinque Ports, who had presumed to hinder his entrance into England. But the aforesaid bishops, earls, and

barons, and the rest, having made up a list of some grievances, and appealing with all canonical observance to the Apostolic See, and, if need should be, to the general council, and to the church triumphant as well as militant, by means of the officers of the dioceses of Worcester, Chichester, and Ely, men well skilled in the law, and lawfully appointed notaries, did not wait for the result of this appeal, but trusting to the protection of the sword of Mars, and disregarding the spiritual sword, ventured to perform divine service till the arrival in England of the lord Otho, the cardinal, and leading the aforesaid king like a prisoner, they divided all the castles and strong fortresses belonging to the king between the sons of the earl of Leicester, so often mentioned, and Hugh Despenser, and John Fitz-John, to the exclusion of the earl of Gloucester, who was the only man in the kingdom who they were afraid could weaken the toils in which they had bound their prisoners so fast; and they assigned all the offices of the royal palace to the king's principal enemies, men who had dared to fight against him in a pitched battle.

There was but little mention made for a year of the deliverance of Edward, the king's eldest son, until he himself, as the price of his release, gave his palatine county of Chester to the aforesaid earl of Leicester, and thus he purchased his liberation from the imprisonment and custody of the knights, his enemies. No one can adequately relate the condition of the nobles of the Marches, and the persecutions which they endured for a year and more. But when the earl of Leicester endeavoured to banish these lords marchers into Ireland, they, entering the camp of the king's eldest son, on the extreme borders of Wales, plundered the Welch castles of their enemies before mentioned, and thus furnished themselves with the necessary supplies, until the aforesaid earl of Leicester, having taken prisoner earl Ferrars, who secretly inclined to the party adverse to the capture of the earl of Gloucester, who has been often mentioned, and whom they suspected of similar sentiments, came to Gloucester. For then the lords marchers having united with the earl of Gloucester to meet their common danger, when the earl of Warrenne and William de Valence came with a large company of cross-bowmen and knights and landed in South Wales, they were inspired with greater boldness to resist the attacks of their persecutors; and to march to encounter the earl of Leicester and his friends, who

were leading the king of England and his son to Hereford as prisoners; who marched on, being accompanied by his own army and that of the prince of North Wales, while Simon, his second son, as the general and commander of the royal army, which had been levied throughout the kingdom, advanced from the other side, so that the two hemmed in the earls of Gloucester and Warrenne, and the lords marchers, and slew them all. But by the overruling providence of God, who is the doorkeeper of prisons, the release of the prisoners was effected, and on the Thursday in Whitsun week, the eldest son of the king went out into the fields about Hereford with his comrades and guards to take exercise, and then, when they had all mounted their destrier horses, and fatigued them with galloping, he, after that, mounted a horse of his own which was not tired, and requesting leave of his companions (though he did not obtain it), he went with all speed to the lord Roger de Mortimer, at Wigemor. And the next day, the earls of Gloucester and Warrenne, with their followers, met Edward at Ludlow, and forgetting all their mutual injuries and quarrels, and renewing their friendship, they proceeded with courage and alacrity to break down the bridges and sink the ferry-boats over the Severn. Afterwards, as their force was increased by the friends of the aforesaid Edward, whom the power of the adverse party had long compelled to lie hid, and when they had taken Gloucester, and treated the prisoners with most extravagant cruelty, the earl of Leicester and his army, being hemmed in the district about Hereford, were compelled to lead their nominal king about as a prisoner, and to subject him, against his will, to all the hardships of captivity.

And when Simon, the son of the aforesaid earl of Leieester, had, with many barons and knights, traversed and plundered all Kent, and the country about Winchester and the other southern districts of England, and then proceeded, to his own misfortune, with great speed to Kenilworth to meet his father, the aforesaid Edward and Gilbert and their armies, being, by the favour of God, forewarned of his approach, attacked his army at dawn on the day of Saint Peter ad Vincula, and took them all prisoners, except Simon and a few with him who escaped into the castle, and put them in chains, and stripped those robbers and plunderers of all their booty, and so celebrated a day of feasting at the New Chains.[1]

[1] In allusion to the day of Saint Peter ad Vincula—Vincula meaning chains.

The earl of Leicester and his companions, being ignorant of this event, and marching on with all speed, reached the river Severn that very same day, and having examined the proper fords, crossed the river at twilight with the design of meeting and finding the aforesaid Simon and his army, who were coming from England, and having stopped the two next days on the borders of Worcestershire, on the third day they entered the town of Evesham, and while they were occupying themselves there with refreshing their souls, which had been long fainting under hunger and thirst, with a little food, their scouts brought them word that the lord Edward and his army were not above two miles off. So the earl of Leicester and the barons marching out with their lord the king (whom they took with them by force) to the rising ground of a gentle hill, beheld Edward and his army on the top of a hill, not above a stone's throw from them, and hastening to them. And a wonderful conflict took place, there being slain on the part of the lord Edward only one knight of moderate prowess, and two esquires. On the other side there fell on the field of battle Simon, earl of Leicester, whose head, and hands, and feet were cut off, and Henry, his son, Hugh Despenser, justiciary of England, Peter de Montfort, William de Mandeville, Radulph Basset, Roger St. John, Walter de Despigny, William of York, and Robert Tregos, all very powerful knights and barons, and besides all the guards and warlike cavalry fell in the battle, with the exception of ten or twelve nobles, who were taken prisoners. And the names of the nobles who were wounded and taken prisoners were as follows: Guy de Montfort, son of the earl of Leicester, John Fitz-John, Henry de Hastings, Humphrey de Bohun the younger, John de Vescy, Peter de Montfort the younger, and Nicholas de Segrave.

This is enough to say about the provisions of Oxford and the acts of treachery committed at Oxford, Lewes, and London; which actions, though whitened over with various pretexts of equity and justice, are within full of all trickery, and miserably ruined their contrivers. I have also omitted to mention many things fairly entitled to be related, that the prolixity of my account might not weary the ears of my hearers; but this, above all things, I feel bound to insert, as a matter at which the king's highness marvels, that those persons whose conversation is described as being in heaven, leaving every thing for Christ's sake, up to this time persecuted Christ with

Peter, and Peter in Christ's vicar, and in Clement, the successor of Peter, Christ their God and Prince; now, with the blandishments of their praises and approbation, bedaubed the wall which had been built by the rebels against the king, and which the apostolic authority in the beginning of his new work ordered to be demolished, not considering, as they ought, with what privileges and honours the Roman church had decorated them, which being yet a small plant in its order, and transplanted from the valley of Spoleto, the said king had cherished, and cultivated, and watered, allowing it to grow to be a perfect and a wide-spreading vine in so many castles and cities. Would that, all spurious shoots being cut away, the branches may receive due increase, and repay their cultivator grapes, and not wild grapes for the future.

Therefore, the battle of Evesham having been thus gallantly fought, the king and the nobles of the kingdom assembled at Winchester, and ordered that the richer citizens of the city of London should be thrust into prison, that the citizens should be deprived of their ancient liberties, and that the palisades and chains with which the city was fortified should be removed, because the citizens had boldly adhered to Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, in contempt of the king and also to the injury of the kingdom; all which was done, for the more powerful citizens were thrown into prison at the castle of Windsor, and were afterwards punished with a pecuniary fine of no inconsiderable amount. All liberty was forbidden to the citizens, and the Tower of London was made stronger by the palisades and chains which had belonged to the city.

After this, a sentence of confiscation was pronounced at Westminster, on the feast of the translation of the blessed Edward, against the king's enemies, whose lands the king bestowed without delay on his own faithful followers. But some of those against whom this sentence was pronounced redeemed their possessions by payment of a sum of money, others uniting in a body lay hid in the woods, living miserably on plunder and rapine; the most powerful and mischievous of whom was Robert, earl Ferrars, who was restored to the full possession of his property, on condition that if ever he departed from his loyalty to the king, he should lose his earldom.

About this time, Guy and Simon, sons of the former earl of Leicester, escaped from prison and from custody, and went

into France, hoping, by a fresh sedition, to avenge the death of their father with the help of foreigners, and to make themselves masters of England. But, by the providence of God, they were not able to consummate what they had begun, because their days, as will be seen, wasted away in vanity and misery.

In this year, being the fiftieth of the king's reign, which may fitly be called the jubilee, a certain writer, touching with an elegant pen the causes of the wars above-mentioned, said, "Who will give water to my head and a fountain to my eyes, bringing thither streams of tears, that day and night I may weep for those of my people who were slain? O England, formerly glorious, illustrious, and great among the nations, as in the pride of the Chaldeans! the ships of Tarshish could not be compared to your fleets, bringing spices and all kinds of precious things from the four quarters of the world. You had the sea for a wall, and mighty castles fortified your harbours as your gates. In you warriors, and clergy, and merchants flourished; to you the men of Pisa, of Genoa, and of Venice brought sapphires, carbuncles, and emeralds, derived from the streams of Paradise. You were served by Asia with purple and fine linen, by Africa with cinnamon and balsam, by Spain with gold, and by Germany with silver. Your weaver, Flanders, wove you precious garments from your own materials; your own Guienne supplied you with wine; all the islands between the Pleiades and the Bear were your servants. In your own interior you had the game of the forests in abundance, and on your hills you had beasts of burden and cattle. All the birds of heaven were yours, and the beauty of the country was with you. In abundance of fish you surpass all countries. And although, being confined by the shores of the sea, you are extended over but a small space of territory, nevertheless, on account of your famous productiveness, the sides of all the nations in the world have blessed you, being made warm by the fleeces of your sheep. For your swords being turned into ploughshares, peace and religion flourished, so that you were a spectacle and an example to all Catholic kingdoms. Alas! why are you stripped of such great glory? Why do you yield, being dashed against yourself? Why do you rage about the domestic madness of your sins, and why, as if you had conspired against yourself, have you declared war against yourself and not against your enemies? Alas!

without a doubt your sins of presumption have deserved this fate, those sins with which you were so fascinated, and lay so that you neither desired any medicine or the assistance of any physician: indeed, I may more truly say, that you refused it. On which account much innocent blood which has been shed over the earth, cries this day unto the Lord, who has given you such numbers of valuable things. Surely it is the unbridled covetousness of your nation, jealous of religion and peace, despising the domination of a superior, and the heavy yoke of a king, but which has in such a degree sown the tares of discord to your own injury, causing mischief to you by its choice of powers, so that all the bonds of relationship, affinity, and oaths being trampled under foot, son has risen against father, brother against brother, servant against master, and sheep with unheard-of courage against their shepherds; and last of all, men have terrified and cruelly slain one another in the slaughter of pitched battles. And so, wishing to avoid Charybdis, alas! you have fallen into the whirlpool of Scylla."

But what is alluded to in some of these circumlocutory phrases, is seen clearer than daylight in the provisions of Oxford before mentioned.

Ch. XX.—From A.D. 1265 to A.D. 1272.

Henry prosecutes his successes—Bravery and generosity of prince Edward—The king besieges Kenilworth—Charles of Anjou defeats Manfred, and is crowned king of Sicily—Some of the earl of Leicester's party still resist Henry—Disputes between some of the nobles—Prince Edward goes to the Holy Land—King Henry is taken ill—Edward is wounded by one of the assassins—Richard, king of Germany, dies—King Henry dies—King Edward is present at the tournament at Chalons—Does homage to Philip of France for his French domains.

The castle of Dover is surrendered to the king.

In the before-mentioned year of grace, king Henry celebrated the feast of the Nativity at Westminster, where the great parliament of the nobles was assembled, in which it was very wisely and beneficially ordained that in each county there should be one captain appointed at the king's expense, who, with the aid of the viscount, should repel the savage rage of the banditti. And in consequence, many of them being alarmed,

forsook their predatory habits, and so the king's power began to breathe again, and peace, to a certain extent, began to flourish. Therefore, some of the nobles, who were detained in prison in Dover Castle, hearing that their lord the king was meeting with good fortune, took courage, and gallantly seized upon the tower of the castle, resisting their guards. And when the king and his eldest son Edward had been informed of this, they hastened to the castle of Dover, and besieged it with a powerful force. Therefore, the keepers of the castle, being surrounded by their enemies, sent an embassy to the king entreating peace; and immediately surrendered the castle to the king, saving each of them their life and limbs, horses and arms, and all other necessaries. From thence Edward proceeded onwards, like a gallant knight who should be king hereafter, traversing all the country near the coast, and punishing some of the inhabitants of the Cinque Ports on account of their crimes, and some he only put in fear, and others he mercifully admitted to peace. The citizens of Winchelsea were the only persons who endeavoured to resist him; but Edward took their town by some assaults, and at his entrance much guilty blood was shed, but he spared the multitude, and ordered his men for the future not to busy themselves about plunder like pirates. And by this conduct, great tranquillity was spread over that sea.

Pope Urban the Fourth died, and was succeeded by Clement the Fourth, who, having been lately appointed to an inferior office, as Guy, cardinal of Sabionetta, was sent by pope Urban into England, to discharge the office of legate there; but he stayed near the sea, in the town which is called Boulogne, because he was not able to enter the English territories on account of the open opposition of the barons, and the sophistical answers of the bishops; and he pronounced sentence of excommunication against the rebels, and then returned to the court of Rome from which he had set out. He now, by the influence of king Henry, was made father of fathers, and, by the advice of his cardinals, he sent into England Othobonus, cardinal deacon of Saint Adrian, who, coming into England in his scarlet vestments, summoned a council, and caused the mandates of the Apostolic See to be published in the church of Westminster, and then, in fulfilment of his duty as legate, fulminated his sentence against the adversaries of the king, and in process of time, he suspended from their

offices and benefices Henry, bishop of London, John, bishop of Winchester, and Stephen, bishop of Chichester, who espoused the side of the adversaries of the king; and because they had recourse to the remedy of an appeal, he ordered them to present themselves personally before the pope within the space of three months; so they, coming to that court, awaited the revolutions of fortune. The lord bishop of Lincoln purchased himself peace in good times, and so obtained mercy and not justice. The lord Walter, bishop of Worcester, being at the point of death, said that he had erred in espousing the side of Simon de Montfort, and sent letters to that effect to the legate, entreating the benefit of absolution, which he obtained, and then he died.

In the meantime, some of the nobles, not willing to submit to the sentence of confiscation of their property, occupied the island of Haxholm, to which men flocked from all quarters, whose feet were swift to shed blood, and whose hands were prompt to plunder, devastating all the adjacent country. But Edward attacking them, like an illustrious knight, discovered their confederacy, and compelled them, whether willing or unwilling, to return to peace, and afterwards, in London, they took their corporal oath to maintain it. But, in spite of their oath, they immediately went astray, for they disturbed all England with great disorder.

There were few or no places in England safe, because the whole country was full of night robbers. Some of the natives of the district, men of low extraction, flocked to the castle of Kenilworth, and fortified it all round by the means which they obtained from the plunder of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. And immediately they erected the standard of Simon the younger, who was staying in France, and proclaimed him lord and heir of the castle. But when the news of this reached the king, he immediately sent one of his messengers to them, ordering them, by his royal letters, to desist from their enterprize. But they mutilated the messenger, and sent him back with a saucy answer.

In the meantime, Edward, the king's eldest son, passing through Aulton wood, found a certain knight, by name Adam Gordon, one of those whose property had been confiscated, laying ambushes in that wood for passers-by, and suddenly with his followers coming upon him, he bade him take his arms and defend himself like a brave man. So he immediately

attacked the king's son in single combat, fighting manfully with him. But at last he was wounded and yielded, and Edward, commending his boldness, ordered cataplasms to be applied to his wounds, not thinking him his enemy, but taking him with him as a friend; but all his followers he ordered to be hung on the trees of the wood. In the northern counties, the earl Ferrars was wandering about with a numerous army, contrary to his oath, which he had lately taken. And the lord Henry, the eldest son of the king of Germany, was sent against him, who defeated the said earl and put him in chains, and brought him with him to London, acquiring for himself great glory by his triumph.

Concerning the siege of the castle of Kenilworth by the king.

A.D. 1266. Henry, king of England, celebrated the feast of the Nativity at Westminster, where the nobles of the district assembled together, to discuss the peace of the kingdom, according to their usual custom. Therefore, an edict was issued against the earl Ferrars, who, according to the conditions of his obligation, was for ever deprived of his earldom, and Edmund, the son of the king of England, was given possession of two earldoms, those, namely, of Derby and of Leicester. From Westminster king Henry and his warlike army proceeded onwards and arrived before Kenilworth, where, without delay, they laid siege to the castle, wishing, but not being able, to make themselves masters of it with their forces. Their army prepared for the assault, but they found very vigorous defenders within. For the nobles perished, slaying one another in mutual conflicts. Outside the castle, a great number of engines were erected, and without delay the besieged erected others, similar both in size and number to those of the besiegers, owing to which, it happened, that sometimes the stones which were hurled from them on both sides, clashed in the air. But the engines of the besieged garrison were at last broken by those engines which were outside the walls, though even then the defenders would not surrender the castle; for they preferred dying bravely, to giving it up on compulsion. For despair had rendered them bolder, and so, by their frequent sallies, they caused great loss to the king's army. And neither the sentence of the legate, who was present, nor the power of the king, could induce them to abandon their enterprize. Therefore, by the wisdom of the cardinal, with the

sanction of the king, an assemblage of the clergy and laity was summoned to meet at Kenilworth. And there twelve persons were elected from the most powerful of the nobles, and the wisest of the prelates, to whom was given a power of making regulations concerning the condition of those who had been deprived of their property. And the persons elected took an oath to make useful regulations; and first of all, the king, and after him the clergy and laity, swore inviolably to observe what they should enact. Accordingly, the statutes formed at Kenilworth were to the following effect, that each of those persons whose property had been confiscated should be mulcted in a pecuniary penalty, according to the number of his offences, which fine they should pay to those who were in possession of their estates, it being provided, that the fine thus paid for the redemption of their inheritances should not exceed seven years' purchase, and should not be less than one year's purchase; the heirs of Simon de Montfort and of Robert de Ferrars, earl of Derby, being alone excluded from the benefit of this enactment. But if the parties were not able to redeem their lands, then those who were in possession of them should retain them in their hands, till they had fully satisfied themselves from their revenues.

In process of time, the garrison of the besieged castle of Kenilworth, worn out by famine and misery, making a virtue of necessity, surrendered it to the king, saving all their necessaries.

About this time, Charles, the brother of Louis, king of France, count of Anjou and Provence, relying on the assistance of the Father of Fathers, defeated Manfred, the son of the emperor Frederic, and reduced the kingdoms of Apulia and Sicily under the authority of the Roman church. Afterwards he was crowned king of Sicily.

The nobles whose property was confiscated occupy the isle of Ely.

A.D. 1267. King Henry celebrated the feast of the Nativity at Coventry; and afterwards coming to Westminster, he held a parliament with the most powerful persons of his country, hoping to establish peace in all the borders of England. And behold! messengers coming, bring the king news that some nobles of those who had been deprived of their estates, refusing to obey the enactment of Kenilworth, had occupied the Isle of Ely with a great company, adding also that they were

devastating the adjacent district. Therefore the king, setting out on his march towards Cambridge, stayed there for some time, being content for a time to check the attacks and hinder the escape of his enemies, who were in the aforesaid island. Therefore those blood-thirsty and crafty men found a passage out towards Ramsey, and, according to their custom, they plundered all around, carrying off both men and cattle. When they heard this, the king and his followers came secretly to Ramsey, and finding there many of the malefactors, they slew some with the sword, some they took prisoners, others went and fled where they could; and then, placing guards there, the king returned to Cambridge.

In the meantime, Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, came to London with a large army, as if with the intention of bringing aid to his sovereign, and treacherously addressed the citizens in pacific language, and so he entered the city, and immediately occupied it as its master, sending ambassadors to the legate, that he should without delay surrender to him the Tower of London in which he was dwelling; and in order that he might the sooner obtain his wish, he forbade any victuals to be sold to the legate. Then the legate, like a good shepherd, under the guidance of a Good Shepherd, coming to the church of Saint Paul, in London, set forth the business of the cross in the presence of many persons. Some were pricked in their hearts, and immediately assumed the cross; among whom was Theald, archdeacon of Liege, who was hereafter destined to be pope, and who had arrived in England with the legate, to whom he now bade farewell, and set out on his journey towards the Holy Land; and also that noble man, Thomas de Clare, who, despising the advice of his brother, the earl of Gloucester, went over to the king, and obeyed him faithfully. Therefore, his sermon respecting the affairs of the cross being finished, the legate, undismayed, directed his discourse to the earl of Gloucester, warning him to observe the fidelity which he owed and had promised to the king, adding, that since he himself had come as a re-establisher of peace, neither liberty of going into or coming out from the tower and city of London ought to be denied, nor a free supply of provisions. But this son of a hard heart did not listen to the salutary admonitions of the father.

The legate, with some of the nobles who were faithful to the king, secretly entered the Tower of London; and likewise

no small number of Jews, with their wives and children, entered after the legate; and one bailiwick of the castle was entrusted to them, which they, being placed in a strait, defended with great vigour. After this, the legate published sentence of excommunication generally against all the disturbers of the peace of the king and kingdom, and placed under an interdict all the churches of the city of London, and all which were contiguous to the city. But he ordered masses to be celebrated in the houses belonging to the religious orders, though without any sound of bells or singing, and to the exclusion of all disturbers of peace. Great straits hemmed the king in on all sides, and the cruelty of his adversaries, and the want of money; so having deliberated, he delivered into the hands of merchants all the jewels of the church of Westminster, and the golden images of the tombs, and the precious stones; borrowing no inconsiderable sum of money on them, which, however, in times of tranquillity he restored to the above-named church. Therefore the king sent for the Scots and French, who immediately prepared to come to his assistance.

In the meantime, when some of the more powerful nobles of the island were going forth with the intention of becoming pirates, they were cut off by the king's army from returning a second time to the Isle of Ely; and accordingly they hastened towards London, doing a great deal of damage in their march. Therefore, at their arrival, the earl of Gloucester becoming elated with increased pride, fiercely attacked the Tower of London, which, however, he was unable to take. Therefore the sons of Belial belonging to the households of the aforementioned nobles invaded the monasteries, and placed their booty in them; while others carried on their devastations through the country. Therefore the people of the district, and especially the men of Westminster, to whom continued annoyance had given boldness, slew a great many of those robbers abovementioned; and the malefactors of the city, seeing that the people resisted them on all sides, feared to issue forth.

King Henry, being an innocent man, and one who feared the Lord, and was eager to terminate the wars, waited patiently for his messengers, who had gone for assistance. Therefore the victorious Edward, coming from Cambridge to the king his father, brought with him from Scotland and from the northern provinces thirty thousand soldiers; and the king, having dismissed his guards at Cambridge, came to Windsor,

where his army increased from day to day. The invaders of London, now being alarmed, sent messengers to the king, to beg for peace, which, however, they could not obtain on the conditions which they offered. So then they declared war against the king, assigning the plain of Hounslow as the place of battle; to which the king marched the next day, but found no one to oppose him. Therefore, supposing that his enemies could not resist him, he marched with speed to Stratford, near London, and stayed there some time. The malefactors of the city, being turned to rage, and wishing, as it were, to avenge themselves on the king, carried off the treasures which had been deposited in the church of Westminster, but, by the providence of God, they spared the monks and the property of the monastery. After that, they invaded the parish church and the town of Westminster, and seized the fruit of the labours of the people; and entering the king's palaces, they broke the windows and the doors, and scarcely withheld their hands from the burning of the whole palace. While the king was staying at Stratford, there came to him from foreign parts the Counts of Boulogne and of Saint Pol, bringing with them two hundred knights with their usual followers. And the people of Guienne anchored near the Tower of London, with many large ships, well provided with all naval experiments, and awaited the king's command. Therefore the adversaries of the king, seeing themselves hemmed in, and being in a great strait, begged for peace from the king, and obtained it, agreeing to abide in all points by the edict of Kenilworth. Edward was sent as commander against the obstinate plunderers in the Isle of Ely, and being moved by pity, he granted them peace, though they were his enemies, on condition of obeying the edict of Kenilworth. The foreign allies, having been thanked and rewarded by the king, returned to their own homes, and the land of England, which had long been trembling, at length found rest.

The same year, king Henry coming to Montgomery in Wales with the legate, at the request of the aforesaid legate, granted the district which the Welch call the Four Barriers, to Llewellyn, prince of Wales, receiving for it thirty-two thousand marks; and so the king of England and Llewellyn, prince of Wales, became friends. For before they were deadly enemies to one another.

Conrad, the nephew of the emperor Frederic, came from Germany into Apulia, with Henry, the brother of the king of

Spain, at that time senator of the city, and with a Roman army. And they were met by Charles, king of Apulia and Sicily, near Naples, who, relying on the aid of pope Clement, defeated them. Afterwards, Charles obtained the sovereignty over all Romagna and Tuscany, and appointed Guy de Montfort his viceroy. This Guy, by the advice of count Aldebrand, surnamed Scarlet, whose daughter he had married, inflicted many injuries on the Romans and Tuscans.

About this time, too, the Greeks, through fear of Charles, espoused the faith of the Roman Church, in the time of pope Clement, which, however, they afterwards openly abandoned.

Concerning the contention between the earl of Warrenne and Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln.

A.D. 1268. King Henry celebrated the Nativity of the Lord at Westminster, devoting himself with much eagerness to the praises of God, because the Lord had established his kingdom after such perilous wars. Therefore, while the king, the head of the kingdom, had rest, the members of the kingdom began to come into collision with one another. For an exceedingly violent quarrel arose between John de Warrenne and Henry de Lacy, the future earl of Lincoln, on the subject of some pasture land. And the two chiefs having prepared armies, made themselves ready for battle, but feared to come to actual conflict. The king sent his justiciaries to them, in order to terminate the aforementioned quarrel, either by judicial sentence or by reconciling the parties. And they, having investigated the truth by means of the sworn testimony of the men of that district, adjudged the right in the dispute to be with the aforesaid Henry de Lacy. A second violent quarrel existed between the same John de Warrenne and the noble person Alan de la Suche, a baron, concerning some rights and estates, and it was conducted before the justiciaries of the king at Westminster. But the earl above mentioned, expecting that he should lose his cause as far as the judicial sentence went, having, as before, attacked the aforesaid Alan and his son and heir with great abuse, rushed violently into the king's palace, leaving the father half dead, and wounded the son also as he fled. And having perpetrated this crime, he fled to the castle of Ryegate, and was pursued by the eldest son of the king, prince Edward, with a numerous army, who was determined to avenge the insult offered to the royal dignity. So the earl being suddenly over-

taken, and seeing that he was not able to resist, came on foot to meet him, and implored mercy. Which the prince granted, on condition of his making satisfaction for the deeds he had done. So after this he satisfied the king by purging himself of the crime, and by money, and he made many promises to the injured party, though in process of time he did not give much.

That illustrious knight, prince Edward, having received the cross from the legate, on behalf of both his father and himself, prepared himself to march to the Holy Land. And he pledged Guienne to Louis, king of France, and sent his younger son, by name Henry, to him into France as a hostage, but the king of France sent him back with honours. Othobonus, the legate, held a great council at St. Paul's, in London, all the prelates of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland being present at it. And after that, he departed from England. At the festival of the Translation of Saint Edward, at the instigation of king Henry, the bishops of the realm honourably transferred the saint to a new coffin, which the aforesaid king had ordered to be made of gold. And at the present translation of this saint, Benedict, one of the secular clergy of Winchester, and John, a layman, both of whom had come from Ireland, being possessed by devils, recovered their former health, in consequence of the merits of the king.

Pope Clement the Fourth died, about the time of the feast of Saint Andrew.

Prince Edward sets out on his Expedition towards the Holy Land.

A.D. 1269. King Henry celebrated the feast of the Nativity at Westminster, passing his life in the fear of the Lord, and in innocence. His eldest son, Edward, a man mighty in arms, and in the flower of youth and beauty, wishing to pay to God the vow which he had vowed, in the month of May set out on his expedition to the Holy Land, and was both followed and preceded by many noble and powerful men. Louis, king of France, was also bound by a similar vow, and he had preceded Edward with a large army of his nation. He, wishing to be enriched by the spoils of the barbarians, steered his fleet towards the kingdom of Tunis; and arriving there with a fair wind, he found an admirably fortified city, which is called Tunis by the inhabitants. To which city the Saracens of that country had all fled, being amazed by the sudden appearance of the numerous army of the Christians. And Edward sailed straight

towards Acre, and seeing the island of Sardinia at a distance he put in there; when he received certain intelligence of the death of Louis, king of France, and of the arrival of Charles, king of Sicily. So Edward, supposing that that aged prince, Charles, desired nothing but justice, because he ought not to have desired any thing else, hastened to Tunis, believing that there was wisdom in old men, and prudence also in time of necessity. But when he arrived in that country, he found the aforesaid king there with a numerous army. And Edward wishing to destroy the adversaries of the cross of Christ, desired to lead his followers against the city of Tunis, and to storm it. But king Charles hindered him, saying that the Saracens were prepared to give satisfaction, by paying the tribute which had been due to him for seventeen years, ever since the time of Frederic. At the beginning of this arrangement, or rather I should say, of this betrayal of the Christian people, Louis, king of France, died; whose eldest son, Philip, immediately received the title of king.

Accordingly, the barbarians sent to the king of Sicily thirty-two camels heavily laden with gold and silver, by which they delivered themselves and their city from imminent danger. After this, Charles and Edward, and the whole of the Christian army, sailed towards Sicily. And when they came near the harbour of the city of Tripoli, they were met by a storm, and thrown into great confusion. But the king and the elders of the nobles escaping danger, arrived, though with great difficulty, in port, but the others perished in the sea, and all the money of the barbarians was lost; the vessels of Edward, whose place was in the centre of the others, being saved as by a miracle, for the angel of the Lord did not advance to smite them, sparing them very deservedly, because he had not coveted the money of the barbarians, but had only desired to restore to the Christians, as far as it depended on him, the land which had been bedewed with the blood of Jesus Christ. And he carried into its accomplishment the object which he had originally conceived; for he recommended Henry, his cousin, the eldest son of the king of Germany, to Charles, king of Sicily, and to Philip, who was about to be crowned king of France. And bidding farewell to every one, he, with his followers, though few, landed at the city of Acre, which he learnt was to be surrendered to the Saracens within four days; therefore he punished those who had corrupted the

garrison of that city, and also some of the Venetians who supplied the Saracens with arms and provisions. And so the soldan of Babylon, being disappointed of his hopes, fiercely attacked the city of Acre, which, however, he could not make himself master of. So passing on from thence, he took De Crace and Margat, two very strong castles on the sea-coast, belonging to the Hospitallers. Charles, king of Sicily, sent a safe conduct to Philip, his nephew, the future king of France, as far as the city of Viterbo, and another to Henry, the eldest son of the king of Germany, who had been recommended to and received by the aforesaid princes. But while he was present at the solemnity of the mass in the church of Saint Silvester in the above-named city of Viterbo, Simon and Guy, the two sons of Simon de Montfort, formerly earl of Leicester, murdered him. And the citizens of Viterbo, in memory of the murdered man, had a picture of his murder painted on the wall; and a certain poet beholding the painting, spoke thus:

"Henry, the illustrious offspring of great Richard,
Fair Allmaine's king, was treacherously slain,
As well this picture shows, while home returning
From Tripoli, by royal favour guided;
Slain in the service of the cross of Christ
By wicked hands. For scarcely mass was done,
When Leicester's offspring, Guy and Simon fierce,
Pierced his young heart with unrelenting swords.
Thus God did will; lest if those barons fierce
Returned, fair England should be quite undone.
This happened in the sad twelve hundredth year
And seventieth of grace, while Charles was king,
And in Viterbo was this brave prince slain.
I pray the Queen of Heaven to take his soul again."

His bones are buried in the monastery of Hayles, in England, which his father had built from the foundations; but his heart is honourably placed in a gilt cup, near the coffin of Saint Edward, in the church of Westminster. One of his murderers, Simon, son of Simon de Montfort, died this year in a certain castle near the city of Sienna; who during the latter part of his life being, like Cain, accursed of the Lord, was a vagabond and fugitive on the face of the earth.

Of the convalescence of King Henry after an illness.

A.D. 1270. King Henry celebrated the feast of the Nativity of the Lord at Winchester; but in the ensuing Lent he was

attacked at Westminster with a severe fit of illness, and despairing of recovery, he commended himself to the prayers of the church. But the monks of Westminster, fearing to lose such a patron, though it was a very rainy season, went in procession barefoot to the New Temple in London, and celebrated a mass there, for the king's sake, in honour of the blessed Virgin Mary; and as they were returning back again in the same manner as that in which they had gone, news was brought to them that the king had recovered from his illness; for he had desired his friends to enjoin the monks to chaunt "They rejoice in heaven," saying that he was now convalescent, in consequence of the prayers of the monks.

This year, the Irish rose in insurrection against the English, slaying a great number of them, and plundering others of their property. Edward marched out of Acre with a great army, and passing through Nazareth, he took the castles of Cako and Caiphas, and slew all the Saracens whom he found in them. But he speedily returned, fearing danger from false brethren.

The same year, Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, died on the first of August, and was succeeded by Robert de Kilwarby.

How Edward was wounded by an assassin.

A.D. 1271. King Edward (Henry) celebrated the Nativity of the Lord at Westminster.

His eldest son, prince Edward, was wounded with a poisoned dagger in the city of Acre, by a certain assassin sent for that purpose by the soldan of Babylon, in the disguise of a messenger. But, wresting the dagger from the hands of the assassin, he slew him in a moment; for the kindness of the Saviour did not allow his soldier to perish; and in process of time he was cured of his deadly wounds. Some nobles of Ireland, and especially one great noble, Thomas de Clare, who brought with him four Saracen prisoners, returned from the Holy Land to England.

This year, the citizens of Norwich, at the instigation of the devil, burnt their cathedral church out of hatred to the monks. But king Henry, with the chief counsellors of his realm, immediately went to that city, and dragged forth the incendiaries, hanging and burning them by formal judicial sentence, and ordering the chattels of those who fled to be confiscated to the royal treasury.

Richard, king of Germany, and brother of the king of England, died in the month of February, and was buried in the monastery of Hayles, of which he was the patron and founder.

Of the death of king Henry the Third.

A.D. 1272. That devout worshipper of God, the illustrious king of England, Henry the Third, son of king John, departed this life on the sixteenth of November, after he had reigned fifty-six years and twenty days, and in the sixty-fifth year of his age. And on the twentieth day of the same month, on the day, that is, of the glorious king and martyr, Edmund, he was worthily buried in front of the great altar in the church of Westminster, which he had caused to be renewed at his own expense, against the wishes of the Templars, who claimed the king's body as belonging to them. How great was this king's innocence, how great his patience, how great his devotion to the service of his Saviour, the Lord knows, and they, too, who faithfully adhered to him. And moreover, how great his deserts in this life were in the eyes of God, is abundantly testified by the miracles which happened after his death.

Accordingly, when the king had been buried as it is the custom for kings to be buried, Gilbert, earl of Gloucester, and John, earl of Warrenne, and all the clergy and laity, proceeded without delay to the great altar of the church aforesaid, and there swore fealty to Edward, the eldest son of the late king, though they were wholly ignorant whether he was alive, for he was in distant countries beyond the sea, warring against the adversaries of Christ. And after this, the nobles of the kingdom assembled in like manner at the New Temple of London. And having had a new seal made, they appointed faithful ministers and guardians to protect faithfully the treasure of the king and the peace of the kingdom. And in this way the peace of the new king Edward was proclaimed throughout all the territories of the kingdom.

This year the burning[1] of the church of Norwich took place.

The same year, William de Brunham resigned the priory of Norwich, and was succeeded by William de Kirkby.

[1] I need hardly remark that our chronicler has already said that it happened in the preceding year. This is not the only instance of such repetitions. I have already remarked, that he appears to begin the year at Advent, rather than the following January

King Henry left behind him both sons and daughters, namely, Edward, Margaret, Edmund, Beatrice, and Catharine.

The Irish having encountered the English in a pitched battle, were put to flight and slain. Edmund, son of the late king, and younger than prince Edward, returning from the Holy Land, was received by the English with great honour.

After the death of pope Clement, the Apostolic See was vacant for two years and ten months. Therefore, the cardinals assembled together, and unanimously elected the lord Theobald, archdeacon of Liege, who was at the time in the countries beyond the sea with Edward. And he, having heard the news of his election, hastened to the court, and was invested with the dignity of supreme pontiff. On him the following verses were composed:—

"An archdeacon beyond all hope
Is now suddenly made pope,
Through the quarrels of the brothers
Being set above the others."

He, at his first entrance on his office, sent general letters to all the nations of Christendom, about the assembling a council on the first of May, in the year of grace twelve hundred and seventy-two, on which account it was said of him—

"Gregory assembles all the world again."

This year, when Edward had been a long time waiting in Acre for aid from the Christians and the Tartars, because he had formed the design of overwhelming the Saracens with a mighty force, seeing that he was deceived by both parties, because the Christians had returned to their own land, and because the Tartars, who are also called Moallians, were perishing under domestic tyranny; he dismissed all his mercenary forces at Acre, and crossed the sea, and landed in the kingdom of Sicily; where he was met with honour by king Charles, who conducted him to Civite Vecchia, where the Roman court was residing, and where Edward related to pope Gregory, who was now become his lord, from having lately been his friend, all the perils of the Holy Land. After which he requested him to condemn by his formal sentence the count Aldebrand, surnamed le Rus, and Guy de Montfort, who, with their wicked swords, had murdered Henry, the eldest son of the king of Germany, and his own kinsman, at Viterbo. So the pope immediately sent for them. The comte le Rus

cleared himself from the charge; but the lord the pope condemned with an everlasting anathema Guy de Montfort, both for his contumacy and also for his crime, and by judicial sentence pronounced him guilty of sacrilege, homicide, assassination, and *lése majesté*, and infamous, so that he could neither make a will, nor give evidence, nor be made governor, or commander, or magistrate of any city. And he also pronounced him sequestrated and disinherited of all offices, dignities, and civil or public ministrations to the fourth generation, which decree he commanded to be inviolably observed by all men, until the said Guy should come to the Roman court, and submit himself in all things to the pope's will. Moreover, he laid under the ban of excommunication all those who knowingly received him; and he placed their estates under an interdict (with the single exception of the women), forbidding both the reception of penance in the case of the dying, and the baptism of infants.

After these events, Edward quitted the court of Rome, and on his progress homewards the commonalty of the cities of Tuscany and Italy came forth to meet him with great joy, and in the processions of trumpets, all crying out with one voice, "Long live king Edward!" The people of Milan brought him presents, carefully selected horses covered with housings of scarlet, which he accepted against his will, in consequence of their importunities. Having passed through Italy he came to Burgundy, where he subdued and delivered over, in spite of his resistance, a certain noble, whose sole occupation was plunder and rapine, with his castle of great strength, to the count of Savoy. For previously this noble had no superior lord, and therefore he the more freely plundered the passers-by, because there was no one to check his excesses and delinquencies. Here Edward was met by many bishops, and abbots, and earls, and barons, who came from England to receive Edward their lord in his descent from the Burgundian hills, blessing the Lord for having made his journey prosperous. Therefore the French, a nation always apt to feel irritation and to indulge in boasting, whose pride will some day lead to their destruction, seeing so great a multitude coming to meet king Edward, proclaimed a tournament, at Chalons, in Burgundy. And on the day appointed, the ranks having been duly marshalled, the English fought with the French. But the brave band of the French was at last completely routed, and Edward

and his earls and barons retired with great glory, Edward himself having gained the chief renown. At this tournament there was also a vigorous conflict between the infantry; for the English, being roused by the stimulus of indignation, slew many of the French, and as they were persons of low degree, very little notice was taken of their death: for they were people on foot, unarmed, thinking only of plunder.

Edward then, passing onwards from Burgundy, entered France, and was joyfully received by Philip, king of France, his own kinsman; for the two princes, Philip, king of France, and Edward, were the sons of two sisters, and, therefore, they had an especial affection for one another. And after they had been refreshed by mutual entertainments, Edward, with great earnestness, demanded of the king of France those territories which belonged to him by hereditary right, saying that he was ready to do every thing that was proper in respect of them. Therefore, the king of France granted what was asked of him, and Edward did homage in the following form of words:—"My lord and king, I do you homage for all the territories which I ought to hold of you." And some received this protestation as if he were speaking of Normandy.

After these events, having bidden farewell to the king and peers of France, he proceeded to Aquitaine; and when he arrived in that province, he received homage and due service from his subjects, chastising and terrifying all whom he found opposing him. In the meantime, some persons in England, kindling with envy and rage, thirsting for money which did not belong to them, and prophesying of their own hearts, affirmed that Edward would never return to England. These men, wishing to make sure of future events, collected in the northern provinces three hundred armed men, without counting infantry and light-armed cavalry; but they were pursued by some noble and powerful knights, namely, Edmund, brother of king Edward, and Roger de Mortimer, with a large company of armed men. And when the confederate rebels heard this, their league was dissolved, and they returned to their own homes, without attempting any further achievement.

In these days, one of the secular clergy, by name Raymond, a native of Guienne, was sent into England by the supreme pontiff; and he was invested with power to compel all ecclesiastical persons, for two years, to pay a tax of a tenth of all their temporal and spiritual revenues to Edward and Edmund,

the sons of the king of England. And he gave a part of the money which he had collected to the nobles above mentioned, but retained no small portion himself for his own expenses, and reserved the greatest portion of all to be at the disposal of the pope.

Ch. XXI.—From A.D. 1273 to A.D. 1283.

A general council is held at Lyons—The pope praises king Edward, who is on his way to England—Letters are received by the pope from the emperor Palæologus—The Greeks reunite to the Latin church—Edward arrives in England—Is crowned—Summons Llewellyn, prince of Wales, to attend him at Westminster—Invades Wales—The Tartars overrun the Holy Land—Llewellyn is killed in battle—The massacre of the Sicilian vespers—David, brother of Llewellyn, is killed, and Wales entirely conquered and united to England.

Of the escape of Gaston de Bierne.

A.D. 1273. Edward was tarrying in the district of Guienne, where he found a noble named Gaston de Bierne, his own kinsman, whom he thought a most faithful friend to him, a most subtle traitor; so he took him prisoner, and then guarded him with more honour than he deserved; and so he, riding one day with his keepers for the sake of exercise, mounted a destrier horse, which he had cunningly procured, and fled away, finding a multitude of his armed followers at no great distance. Edward immediately pursued the fugitive, and took his castle, but not himself. The countess of the Lemoisin, too, resisted Edward, refusing him the homage and other services to which he was entitled. This year, about the time of the feast of Saint Michael, Henry de Sandwich, bishop of London, died, and was succeeded by John de Chishulle, dean of Saint Paul's.

Concerning the council of Lyons under pope Gregory the Tenth.

A.D. 1274. On the first of May, a great council was held at Lyons, under pope Gregory the Tenth, which lasted from the day before mentioned to the seventeenth of July. At this council the lord the pope commended Edward to all there present, saying that the Holy Land would have been utterly lost if he had not speedily gone to its assistance. In this council the pope enacted that, for the seven years next following, a

tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues should be paid for the assistance of the Holy Land. Likewise, at this council, there was great joy, because of the conversion of the Greeks after their schism; for some Greeks arrived at the council, bringing with them from Greece letters sealed with the golden bull, and also letters from the prelates, the tenor of which was as follows:—

The Letter of Palæologus, emperor of the Greeks.

"To the most holy and blessed father, and supreme pontiff of the Apostolic See, the universal pope, the common prince of all Christians, the venerable father of our empire, the lord Gregory, Michael, the faithful worshipper of Christ the God, king, and emperor, and ruler of the Greeks, duke, whose name is also Angelus, and Commenus, and Palæologus, the spiritual son of your great holiness, sends all becoming honour and reverence, with sincere and pure affection, and all earnest supplication. Since ambassadors have been sent by your great holiness to our imperial power, men who pleased God, being of the order of Minor Brothers, by name brother Jerome de Osculo, brother Raymond de Beranger, brother Baona Grazia of Saint John de Persecetum, and brother Buonaventura de Mugellum, and have brought letters from your great holiness to our imperial power, in which, among other things, was contained the confession of faith which the holy Roman church teaches, and preaches, and confesses, as it seemed right that a proper reply should be regularly made touching this important point, behold our imperial majesty makes this reply, and our confession of faith is literally as follows:—

"We believe in the Holy Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, the Almighty God, and the whole Deity in the Trinity, of the same nature, co-eternal and co-omnipotent, of one will, power, and majesty; the Creator of all creatures, from whom are all things, in whom are all things, and by whom all things which are in heaven and in earth, visible and invisible, corporeal and spiritual, do exist. We believe in each separate person in this Trinity, making up one true, full, and perfect God. We believe that the Word of God was from all eternity born of the Holy Spirit and of Mary, always a virgin, with a rational soul, having two births, one a birth from everlasting, as touching his Father, the other a birth in time, as touching his mother; real God and real man; of a proper

nature in each, quite perfect, not adopted, nor formed by fancy; but the one and only Son of God, having in two natures (that is to say, divine and human) a unity of one person, not subject to passions, and also immortal as to his divinity; but in his humanity suffering for us and for our salvation by the true sufferings of flesh; who died and was buried, and descended into hell, and the third day rose again from the dead by the true resurrection of the flesh; and on the fortieth day after his resurrection, he, with the same flesh with which he had risen again, and with his soul, ascended into heaven, and sits there at the right hand of God; from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead, and to render to every one according to his works, whether they have been good or evil. Also, we believe in the Holy Ghost, full, and perfect, and true God, proceeding from the Father and the Son, of one equality, substance, omnipotence, and eternity in all respects with the Father and the Son. We believe in this Holy Trinity, and that it is not three Gods but one God, omnipotent, eternal, invisible, unchangeable. We believe also that the Holy Apostolic Catholic Church is the only true Church, in which alone holy baptism is given, and the true remission of all sins. We also believe in the true resurrection of the flesh which we now bear, and in life eternal. We also believe that there is one sole author of the New and Old Testament, of the law and the prophets, and of the writings of the Apostles, God Almighty. This is the true catholic faith, and the holy Roman church teaches this in all the above-mentioned articles, and preaches this; but with reference to divers errors introduced by some persons out of ignorance, and by others out of wickedness, it says and preaches that those who, after baptism, fall into error, are not to be baptized again, but can obtain pardon of their sins by true penitence. And if being truly penitent they die in charity, before they have brought forth fruit meet for repentance of their sins, then we believe that their souls, escaping from the pains of purgatory or torment, as brother John has explained to us, are cleansed after death; and that to the relief of pains of this kind, the suffrages of living men assist them, such as the sacrifice of the mass, prayers, alms, and other works of piety, which are frequently performed by faithful believers for others of the faithful, according to the institutions of the church. And we believe that the souls of those persons who, after having received

sacred baptism, have incurred no stain of sin whatever, and of those also, who, after having contracted a stain of sin, whether remaining in their bodies or out of them, have been cleansed, as has been said above, are immediately received into heaven; but that the souls of those who die in mortal sin, or even in original sin alone, immediately descend into hell, where, however, they are visited with different degrees of punishment. These things the holy Roman church firmly believes and asserts; and also asserts that it is equally certain that, on the day of judgment, all men will stand before the tribunal of Christ with their bodies, to give an account of their works.

"Also the same holy Roman church holds and teaches that there are seven ecclesiastical sacraments: First, baptism, which has been mentioned above. Secondly, the sacrament of confirmation, which bishops confer by the imposition of hands, anointing the regenerate. Thirdly, penance. Fourthly, the eucharist. Fifthly, the sacrament of orders. Sixthly, matrimony. And lastly, extreme unction, which, according to the teaching of the blessed James, is applied to the sick. The holy Roman church makes the sacrament of the eucharist of unleavened bread, holding and teaching that in that sacrament the bread is truly transubstantiated into the body, and the wine into the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. Concerning marriage, it holds that one man is not permitted to have more wives than one at the same time, and that one woman is not allowed to have more husbands than one. But when a lawful marriage is dissolved by the death of either party, then it allows that a second and a third marriage may successively be lawful, if there is no canonical impediment for any other reason.

"Also the holy Roman church is possessed of the supreme and plenary primacy over the universal catholic church, which she vivaciously and humbly acknowledges that she received with absolute power from the Lord himself, in the person of the blessed Peter, the prince or head of the Apostles, of whom the Roman pontiff is the successor. And as the Roman church is, above all other things, bound to uphold the truth of the faith, so also, whatever questions arise concerning the faith, ought to be settled by its judgment. To this church every one who is aggrieved in any matter which relates to the ecclesiastical courts can appeal; and in all causes which have reference to any ecclesiastical enquiry, recourse may be had to

its judgment; and all churches are subject to it, and their prelates give it obedience and respect. And the aforesaid Roman church has all fulness of power in such a manner, that it has conferred on other churches, and especially on the patriarchal churches, different powers, as far as is not inconsistent with its own prerogative. These things have been done, some in general councils, and some in other councils; and always saving the undermentioned truth of the faith, as is fully read and faithfully expounded, we do recognize, accept, and with heart and mouth profess the true, holy, catholic, and orthodox faith, because the holy Roman church holds, preaches, and teaches it, intending inviolably to observe the same confession; and has promised to persevere in it to all times, and never at any time to depart from it in any respect, or to deviate from or differ from it.

"Moreover, we, coming to spontaneous obedience to the aforesaid church, as is fully set forth in the above statement, we do confess, and recognize, and accept, and of our own accord receive the primacy of that holy Roman church; professing, and determining, and binding ourselves, and promising to keep all that we have said above, as has been already stated. And we entreat your great holiness that our Greek church may repeat the holy creed from this day forward, as it formerly used to do before this schism, in order that we may remain in these observances which we used to adopt before that schism; which observances are neither contrary to the catholic faith before mentioned, nor to the divine precepts, nor to the doctrine of the Old and New Testament, nor to the holy council of those universal fathers, who have been approved by those saints who are celebrated by the spiritual powers of the holy Roman church. This, therefore, will not be grievous to your great holiness, nor strange; and it is at present not difficult to us, on account of the infinite number of our people. And we have entrusted to these present ambassadors from our imperial majesty, to make confession of all these matters, as mentioned in these present letters of our imperial majesty; and to appear in the place of our imperial majesty before your great holiness. And by the grace of God we have signed these present letters of our recognition, acceptance, and confession, with our own hands, and with our imperial subscription: and we have caused the seal of our empire to be affixed below."

The letters of the prelates of Greece.

"To the most holy, most reverend, and most blessed pope, the ancient lord of the Romans, Gregory the Great, pontiff of the most excellent Apostolic See, and most venerable lord and father of our human race: We, who complete the ranks of ecclesiastical ordination, greet your Roman most holy church with wishes of health, and the affection of spiritual subjection; being the metropolitan of Ephesus, the pre-eminently honoured exarch of all Asia, with the holy synod here present around me; and also the metropolitan of Intracheia, and the prelate of that honoured people, with the holy synod that is around me; and the most especially honoured metropolitan of Chalcedon, with the holy synod that is around me; and the metropolitan of Tyona, with the holy synod that is around me; and the metropolitan bishop of Conconium, with these bishops who are around me; the pre-eminently honoured metropolitan bishop of Lepanto, with the holy synod that is around me; the pre-eminently honoured bishop of Aracha of Pontus, with the bishops who are around me; the metropolitan bishop of Conconium, with the bishops who are around me; the metropolitan of Caria, with the holy synod that is around me; the pre-eminently honoured metropolitan of Berheria, with the holy synod that is around me; the metropolitan of Athens, and the locum tenens of Philippopolis, with the bishops that are around me; the pre-eminently honoured metropolitan and exarch of the island of Kiddiadan, with these bishops who are around me; the metropolitan of the Philippians, with these bishops who are around me; the metropolitan of Sinnica, with these bishops who are around me; the metropolitan of Serra,[1] with that holy synod that is around me; the metropolitan of Ananstidæ; the metropolitan of Alania; the metropolitan of Prisca; the metropolitan of Meditæ; the metropolitan of Anidus; the metropolitan of Christianopolis; the metropolitan of Silibria; the metropolitan of Mestbris; Aprometus, metropolitan of Akinnium; the metropolitan of Parium; the metropolitan of Dedimaticum; the metropolitan of Anastasipolis; the archbishop of Bisia; the archbishop of Bipsella; the archbishop of Gatilleris; the archbishop of Derkis; the archbishop of Præco; the archbishop of Lopodium; the archbishop of Pergamus; the archbishop of Melemerbum; the archbishop of Besia.

[1] This name is evidently a misprint in the original text.

And with us pontiffs, and with the whole synod, there are also joined the most honourable archdeacon Seversibilis, with the whole of his venerable clergy; and with them also are those who complete the whole body attached to the great and most holy church of God: namely, the great steward; the great justice; the logotheti; the contrician; the referendary; he who presides over the tribunals; the magistrate who presides over the secret courts; the overseer of the sacrifices and apostolic gifts; the principal of the patriarchal notaries; the chief of the churches; the inspector of petitions; the chief remembrancer; the doorkeepers; the patriarchal notaries; the chief swordbearers; with the whole presbytery of the ecclesiastical archdeaconry, and all the domestic officers, and all the psalmists and readers. Not only now, but formerly, have we made a great division in the integrity of your most blessed and most holy church, and have utterly wounded the unity of the churches of Christ.

"How is it that we, who belong to one shepherd, are not collected into one and inside of one sheepfold? and that we do not fulfil one of the commandments of Christ? But rather choose those things which belong to discord; and losing the blessing of peace, seek not to find that which was declared to us out of a good zeal? But there was no one to unite us together, or to blow, as it were, into one blast, the unanimity of every one. And our holy emperor, crowned by God, according to the will of Christ, remarking this, and pondering on it with himself, as was right for him to do, by the grace of God entrusted this part of the business to some very honourable persons. First of all, he laboured in his own mind how he might act so as not to incline to laxity, till he had united the schism which was dividing the church in perfect unity again. Secondly, he failed not to communicate with us, as indeed he was always desirous to do, showing what designs he cherished in his mind. But when the venerable ambassadors of your holiness brought and presented to him your apostolical letters, then he devoted himself wholly with the more earnestness to further that union of longing souls which your blessedness desires; and passing over all that might be foreign to the purpose, and considering his own affairs as matters of secondary consideration, he proposed those things which are in unison with your injunctions, and with his own anxious wishes and arrangements. Therefore, he convoked

into his own presence, the whole of the pontifical college, and afterwards other persons too, who mainly adhere to spiritual notions, and who are constantly exercising themselves in ecclesiastical studies; men, with respect to whom it is a matter of notoriety how great their nightly and daily labours are. And he presses the matter on, as if he were utterly sleepless, inasmuch as he has been constantly practising himself, and always occupied in the work which he had undertaken, till he brought over the opinions of many to one and the same way, having been wrought upon by long and sometimes improper discourses, if we must needs lay the whole process before your highness. Nevertheless, some of us immediately met, and embraced those things which are of peace; but some appeared more obstinate, showing in their minds an adherence to old fashions, and others opposing his propositions, as what were imposed on them under compulsion. But at last, the diligence of the emperor, crowned by God, prevailed; and he has us now all unanimous in one union, by which unanimity we agree to assign the primacy to the ancient Apostolic See of Rome, which has been attributed to it from the most ancient times. And in this the grace of God has co-operated with him; so that your apostolical highness has the opinion of our holiness acknowledging it, as we at once communicated to our magnificent emperor in a formal expression of opinion, which he listened to, and cheerfully approved of, and which we accept; and we briefly indite this present letter, and transmit it to the conspicuous excellency of your highness.

"Know ye, therefore, that we do will that the entire fulness of the Pontifical See, with all the venerable clergy, and with all officers, priests, deacons, and readers of the holy church of God, shall have assembled together, to attribute, without hesitation, all that honour to your holiness and to the Apostolic See which of right belongs to it, and pledging ourselves never to speak of any one else as the first and supreme pontiff of all the churches. But we have recognized the ancient appointment of mutual ambassadors, which our fathers have always respected from most ancient times, to this present age. On which account, we addressed our entreaties to our own patriarch, and subsequently to all the others as many as met together, begging them to unite in one mind, and to establish unanimity in the see. But he maintained, with great earnestness, that he sought to be acknowledged as the first per-

son, and afterwards, as he plainly shows, he will not depart from that claim, nor has he been the least changed from this first opinion which he still holds. On which account, we prelates have often reproved him, but up to this present time he has not at all agreed with us. But we, and, in conjunction with us, the most mighty emperor, enjoined him to yield up his patriarchal position, allowing all things belonging to the monasteries which are at Constantinople to remain in their existing state of unsettledness, till ambassadors could go to your holiness and hear your reply, and till you, if it should seem good to your highness, should send back certain ambassadors with our ambassadors when they returned.

"And we, if we obtain this end of ours, in the meantime, meeting and agreeing together, will draw in our patriarch, so that if it shall happen that he abandons his existing disposition of mind, and inclines to us, and wins us over to regard him with favour, granting that, in times past, pre-eminent honour has been attributed to the throne of the Apostolic See, we may then have him for our pontiff spiritually, as we have hitherto had him for our president. But if he remains obstinately in his present opinion, then it will be absolutely necessary to depose him, and to deprive him of his patriarchal and princely authority. And then we will appoint and promote some one else, who shall be disposed to be of the same mind as ourselves, and to allow all proper precedence to the supremacy of your holiness.

"This, therefore, O Lord, honoured by God, is what we propose, we, whom, being the chief pontiffs of the patriarchal diocese of Constantinople, you have united to yourself by this our writing, in conjunction with all the venerable clergy around us; so that if only your highness admits those things which belong to the embassy, there is no reason why time should be wasted; and we at once do incline to, and in fact do submit to your great highness, and we very cheerfully assert all such statements as belong to entire spiritual subjection, and we deny none of those things which before the schism our fathers used to allow to those who ruled the Apostolic See, but we also ourselves do at once allow the same. And our ambassadors will seal other documents, and will notify them to your glorious holiness.

"Finally, as in spiritual things our most mighty emperor, and we the college of pontiffs, have given charge to the bishops, as

the others have also spiritually received command from the imperial magnificence, that, in respect of all matters which refer to the government of a secular principality, they will open such affairs to your holiness on the part of our God-crowned emperor. But we trust that God, the author of peace, under the influence of his paternal clemency will cover the universe with it, and will cheerfully receive us and our magistrates, who are in a proper frame of mind; and who invoke your friendship and fatherly protection. I, the ambassador, having (as is shown by the injunctions written below) a sufficient statement of the truth of the faith here written, as it has been carefully read and faithfully expounded by me, do recognise the sacrament of the Greeks as the true holy catholic faith, in the name of God and our Lord, and I confess it with heart and mouth, promising to maintain it inviolably as the Holy Roman Church faithfully holds, teaches, and preaches it; and to persevere in it for ever, and never at any time to abandon it, or in any respect to deviate or differ from it.

"I also confess, recognise, accept, and voluntarily receive the primacy of the Holy Roman Church, as is set forth in what has been stated above, coming of my own accord to obedience to that same Church. And I hereby, taking my corporal oath, do promise and confirm all that has been said above, both respecting the truth of the faith, and the primacy of the said Church of Rome, and the recognition of the bishops, promising to accept, receive, observe, and persevere in it: So help me God, and these his sacred gospels. Signed by the scrivener, the sacristan, the keeper of the archives, the great keeper of the tabernacle of that most Holy Church which belongs to the Patriarchate in Constantinople, and John the reader."

The Greeks also brought other letters to the council, which, by reason of their prolixity, we have not inserted.

Also after the Greeks there arrived sixteen Tartars, who are also called Moallians, with letters from their king; displaying in pompous language, before the council, the power of the Moallians. These men did not come for the sake of the faith, but with the view of forming a confederacy with the Christians. And the pope received them kindly, and loaded them with presents and honours, and at their request caused those of them who had not been baptized to be baptized with honour. On his journey towards this council of Lyons, the venerable brother Thomas Aquinas, one of the order of Preachers, ended his

days in a certain abbey, belonging to the Cistercian monks, which is called New Fosse. He was a native of Champagne, the son of the count of Aquinum, and he entered the order of Preaching Brothers against the wishes of his parents, who wished him to become a monk.

Therefore Edward, having by some means or other reduced all his enemies in Guienne to peace, hastened to England, after the dissolution of the council. For he was waiting for the arrival of those of his prelates who were at the council, because in their absence he could not be crowned. Therefore, coming into the district of Boulogne on the sea coast, he made an agreement with the countess of Flanders, who had done the English much harm, for the sake of the money which the queen of England, her mother, owed her. And having thus brought all his affairs in foreign countries to a successful termination, he crossed the sea on the twenty-fifth of July, in the year of our Lord above mentioned, and landed in England, and was received very honourably by Gilbert, earl of Gloucester, and John, earl of Warrenne, who were conspicuous beyond all the other nobles of their country, and who entertained him at a vast expense with banquets and great joy for many days, in their castles of Tonbridge and Reigate.

The coronation of king Edward, son of Henry the Third.

Therefore in the year above mentioned, Edward was crowned king, and Eleanor, sister of the king of Spain, was crowned queen, in the church of Westminster, by Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, on the nineteenth of August. And there were present at this coronation, Alexander, king of Scotland, and John, count of Brittany, with their wives, who were the sisters of king Edward, and who both died a short time afterwards, and by their deaths left a deep sorrow to the nobles after the great joy of the coronation; for they were ladies in the flower of youth, of high character and distinguished beauty. On the vigil of Saint Nicholas, there were earthquakes, thunder and lightning, the fiery dragon, and a comet. John de Chishulle, a deacon of Saint Paul's, was consecrated bishop of London on the twenty-ninth of April, and immediately afterwards was summoned to the council that has been mentioned above.

Of a wonderful earthquake.

A.D. 1275. The king commanded all the nobles of his king-

dom to assemble in a parliament at Westminster; in which parliament many statutes for the benefit of the kingdom were published, and among them one which bridled the usurious extortions of the Jews. And in order that they might be distinguished from Christians, the king commanded that they should wear on their outer garments a sign like a tablet, of the length of a palm.

Gaston de Bierne, a noble and powerful man of Guienne, and a kinsman of the king of England, but his deadly enemy, was sent by the king of France to the king of England; and was detained in prison a long time, and afterwards sent back to his own country, after having been duly cautioned. About the feast of the Nativity of the blessed Mary, king Edward stayed some time in the district of Cheshire, and then he ordered Llewellyn, prince of Wales, who would not appear in person before him, to be formally summoned to attend at his parliament at Westminster; whither, however, he would not come, saying he remembered the death of his father Griffith, who fell from the Tower of London, and broke his neck, and died. This year John Bretoun, bishop of Hereford, died, who being very learned in the English laws, wrote a book concerning them, which is called le Bretoun. He was succeeded by Thomas Cantelupe.

On the eleventh of September, a general earthquake took place between one and three o'clock, by the violence of which the church of Saint Michael, which is called the Church-on-the-Hill, outside of Glastonbury, was levelled to the ground. And many pieces fell from the famous churches which are scattered throughout England, in consequence of the violence of this earthquake.

On the twenty-third of December, pope Gregory the Tenth died at Arezzo, a city of Tuscany: after whose decease Pietro de Tarentesia, one of the order of the Preaching Brothers, cardinal elect of Lyons, and afterwards cardinal of Ostia, was elected supreme pontiff, and took the name of Innocent the Fifth. Almeric, son of Simon de Montfort, formerly earl of Leicester, and his sister Eleanor, a most accomplished young maiden, who was engaged to be given in marriage to Llewellyn, prince of Wales, were taken prisoners at sea, near Bristol, and were conducted to the king, who had said that this had happened by the providence of God, who would not allow his kinswoman to be married to his enemy.

The same year, the Christians suffered many evils in Spain at the hands of the Saracens, who slew a great number of the Christians. Among them, Sancho, archbishop of Toledo, and son of the king of Arragon, was torn limb from limb by the perfidious Saracens.

The translation of the blessed Richard, bishop of Chichester.

A.D. 1276. Many nobles being after Easter assembled at the Parliament, held at Westminster, the king granted his peace to those who were formerly the disturbers of his kingdom. The king ordered a fifteenth of all temporal property, whether belonging to the clergy or the laity, who were thus taxed to the very nail in an unprecedented manner, to be seized for his use. At this Parliament, as in others, Llewellyn, prince of Wales, having been formally summoned, refused to appear in person. Nevertheless, he sent ambassadors to treat for peace, and offered no small sum of money as ransom for the daughter of the earl of Leicester, whom he wished to take for his wife. But the king refused to consent to the marriage, and would not take the money that was offered to him, unless Llewellyn would restore all the territories which he had invaded, each to its lawful master, and repair the castles of England which he had destroyed.

That glorious confessor of Christ, the Holy Richard, formerly bishop of Chichester, after many eminent miracles, on the vigil of the abbot Saint Botolph was transferred to his own cathedral church of Chichester, in the presence of king Edward and all the elders of England, with a great multitude of prelates. On Saint Alban's day, pope Innocent the Fifth died, in the city of Rome, at the Lateran, and he was succeeded, on the day after the feast of the translation of Saint Benedict, by Adrian the Fifth, who had formerly filled the office of legate in England, under the name of Othobornes, being the cardinal deacon of Saint Adrian's; he died on the sixteenth of July, and was succeeded by John the Twenty-first, who had previously been called Peter of Spain, and who also died in the same year. He again was succeeded by Nicholas the Third, on the twenty-sixth of November.

During this period, Henry, king of Navarre, died, and a great quarrel arose between the king of France and the king of Spain respecting his dominions. Therefore, the king of France sent formal ambassadors for the king of England, de-

siring him to come in person to his assistance with the service which he owed him, to fight against the king of Spain. But Edward was mightily perplexed at this, because it was by the king of Spain that he had been invested with the belt of a knight, and also because he had married his sister Eleanor, and because he did not dare to offend the king of France, who was his kinsman, and his superior lord; so he commended himself to the prayers of the church, and finally he made answer to the king of France that he might not refuse him the service which was his due; but that he was desirous to use all his exertions to appease the quarrel which was now begun between him and the king of Spain. Therefore, the king of France marched towards the Spanish territories with an innumerable army; but he soon returned, without having met with the least success.

About this time, the king sent three hundred cavalry, armed with breast-plates, into the districts of Bristol, Montgomery, and Chester, to check the irruptions of the Welch.

Concerning the acquisition of Wales.

A.D. 1277. In the fortnight after Easter, the king withdrew from Westminster, and hastened towards Wales with all the military force of the kingdom of England, taking with him his barons of the exchequer, and his justices of the king's bench, as far as Shrewsbury, who remained there some time, hearing suits according to the customs of the kingdom of England. Therefore, the Welch fearing the arrival of the king and his army, fled to their accustomed refuge of Snowdon, and the king, relying on the assistance of the Cinque Ports, occupied their territories as far as the mountain of Snowdon in every direction. Therefore, Llewellyn, prince of Wales, understanding that his manors and castles were being given to the flames and destroyed, took to himself the most powerful chiefs of his country, and about the feast of the Nativity of the Lord in the preceding year, went to the king, entreating him to show mercy, and not justice. Accordingly, king Edward received homage and fealty from the most powerful chiefs of the Welch, and took their prince Llewellyn with him to Westminster, from whom he received fifty thousand marks in hand; and with whom he made a covenant to receive a thousand marks every year, to be paid into the exchequer at Westminster for the Isle of Anglesey and the district of Snowdon; and then

he permitted the aforesaid prince to return to those parts, after having been carefully instructed his duty. By a formal sentence depriving his successors for ever of the title of prince, and reserving all the rest of the territories of Wales which he had lately made himself master of for himself and his successors, the kings of England.

The Tartars or Moallians made themselves masters of the Holy Land, having slain the soldan of Babylon with many thousand Saracens.

The king deprives some monasteries of their liberties.

A.D. 1278. King Edward, wishing to increase the royal dignity, deprived by his judicial sentence many famous monasteries which had been established in England of their accustomed and ancient privileges. Therefore, the abbot and convent of Westminster, in which the aforesaid king had received the sacraments of baptism, confirmation, and consecration, and in which also the bodies of his father, king Henry of pious memory, and of his children were buried, were compelled to submit their liberties in the matter of the return of briefs, which they had specially obtained by charter from king Henry, his aforesaid father, a very long time before, to the king's authority, after having long defended them at law, in consequence of the violent opposition made to them by the citizens of London; but, however, the king subsequently re-granted them to the aforesaid church by his especial grace. Roger, bishop of Norwich, and Walter de Martin, bishop of Rochester, departed this life, and were succeeded respectively in the church of Norwich by Master William de Middleton, archdeacon of Canterbury, and in that of Rochester by a monk of the same church. Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, having been released from the burden of his archbishopric by pope Nicholas the Third, was summoned to assume the rank of cardinal. After which promotion, the monks of Canterbury demanded lord Robert Burnel, bishop of Bath and Wells, and the king's chancellor, as their archbishop; which demand, however, was quashed by the supreme pontiff, and brother John of Peckham, one of the order of Minor Brothers, a man of the most perfect learning, was appointed by the Roman court to be the shepherd of the church of Christ at Canterbury.

In the month of August, Rodulph, king of Germany, slew

the king of Bohemia, his deadly enemy, and many thousand of his troops in a pitched battle, and reduced the aforesaid kingdom under his authority. Llewellyn, prince of Wales, married Eleanor, the daughter of Simon de Montfort, formerly earl of Leicester, and of the sister of king Henry the Third of pious memory.

In the month of November, all the Jews throughout England were arrested in one day, and put in prison in London, on a charge of clipping the king's coin; and many Christians were accused by the Jews of having been accomplices in their wickedness, and especially some of the more noble of the citizens of London. Of the Jews, of both sexes, there were hanged in London, on the occasion above mentioned, two hundred and eighty, and a very great multitude in other cities of England. For the ransom of the Christians the king received a very large sum of money. Nevertheless, some of the Christians also were given up to be hanged.

Concerning the county of Pontigny being given up to the king of England, and concerning the alteration of the coinage.

A.D. 1279, which is the seventh year of the reign of king Edward, about the time of the feast of the Ascension of the Lord, king Edward crossed the sea, with his queen. For her mother, the countess of Pontigny, formerly queen of Spain, had lately departed this life. Therefore, the king of England came to Amiens, where he was honourably received by Philip, king of France, his kinsman, who was waiting for him in that city, with the chief nobles of his kingdom. And he there gave up to the king of England the cities of Sens, Limoges, Perigueux, and the counties of Guienne and Pontigny, which belonged to the queen of England by hereditary right, and also other territories too, to be possessed by the said king and queen of England for ever, receiving due homage for them from them. And in this way all disputes between the kings of France and England were unexpectedly terminated. But we must remark, that in exchange for the aforesaid territories, the king of England wholly made over the peaceable possession of Normandy to the king of France for ever, on condition also of receiving for ever from the exchequer of Rouen thirty Parisian livres.

The same year, a quarrel broke out between the archbishops of Canterbury and York, because the archbishop of York had

caused a crucifix to be borne before him in the province of Canterbury; and therefore a prohibition was issued by the archbishop of Canterbury, against any one selling victuals to the archbishop of York, or having any dealings with him. About the time of the festival of Saint Peter ad Vincula, the coinage was changed for the better. For, because a penny had been used to be divided into two parts for halfpence, and into four parts for farthings, it was now ordered that, for the purpose of removing all opportunity of clipping the coins, the pence, halfpence, and farthings, should all be round. Many noble and powerful lords from foreign countries, and many native nobles, met at the Round Table at Warwick, the captain of which was the lord Roger de Mortimer.

Against the members of the religious orders.

A.D. 1280. The king, and prelates, and nobles of England, agreed together, and enacted, that the members of the religious orders should not be enriched by any increase of landed estates, saying, that it was to the detriment of the kingdom and of military service, that the military fees and other possessions had fallen into the dead hands of the religious orders; not understanding, perchance, that the army of the Amalekites was overthrown rather by the prayers of Moses, than by the valour in combat of the children of Israel.

In the month of February, there were seen eight semicircles around the sun, joined back to back.

On the twenty-second of August, pope Nicholas the Third died, and was succeeded on the twenty-second of February by Simon, before mentioned, who assumed the name of Martin the Fourth.

A council is held at Lambeth.

A.D. 1281, after the feast of Saint Michael, brother John of Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury, held a provincial council at Lambeth, and there he published a famous declaration in the following form, against those who pleaded exemptions and refused to come to the council.

"Brother John, by divine permission, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, to the venerable brother, the lord Richard of Gravesend, bishop of London, sendeth greeting and sincere charity in the Lord. Being lately, as you know, about to hold a provincial council at Lambeth, with the venerable college of our brother bishops, we considered it

proper to summon all the inferior prelates of our province whom the holy canons order to be present at all discussions of councils, and among the rest, especially those eminent persons of religious holiness, the abbots and priors, not only those who are subject to the episcopal authority, according to the order of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, but others also who are exempt from obedience to the bishops, in consideration of those churches which are not so exempt, and which, by permission of the Lord, they have occupied and retain for their own uses, hoping that we, who were consulting no object but the honour of God, and the general advantage of the Anglican church, should be assisted by their authority, guided by their counsels, and benefitted by the merits of their sanctity. But the exempt persons separating themselves as free like the foals of wild asses, and not in the least sympathising, or at all events, in a very slight degree, with the distresses of their holy mother, whose bowels many of them rather oppress than honour, as if in effect, or rather through their defect, they wished to prove that prophetic saying of John, in the Apocalypse, to be spoken of them, 'Cast out of doors the halt which is without the temple, and do not measure it, nor suffer it to hear the roaring of the hinds that bring forth their young.' They neither condescended to come to this council in its anxiety to be the counsellors and comforters of their mother the church, like children who belong not to her, halting in the way, but, that their excessive arrogance might not in any respect come short of its presumptions, they would not even condescend to send procurators to excuse their absence, despising that most reverend college, and in some degree imitating Hagar, who despised her illustrious mistress, seeing that she had conceived the son of division; in the same way too, when formerly the soldiers and servants of God were in distress, and were gloriously exposing themselves to peril, the Reubenites separated themselves from those who were fighting, and remained quiet within their own borders, delighted with the keeping of the flocks. But we, wishing to correct such audacious and presumptuous ingratitude according to the rules of law and right, and knowing, according to the saying of the Saviour, that those are against us who disdain to be with us; at the same time forbearing severe measures as far as possible, which if we chose we might canonically exercise against all despisers of this kind, do hereby, in virtue

of that authority by which you are firmly bound to the see of Canterbury, enjoin and command you to sequester, in compliance with this our authority, and without delay, all the churches in your diocese which are not exempt, and which are attached to monasteries claiming exemptions, whose names are appended to this present letter under our seal, to whatever order they may belong; and to cause them to be kept in very strict sequestration till you receive further and different orders touching this matter. And as to those who are not exempt, and whose names are contained in the schedule annexed to this present letter, and whom, on account of their contumacy, we suspend from entrance into the church, in accordance with the demands of justice, we enjoin you to cause public notice to be given of this their suspension."

From this sentence an especial appeal was made by the lords abbots of Westminster, of Saint Edmund's, of Saint Alban's, and of Waltham. Others also, who were exempt, appealed, though they only followed up their appeal in a lukewarm manner, because the archbishop refrained, as to some of them, from compelling the execution of his sentence.

From the time of the Nativity of the Lord, almost up to the feast of the Purification, there was such an abundance of frost, cold, and snow, as the oldest and most decrepit people at that time alive in England, had never felt before. For five arches of London bridge, and many other bridges also, were broken down by the violence of the ice, which was so thick, that several persons passed with dry feet across the Thames, from Lambeth to the king's palace in Westminster; and the fishes died in the ponds, and the birds in the woods and fields perished of hunger.

Of the war in Wales, and the beheading of prince Llewellyn, and of the arrival of men from the Basque provinces in England.

A.D. 1282, which is the tenth year of the reign of Edward, at the dead hour of night, on Palm Sunday, Llewellyn, prince of Wales, and David, his brother, surrounded the castles of Rutland and Flint with a large army, and destroyed such other castles of the king as they could effect an entrance into, and having wounded, taken prisoner, and loaded with chains that noble and illustrious knight the lord Roger de Clifford, after having first slain all his friends, they sent him across, suddenly and unexpectedly, to the mountain of Snowdon, slaying all they

met with, young and old, women and children, in their beds, and devastating afterwards with plunder and conflagration the greater part of the marches. The king, hearing of this, but scarcely believing it, sent the barons of his exchequer and the justices of the King's Bench to Shrewsbury, to compel the observance of the laws of his kingdom; and having assembled an army, he reduced all Wales towards the mountains of Snowdon under his authority, and he gave large portions of the territory which he acquired there to his earls and barons, and to others of his faithful adherents, to be possessed for ever by them and their heirs. And accordingly, many thousands of soldiers were sent to the assistance of the king from Guienne, and the Basque provinces and other foreign countries; therefore the king, wishing to advance onwards, and supported by his ships, caused a large bridge to be built over the waters of the Conway, which flow and ebb near the mountain of Snowdon; and some of the nobles of the king's army passing over this bridge for the sake of taking exercise, were set upon, and being alarmed by the number and the shouts of the Welch who came against them, endeavoured unsuccessfully to effect their return into the island of Anglesey, from which they had come, but were miserably drowned in the water; the Welch, therefore, ascribing this not to misfortune but to a miracle, suggested to their prince that he should act courageously and not fear, because in a short time, according to the prophecy of Merlin, he was fated to be crowned with the diadem of Brutus. Therefore Llewellyn, prince of Wales, taking with him a numerous army, descended into the champaign country, leaving the mountainous district to his brother David.

Edmund, the heir of that famous knight now deceased, Roger de Mortimer, with some of the lords marchers, attacked the army of Llewellyn, and without losing any of his men, slew a great number of the Welch; and in this battle the head of prince Llewellyn was cut off and carried to London, where it was placed on a stake and crowned with ivy, and erected for a long time on the top of the Tower of London, from which his father, Griffith, had formerly fallen and broken his neck, and so died. The Welch being alarmed at the death of their prince, and being thrown into confusion, surrendered all the castles of Snowdon to the king of England.

In these days, the clergy and laity gave the king as a sub-

sidy first of all a fifteenth, and afterwards a thirtieth part of all their property.

Charles, king of Apulia, Sicily, and Calabria, on the day of the Ascension of the Lord, lost the greater part of the kingdom of Sicily, many thousands of his subjects being slain unexpectedly. The king of Arragon claimed those kingdoms for his heirs as being theirs by hereditary right, because he had married the daughter of Manfred, who had been robbed of the aforesaid kingdoms by the Roman church; therefore, in spite of the prohibition of the Apostolic See, the aforesaid kings agreed that two hundred knights should contend for the rights of each of them on the plain in front of Bourdeaux, assigning a day for the two parties to meet in battle. But when the day arrived, this agreement of the aforesaid princes was set at nought, because king Charles came to meet the king of Arragon with a hundred thousand men, while the latter was attended by no more than a hundred knights.

Of the building of the castle of Aberconway, and of the miserable death of David, brother of Llewellyn.

A.D. 1283. King Edward caused a strong castle to be built at Aberconway, at the foot of the mountain of Snowdon. David, the brother of prince Llewellyn, who had been beheaded as has been related above, being a deviser of evil, and most cruel persecutor of England, a deluder of his own nation, a most ungrateful traitor, and the author of the war, was taken prisoner with his wife and two sons and seven daughters by the faithful subjects of the king, and was afterwards tried by the nobles of England. Alas! for the miserable death of the traitor! he was dragged at the tail of a horse through the town of Shrewsbury, and then hanged, and afterwards beheaded; after that, his body was divided into four parts, and at last his heart and his bowels were burnt, his head was carried to London, and erected on a pole on the top of the Tower of London, opposite to that of his brother. The four portions of his headless trunk were sent to Bristol, Northampton, York, and Winchester.

A large portion of the cross of the Lord, which, in the language of the Welch, is called Croizneth, was given up, with many other famous relics, to the lord Edward, king of England.

The body of that great prince, the father of the noble emperor Constantine, was discovered at Caernarvon, near Snow-

don, and by command of the king was honourably placed in the church. Also the crown of that ancient famous king of the Britons, Arthur, was given up, with many other jewels. And so, by the providence of God, the glory of the Welch, who were thus against their will subjected to the laws of the English, was transferred to the English. About the time of the feast of Saint Andrew the Apostle, Richard Warren, abbot of Westminster, and treasurer of the lord the king, died, after whose death William of Wenlock was unanimously elected, by way of compromise, on the vigil of the Circumcision.

Ch. XXII.—From A.D. 1284 to A.D. 1292.

Birth of Edward the Second—Re-appearance of the emperor Frederic—Edward goes into France to obtain some arrears due to him from the king of France—The Welch begin to rebel—The king of Hungary turns Mahometan—The Tartars invade Poland—The Saracens take Tripoli—The Jews are banished from England—Edward is acknowledged liege lord of Scotland—The Scotch princes refer their disputes to his arbitration—John Balliol is crowned king of Scotland.

Concerning the nativity of Edward, the son of the king, and concerning the appearance of Frederic.

A.D. 1284. On the day of Saint Mark the Evangelist, a son was born to the king at Caernarvon, in the district of Snowdon, whose name was Edward, at whose birth many rejoiced, and especially the citizens of London.

About the same time, Alfonso, the king's eldest son, coming to Westminster, offered up a certain ornament of gold, which had formerly belonged to Llewellyn, prince of Wales, with other jewels also, which were all applied to adorn the tomb of the blessed king Edward. This Alfonso died this year, being about twelve years of age, dying on the nineteenth of August, on the day of Saint Magnus the king, and his body was honourably buried in the church of Westminster, near the tomb of Saint Edward, where it is placed between his brothers and sisters, who were buried before him in the same place.

The same year, Frederic, who had formerly been emperor of the Romans, appeared in Germany, though, according to the opinion of many people, he was only an impostor, but some believe him to have been the real prince; for, according to some people, he was said to have died thirty-two years before.

But, according to his own account, for this space of time he had been lying concealed from the world, keeping himself unknown in the disguise of a pilgrim. Now he showed himself, declaring himself to be the emperor, by visible arguments and manifest proofs, and claimed the imperial dignity. Therefore Frederic, while he was discharging the duties of emperor, and opposing the Roman church, was by it deprived of the imperial name and rank by the universal church, having the sentence of excommunication fulminated against him by pope Innocent the Fourth, in the council of Lyons. And after his deposition, three counts reigned successively by election in the kingdom of Germany, namely, William of Holland, Richard of Corнwall, and Rudolph, who at the time of this appearance of Frederic was in full possession and occupation of the kingdom of Germany, expecting his summons to assume the diadem of the empire. However, Frederic died this year, while awaiting the effect of that unexpected appearance in Germany, being struck by lightning. Peter of Arragon had the sentence of the greater excommunication pronounced against him by the pope; and by this sentence it was ordered that no one should knowingly and intentionally dare to style him king, because without consulting the Roman church he had invaded the kingdom of Sicily.

The body of the knights of England, and many foreign nobles also, about the time of the festival of Saint Peter ad Vincula, celebrated the Round Table with dances and tournaments at Newyn, in the district of Snowdon.

Concerning the death of Martin the Fourth, and the succession of pope Honorius the Fourth.

A.D. 1285. King Philip, going forth from the territories of France with an innumerable army of warriors, advanced with all speed into Arragon, intending to reduce that kingdom under his authority; and when he arrived in that country, he, being supported by the assistance of the supreme pontiff, took some castles and towns; and the pope also sent a legate into that district, against Peter, who had formerly been prince of that country, but who was now deprived of the title of king. The aforesaid Peter of Toledo permitted several persons, both of the clergy and laity, to be put to death, and did not in the least fear the ecclesiastical sentence of excommunication which was very often repeated against him. Before this time, Charles

the Noble, prince of Salerno (whose father, Charles, a prince of great honour and reputation, died this year), had been taken prisoner by Peter of Arragon.

This year, too, pope Martin the Fourth died, on the twenty-ninth of March, and, after three days, he was succeeded by Honorius the Fourth, who had lost nearly all use of his hands and feet by a disease in his joints, on which account he used to celebrate the solemn service of the mass sitting in a chair skilfully made for this purpose.

On the thirtieth of April, after the subjugation of Wales, king Edward, coming to Westminster, preceded by the archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragan bishops, all in their state vestments, and attended by a large company of nobles and members of religious bodies, and a great troop of the people of the country, conveyed a considerable portion of the cross of the Lord, adorned with gold and silver, and precious stones, which he had brought with him from Wales, to Westminster, with a solemn procession, and rejoicings, and music. About the same time, the king, having convoked the principal nobles of his land to meet him at Westminster, promulgated some statutes, which are called the Second Statutes of Westminster; by some of which he curtailed the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical judges. And because he had previously enacted a law that the members of the religious orders should not add to their territorial possessions, he now chose to ordain that they should not diminish what they had. Afterwards, at Winchester, about the time of the festival of the Nativity of the blessed Mary, he caused some statutes to be published, for the purpose of checking the truculent fury of robbers and banditti.

Philip, king of France, having been mortally wounded in Arragon, died in that country. Also, Peter of Arragon, being wounded in battle in the same manner, soon afterwards departed this life.

The passage of king Edward into France, and the taking of the veil, as a nun, by Eleanor, his mother.

A.D. 1286, which is the thirteenth year of the reign of king Edward, Philip, the son of Philip, king of France, who had lately ended his days in Arragon, was crowned king of France. This Philip sent solemn ambassadors to the king of England, for the especial purpose of terminating the quarrel which had

arisen between the French, the Arragonese, and the Spaniards, in the time of his father. This Philip, then, was the son of the sister of Peter, the father of Alphonso, king of Arragon, who was reigning at this time, and who had engaged to marry Eleanor, the eldest daughter of the king of England. For the purpose of bringing this and other affairs to a happy consummation, king Edward crossed the sea, on the twenty-fourth of June, with a vast train of bishops, earls, barons, and other nobles; and he was honourably received by the king of France and the rest of the nobles, and was conducted to Saint Germains, near Paris, where he stayed for some time, and he claimed of the king of France aforesaid some territories which his grandfather, king John, had lost, and he also obtained from him ten thousand pounds sterling, to be paid every year at the Tower of London, at the expense of the king of France, and he also obtained some arrears due on account of Normandy, which belonged to him by hereditary right. At this time, Eleanor, that noble lady, queen of England, and mother of the king, took upon herself, at Amesbury, on the day of the translation of Saint Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, the garb of religion, which she had long desired; her dower, which she was to have in perpetual possession in the kingdom of England, being confirmed to her by the supreme pontiff.

The king assumes the cross. The Welch prepare for war.

A.D. 1287. On the fourth of April, pope Honorius the Fourth died in the city of Rome. Edward, king of England, after his convalescence from a severe illness, assumed the sign of the cross, at Blandeforth, in Guienne, near Bourdeaux, in which he was joined by a great multitude of men, and was appointed captain of the hosts of Christendom by the legate of the Roman court, sent thither for that purpose.

The Welch, at the instigation of a person named Rhesus, the son of Meredith, began to rebel, and made great slaughter of the English people; therefore, Edmund, earl of Cornwall, the regent of England in the king's absence, hastened towards Wales with a great army, wishing (though he was not able to succeed in his object) to repress the stiff-neckedness of the Welch with the power which he had with him. But the Welch, with the cunning of foxes, betook themselves to their hiding-places, devising deceits and stratagems, according to their ancient customs; therefore, the English bravely laid siege to the

castle of Droslan, and endeavoured to undermine it; but, at last, some nobles proceeding incautiously under the wall of that castle, were miserably crushed by the wall; among whom was that famous knight, the lord William of Mount Taniso, who was crushed, and died.

Thomas de Cantelupe, formerly bishop of Hereford, who, in the cause of his church, as it is said, which he undertook to defend against brother John of Peckham, of the order of Minor Brothers, archbishop of Canterbury, died in a foreign land; and his bones were buried in the church above mentioned, which soon began to become notorious for miracles, so that, within a brief space of time, God caused a hundred and sixty-three miracles to be wrought for his sake.

In Bearne, a city of Oleron, the kings of England and Arragon had a conference concerning the release of Charles, prince of Salerno, a kinsman of the king of England, and after they had carefully debated the matter, he was at last released from prison on certain conditions. This Charles, the son of king Charles, had commanded a very large army in Sicily against Peter, king of Arragon, but at last he was taken prisoner, and thrown into prison in Arragon; for detaining whom, the king of Arragon had been laid under the ban of excommunication; but now, at this conference of the two monarchs, he deservedly obtained absolution from the legate who had been sent for this especial purpose.

On the vigil of the feast of Saint John the Baptist, ten thousand French soldiers and other brave men, under the command of the count of Artois, endeavoured to enter Sicily with ships and galleys; but the guards of the aforesaid king drowned a great part of the multitude above mentioned as pirates; but some they took alive, and threw them into prison. The king of Sicily above mentioned was the son (though a bastard) of Peter, formerly king of Arragon, and brother of Alphonso, who at that time reigned in Arragon. The king of Hungary fell into such blindness of heart, that, having abandoned the faith of the Christians, he went over to the errors of the Saracens, choosing to serve Mahomet rather than Christ. And he employed such cunning, that he treacherously convoked the chief nobles of his country to meet in a certain island, as if for the purpose of holding a parliament, and while they were sitting at table, for the sake of eating, Miramolin, the most powerful of the Saracen chiefs, came upon them with

twenty thousand warriors, and carried off the king by force, with all the Christians who were assembled in that place, on the eve of the feast of Saint John the Baptist.

Then, as the Christians were proceeding on their way, the fine weather changed and became cloudy, and on a sudden, a violent hailstorm killed many thousands of that unbelieving and treacherous company; and the Christians returned to their own homes, no one going on with the Saracens except only the apostate king. Therefore, the Hungarians crowned his son, and remained in the Catholic faith.

The same year, a great inundation of the sea took place at Great Yarmouth, and among the adjacent towns, as, for instance, the towns of Martham, Hikeling, and Horsey; and the river rose at Great Yarmouth, so that it came up above the great altar in the church of that town.

Brother Jerome, a Minor Brother, becomes the first person in the world.

A.D. 1288. On the fifteenth day of the month of February, brother Jerome, one of the order of Minor Brothers, but a cardinal priest, was consecrated supreme pontiff, and assumed the name of Nicholas the Fourth. He was equally learned in the Greek and Latin languages.

On the confines of the territory of Cologne, John, duke of Brabant, whose son John, the future duke, afterwards married Margaret, the daughter of the king of England, gained a glorious victory over the count of Gueldres, a man of great nobility and power, and a deadly enemy of the aforesaid duke. In which battle, the archbishop of Cologne was taken, and having been found in arms, was thrown into prison. Besides him, many famous Teutonic knights were slain, with swords and clubs skilfully sharpened.

The same year, on the first day of the month of September, William de Middleton, bishop of Norwich, died, and was succeeded by Rudolph de Walpole, archdeacon of Ely. The same year, died William, prior of Kirkby, and was succeeded by Henry de Lakenham.

The king of England home returns,
With joy each English bosom burns.

A.D. 1289. Charles, prince of Salerno, was released from the confinement of a prison by his kinsman the king of England, who came into Arragon, on giving hostages. The Tar-

tars, who are also called the Moallians; entered the duchy of Poland, and carried off therefrom more than sixty thousand persons into captivity, only a very few Christians, not above seven or eight, being slain; and such was the consideration of the Tartars, that they brought their barren lands into cultivation.

In the month of September, in the Holy Land, a strange and lamentable disaster befell the Christians. For the soldan of Babylon, with a very numerous army, besieged the famous city of Tripoli; and, alas! alas! he took it, and at last levelled it with the ground, not without a great shedding of Christian blood. Moreover, by way of contempt for, and insult to the name of Jesus Christ, he ordered the images of the saints to be dragged at the tails of horses through the destroyed city.

On the fourth of August, Edward, king of England, returned from foreign lands, in which he had passed three years, two months, and fifteen days. Afterwards, he travelled through England, and punished his justiciaries and ministers, who, being blinded by bribes, had perverted judgment, and in other respects erred in his absence, according to the amount of their transgressions.

The noble daughters of the king,
Rich dowries to their husbands bring.

A.D. 1290. In the month of May, Gilbert, earl of Gloucester, married Joanna of Acre, and on the ninth of July, John, son of the duke of Brabant, solemnly married Margaret, in the church of the abbey of Westminster; both these illustrious virgins being daughters of the illustrious Edward, king of England.

About the same time, that is to say, on the thirty-first of August, the fierce multitude of the Jews, who in past times had been living boldly in different cities and strong castles, were ordered to depart from England with their wives and children, and all their moveable property, by the feast of All Saints, which was assigned them as a limit, which they were not to dare to transgress on pain of being hanged; and their number, as was believed, amounted to sixteen thousand five hundred and eleven. And a similar edict had been previously issued by the glorious king of England, in the country of Aquitaine, from which also all the Jews were similarly banished.

On the twenty-seventh of November, died the lady Eleanor, queen of England, and wife of king Edward, daughter of Ferrand, formerly the most mighty king of Spain; and she was buried with all honour at Westminster, near the tomb of Saint Edward, king and confessor, on the seventeenth of December. And her anniversary is celebrated on the twenty-ninth of November.

In the season of Lent, this year, Alexander, king of Scotland, going on an exceedingly dark night to visit his wife, the daughter of the earl of Flanders, whom he had married after Margaret, the daughter of the king of England, fell from his horse, who stumbled, and was severely bruised, and so died. By his second wife he left no issue, but by his first he had two children, namely, a son called Alexander, and a daughter named Margaret. Alexander died without issue before his father; but his daughter, Margaret, being married to the king of Norway, had an only daughter, also named Margaret, who, after her mother died, only survived her a very short time. This Margaret, the nobles of Scotland, after consulting with the king of England, acknowledged as their mistress, and as the heiress of the kingdom. And she was accordingly invited over by the ambassadors of the king of England, but while she was on board ship on her way to Scotland, she was seized with illness at sea, and died at the Orkney Isles.

The Scot is subdued,
But there lingers a feud.

A.D. 1291. The magnificent king Edward obtained the dominion of the kingdom of Scotland.

On the day of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist, the lady Eleanor, a noble and religious lady, queen dowager of England, and mother of king Edward, who had passed an exemplary life on the part of religion for four years, eleven months, and six days, at Amesbury, where she was a nun, ended her days in that town; and her body was buried there with all due honour, but her heart was buried with the greatest solemnity in London, in the church belonging to the Minor Brothers.

About the same time, a most terrible disaster intoxicated each and every one who was zealous for the Christian name. For Milcadar, the soldan of Babylon, having collected a numerous army of Saracens, besieged, took, and utterly destroyed

that most strongly fortified city of Acre, which was situated near the coast, on the borders of the Holy Land. Alas! for a grief more lamentable than the groans of Jeremiah the prophet. He lamented in sad dirges the destruction of the old Jerusalem, which was a refuge only to proselytes and Jews. But Acre was a singular place of protection to all nations who were subject to the laws of the orthodox faith, and who came from distant countries to avenge the injuries inflicted on their Creator, who had watered with his own blood the land of promise which belonged by hereditary right to those his sons who were distinguished by his own name.

The ordination of the king of Scotland.

The same year, on the Tuesday next after the Ascension of the Lord, Florence, count of Holland, Robert de Bruce, John de Balliol, John de Hastinges, John Comyn, Patrick de Dunbar, John de Vesci, Nicholas de Seules, and William de Ros, each of them claiming and demanding a hereditary right to the kingdom of Scotland, by unanimous consent voluntarily and harmoniously submitted their claims to the jurisdiction, decision, and sentence of the lord Edward, the illustrious king of England, as the superior lord of the aforesaid kingdom of Scotland, in the following form:—

"Edward, by the grace of God, king of England, &c. to his beloved in Christ, the prior and convent of Merton, sendeth greeting. We send to you, under the seal of our exchequer, appended to this present letter, a copy of some letters which are deposited in our treasury, according to the following tenor:—

"To[1] all these who shall see or hear this present letter, Florence, count of Holland, Robert de Bruce, lord of Annandale, John Balliol, lord of Galway, John de Hastinges, lord of Abergavenny, John Comyn, lord of Badenoch, Patrick of Dunbar, count de la Marche, John de Vescy, on the part of his father, Nichol de Seules, and William de Ros, with health in God: As we consider that we have a right to the kingdom of Scotland, and as we think fit to prove, challenge, and assert this right before him who has the greatest power, jurisdiction, and reason to try our right, and as the noble prince, sire Ed-

[1] This and the next letter are in old French in the Chronicle, and the translation is also given in Latin.

ward, by the grace of God king of England, proves to us by good and sufficient reasons that the sovereign lordship of the aforesaid kingdom of Scotland, and the right of jurisdiction to hear, and try, and decide our right belongs to him: We, of our own will, without any kind of force or distress, do consent, concede, and allow to receive our right of and from him, as sovereign lord of the country. And we do consent for ever, and promise that we will hold and keep as firm and stable this his decision, and that he shall give the kingdom to him who shall best establish his right before him. In testimony of this, we have set our seals to this writing. Done and given at Norham, on the Tuesday next after the Ascension, in the year of grace twelve hundred and ninety-one."

"To all those who shall see or hear this present letter: Florence, count of Holland, Robert de Bruce, lord of Annandale, John Balliol, lord of Galway, John de Hastinges, lord of Abergavenny, John Comyn, lord of Badenoch, Patrick de Dunbar, count de la Marche, John de Vescy, for his father, Nichol de Seules, and William de Ros, with health in God. We have conceded and granted of our own free will, and by an assent given without any distress, to the noble prince, sire Edward, by the grace of God king of England, that he, as sovereign lord of the land of Scotland, may weigh, try, and decide our challenges and our claims which we pretend to prove and assert in support of our right to the kingdom of Scotland; and we are ready to receive it from him, as sovereign lord of the country; promising for ever that his act and deed shall be and shall remain firm and stable, and that he shall assign the kingdom to him who shall establish his right before him. But since the aforesaid king of England cannot in any manner take cognisance of our claims, nor come to a decision without a judicial investigation, and as judgment ought not to be without execution, and as execution cannot be duly done without possession and seisin of the aforesaid land and castles: we do consent, concede, and allow that he, as sovereign lord, in order to perform the actions aforesaid, shall have seisin of all the lands and castles of Scotland, in order that right may be done and performed to the petitioners, in such a manner as shall seem fit to him; on condition, however, that before seisin of these lands and castles is given him, he shall give just and sufficient security to the claimants and to the guardians and commonalty of the kingdom of Scotland, that he will restore

the kingdom and the castles, and all the royalties, dignities, seigniories, franchises, customs, droits, laws, usages, and possessions, and all manner of appurtenances thereto, in the same state in which they were when the seisin was first given up and delivered to him, to that person to whom, in the judgment of the kingdom, the right belongs; saving only that the king of England shall receive homage from him who shall be declared king of Scotland. Moreover, this restoration shall be made within two months of the day on which the right shall have been tried and decided. And the revenues of the said country received during the time that the kingdom is in abeyance shall be kept safe, placed in a sure place, and well taken care of, by the hand of the chamberlain of Scotland who is now in office, and of that officer who shall be joined with him by the king of England, after deducting from them whatever may be necessary for the maintenance of the country, and castles, and ministers of the kingdom. And in testimony of the matters above mentioned, we have put our seals to this writing. Done and given at Norham, on the Wednesday next after the Ascension, in the year of grace twelve hundred and ninety-one."

This was the command given to the church of Rochester. And this subject is more fully treated of by Walter Gisborne.

"And the lord the king Edward commanded this regulation of the kingdom of Scotland, as settled in the court above mentioned, to be sent to many of the religious houses, and especially to those religious men, the prior and convent of Merton, in order that they might cause it to be recorded in their chronicles, for a perpetual memory of the fact. On which account we enjoin you also to cause these same documents to be recorded in your chronicles, for a perpetual memory of the fact. Of which Master William de Marche, our treasurer, is witness, at Westminster, this ninth day of July, in the nineteenth year of our reign. Done by brief, sealed with our private seal."

Concerning the coronation of the lord John de Balliol, king of Scotland.

A.D. 1292. On the third of April, pope Nicholas the Fourth died at Rome, having occupied that see four years, one month,

and eighteen days; after whose death a certain versifier spoke thus of him by way of epitaph:

"O Nicholas, glory and renown
And mirror of the Minor Brothers,
Their honour lived in you alone,
But now you're dead, is lost to th' others."

And in his time, the brothers of the order of the Minors looked on the pope as the sun, and called the archbishop of Canterbury the moon, and so began to set up their horns over the whole world, sparing no order or rank in the province of England; for in a most pitiless manner, with great power and boldness, they attacked the monks and professors of the order of Father Benedict at Worcester and Westminster, so that the prophecy of the holy virgin Hildegard was fulfilled, who flourished in the time of Saint Bernard, being full of the Holy Spirit; and under his teaching she set forth and composed many books, such as the book of the Scivia,[1] the book of the deserts of life, the book of divine works, also homilies on the unknown tongue, and letters, and a heavenly harmony, with other writings in great numbers; also a volume of simple medicine according to the creation, consisting of eight books; also a volume of compound medicine, discussing at the same time the causes of sickness, and its signs and cures; all which were received and accounted canonical by pope Eugenius in the council of Treves, in which many bishops were present, both of the French and Germans, and also Saint Bernard, the abbot of Clairvaulx. This virgin, from the time she was five years old, had the spirit of prophecy, and she began to prophecy from that time till she was forty-two years old and seven months. And among other works of her prophecies, in the second book of her "Mirror of Future Times, or the Pentacron of the Virgin Hildegard," which was published in the year of grace eleven hundred and forty-two, and entitled a Book on the New Religious, in the second chapter of it (which begins thus, "From the future light..") she speaks as follows: "Again, I heard a voice saying, O daughter of Sion, the crown of the head of thy sons will be made to stoop, and the cloak of their love of riches will be diminished, because they knew not the time which I have given them to see in aid to teach those who are subject to them. For my words were given them to nourish little children with, which, however, they

[1] The Scivia was a turning drum used by the nuns.—*Ducange.*

do not impart to them at a fit and convenient season, and on that account many of my foreign sons have fainted through hunger, because they are not refreshed with sound doctrine. They also have voices and cry not; works are given to them to do, and they do them not; they wish to have glory without merits, and merit without works. He who wishes to have glory with God must throw away his own property, and he who desires to have merit with God, must shew works to this end; but because you do not do so, you are accounted servants of servants, and they shall be your judges, and your liberty shall fall from you, like the blessing fell from Canaan. And those scourges shall go through you. But other evils, and others still worse after them shall come. For the devil will say in his heart, concerning you, 'I shall find you meat for the feasters and a banquet for all my desire. But my eyes, and ears, and belly, and veins, are full of their wickedness, and my breasts are full of their vices. For they will not labour in their God, but look upon him as nothing. Wherefore, I will begin to war against them, and to sport with them pleasantly, because I do not find them labouring in the field of their Lord, as their God commands them. But ye, O ye my disciples and subjects, who have been much better disciplined before the people than they, because you were so also at that time, raise yourselves above them, and take away from them all their riches and all their honours, and utterly spoil and choke them.' This is what the devil says in his heart, and what he will in many respects fulfil through the judgment of God. But I now reveal myself to my hearers, and tell them who I am. In that time when that is done by some erring people more wicked than the erring people which now exists, ruin will fall upon you evaders and prevaricators, which will pursue you everywhere, and will not hide your works, but will lay them bare, and will say of you, 'Those scorpions in their serpent-like manners and works.' Also a commandment will be laid upon you, as if in the zeal of the Lord, and the way of the impious will perish. For in your iniquity they will deride and insult your ways; but that people who does this, being seduced and sent forth by the devil, will come with a pale face, and arrange himself as if in all sanctity, and will unite itself to the more powerful secular princes. To whom, concerning you, he will speak thus, 'Why do ye have these people with you, why do ye allow them to exist, who pollute the whole earth with their

shameful iniquities?' They are drunken and luxurious men, and unless you drive them out from among you, the whole church will be destroyed. The people who will say this of you is clothed in capes of no value, which are of a foreign colour, and is shaven in a proper manner, and shows itself as placid and quiet to all men. Also it loves not avarice, it is not possessed of riches, and in its eyes it imitates such abstinence, that scarcely any one of the whole body can be blamed. But the devil is with those men, showing that he is lying concealed under a bright appearance, as he formerly was at the formation of the world before the Fall, and in some respects he has made himself like the prophets, and he says to the people, 'Speak pleasant things, because they are like swift and unclean beasts, and I will show myself to them, but not now, and I love to fly on the wings of the wind, when the thunder-storm gives its lightning, and in every way to pour forth things which will tend to the accomplishment of my will, and thus, in respect of those men, I will make my signs to resemble Almighty God.' For the devil worketh these things by the spirits of air, who work wicked works in the breath of the wind and air, and being innumerable, hover about some people like flies or gnats, which in the warmth of hot weather annoy men by their numbers. For he mingles these men in this manner, and does not deprive them of their chastity, but allows them to remain chaste, because they have wished to preserve their chastity. And again, he says within himself, 'God loves chastity and continence, which I will imitate in those men.' And so the aforesaid ancient enemy, by means of these his airy spirits, inspires men to abstain from unchaste offences; on which account women love them not, but avoid them, and thus they will show themselves to men in all sanctity, and will say in mocking words, 'The other men who were before us, and who wished to preserve their chastity, used to burn like roast fish, but no pollution of flesh or concupiscence dares to touch us, because we are holy, and are imbrued with the Holy Spirit.' Ah! these erring men who now live, do not know what they do; and so, too, neither did those who preceded them in former times, for others who living at this time err as to the catholic faith, shall fear those men, and minister to them in servile offices, and imitate them as far as they can. Then the people shall rejoice at their conversion, because they shall seem to them to be just; and when they see the error of their

course which they had confirmed in this manner, the doctors and wise men who then persist in the catholic faith, will expel the persecutors in every direction; but yet, not all; because some of them are very brave soldiers in the just service of God. And also they will not be able to influence some congregations of the saints whose conversion is holy. On which account they give counsel to the chiefs and to the rich men, to coerce those masters of the churches, and other spiritual men their subjects, with clubs and rods, so that they may be made just. And this will be done with respect to some of them. On which account, some being alarmed, will murmur against it, according to that saying which was spoken of Heli, 'Many of the just will keep my words, who will not be confounded with those errors, so as to be destroyed with their foundations.' But those seducers, at the beginning of the seduction of their error, will say to the woman: 'It is not lawful for us to be with you; but as you have not proper teachers, whatever we say to you and command you, that do, and you shall be saved;' and in this manner they bring women to join them, and lead them into their errors, that they may say, in the pride of their arrogant minds, 'We have all conquered.' But afterwards they will unite with the same women in the secret female way, and their iniquity and heresy will be laid bare. But of those who are so, I say, thus shall iniquity purge away iniquity, and be brought upon you, as it is written, 'He has made darkness his hiding-place round about his tabernacle, as in the clouds of the air.' For God, owing to your wicked conduct, will bring to vengeance these things which are without light, in which he will conceal himself from you without any help, since he has cried for justice upon us, but he will call you unjust. For law and doctrine come from heaven, in which you would dwell, if you were an ornament of virtue and a fragrant garden of delight. But you are an evil example in the minds of men, as a stream of fair fame does not flow from you, so that you have neither food to eat, nor vestments to cover you in right respect of your souls; but your works are unjust and without the fruit of knowledge, owing to which your honour will perish, and the crown will fall from your heads. Thus, injustice challenges and demands justice, and searches out every scandal, as it is written, 'Woe to that man by whom offence cometh.' For it must be that the wicked works of men be purified by tribulation and sorrow, but still,

many sorrows are laid up for those men who bring miseries on others by their impiety. But those unbelieving men, seduced by the devil, will be your broom wherewith you shall be chastised, because you do not worship God in purity, and you shall be tormented till your injustices and iniquities are purged. But those men are not deceivers who will come before the last day, and when the devil has flown away in flight, as he began at the beginning to fight against God; but they are a forerunning short of them; nevertheless, after they have been so detected in the perverse ways of Baal and in other wicked works, the chiefs and other great persons will attack them, and slay them like raging wolves wherever they find them. Then will be your dawn of justice, and your last days will be better than the former, and you will be released from fear respecting all that is past, and you will shine like the purest gold, and thus you will endure for a long time. For the first dawning of justice will then arise in the spiritual people, as it began to at first with a small number, nor do they wish to have large riches or many possessions, which slay the soul, but they will say, 'Woe unto us, because we have sinned!' For because of their past fear and past grief, they will be comforted and conducted to justice, as the angels were comforted by the fall of the devil and the love of God; and so afterwards they will live in humility, and will not desire to rebel against God with wicked works, but being purged from many errors, they will afterwards persist in the strong way of uprightness."

Here ends the second chapter of the second book of the "Pentacron, or Mirror of Future Times, by the blessed virgin Hildegarde."

We have inserted this letter in this work, because there are many persons who have no copy or specimen of the work above alluded to; and also in order that those who read it may understand that the spirit bloweth where it listeth, and announces what is about to happen in a brief space of time ensuing. The sun of the Minor Brothers being obscured by the death of the pope, who belonged to that order, as has been stated before, the moon also suffered eclipse; for the archbishop of Canterbury, whose wisdom had been entirely swallowed up before his death, and who in his prosperity had despised and trampled on many persons, and especially on the professors of the most holy order of the most blessed Bene-

dict, died this year, without being bewailed by the monks. In this year, the king exacted as a tax due to the lord the king, for the purpose of relieving the Holy Land, a fifteenth part of all their property, whether spiritual or temporal, from both clergy and laity; and this impost was granted and punctually paid. About this time, too, another tenth was exacted, together with the tenth already assigned to him, from the goods of the clergy, for six years by the Roman court.

Rhesus, the son of Meredith, the most powerful of the Welch chieftains, who had originally been a most loyal subject of the king of England, but who was afterwards his most cruel persecutor, and who had for a long time been lying hid in the mountains and caves of Wales, being taken prisoner by the king's loyal subjects, was brought to Berwick, on the borders of Scotland, and there punished according to his demerits, for he received the double punishment of a traitor and a robber, and so he was dragged at the tails of horses, and then put to death by hanging. In these days, too, a certain noble, by name John Balliol, by consent of the king of England, assumed, by a formal decree, the privileges and the crown of the kingdom of Scotland, on condition of himself and his successors swearing fealty, and doing liege homage to the king of England.

This year, the lord Richard Burnel, of pious memory, bishop of Bath and Wells, and chancellor of England, died; and he was succeeded by Master William de Marche, the king's treasurer of the exchequer at Westminster, after the death of John de Kirkby, bishop of Ely.

Ch. XXIII.—From A.D. 1293 to A.D. 1295.

War between England and Normandy—The king of England is summoned to France—Ambassadors arrive in England from the king of Arragon—Edward again marches into Wales—Madoc is imprisoned in the Tower of London—The Scots make a treaty with the king of France—War between France and England.

Normans and English fight at sea,
God gives the right the victory.

A.D. 1293. A great dissension arose between the English and the Normans, for the natives of the sea-coast of Normandy, in the violence of their rage or ignorance, slew some

of the English by different kinds of death, and hung others to the yards of the masts of the ship, together with some dogs, at which the barons of the Cinque Ports were indignant, and speedily equipped their ships with all necessary naval appointments, to avenge the injury done to the English. And passing over the swelling back of the sea with a numerous fleet, they slew with the sword their enemies who came to encounter them, and threw their carcasses into the sea, without respect to their rank, and did not let one single survivor escape, and brought back their vessels, and baggage, and wines, and other necessaries to their own homes, and all the contents of their ships, dividing the ships and their spoils among themselves; of which spoils the king of England would not accept anything, on the ground of not having given his sanction to their design, because they had done what they had done without his command; therefore the French, being alarmed and thrown into confusion, went to the lord their king, entreating his aid. And accordingly, ambassadors are sent between the two kings to treat of the establishment of peace; but the end could not be expected yet, unless kingdom should rise against kingdom, at the instigation of Charles, the brother of the king of France, a man of great nobleness and influence. However, by sea the English forces prevailed.

In the meantime, the Cistercian abbots, fearing for their skins, who previously, without any objection, had been accustomed from time to time to visit their principal monastery in Burgundy, coming from the English territories to the sea-coast, hearing evil reports, returned home again, without having obtained leave from their fathers, because they heard terrible news at Dover from the bishop of London and other ambassadors of the king of England, arriving from the king of France. But the scholars who were studying at Paris, with other students of England, in like manner returned to their native land. So, while the kingdoms of France and England were being agitated by these storms, a certain noble count, namely, the count de la Barre, whose power, to a great degree, depended on the empire, arrived in England for the purpose of marrying the eldest daughter of the lord the king of England, by name Eleanor, attended by a numerous company of noble knights and others. And the king received him honourably, and carried him about with him for several days.

How the king of England was cited by the king of France to Paris.

The same year, about the feast of Saint Andrew the Apostle, Philip, king of France, directed letters of citation to the king of England, summoning him to appear in person at Paris, at his parliament, to make answer to certain questions and legitimate objections which the said king and his peers proposed to bring forward against him, in these words:

"Philip, by the grace of God, king of France, to Edward, by the same grace of God, king of England, his kinsman, in possession of the duchy of Aquitaine, sendeth greeting. As it is notorious and evident, by the plainness of the fact, so that it cannot possibly be concealed by any evasion, that the men of Bayonne, having taken to themselves many other persons, who having taken ships and arms from your kingdom of England, and having also taken armed men in great numbers, whom they have collected there openly and publicly, not without your knowledge of the fact, or at least without there being any possibility of your being ignorant of it, have gone forth, and with wicked minds have shamefully attacked our subjects of Normandy, and of some other parts of our kingdom, both by land and sea, in places subject to our jurisdiction, inhumanly slaying great numbers of them, and making a horrible slaughter of them, and taking many of them prisoners, and detaining them when taken, and by a long premeditated wickedness plundering them of their ships and merchandise of almost inestimable value; having also broken many of their ships aforesaid and sunk them, in disdain and contempt of our prohibitions and commands, issued and promulgated solemnly and publicly, and openly published at Bourdeaux and Bayonne, and in many other places, especially enjoining that no one should presume to violate or otherwise in any way offend against the aforesaid sailors, or especially to injure any persons who were conveying their merchandise by either sea or land. And now, after transporting the ships that escaped destruction, and all the merchandise of your kingdom of England, which you have received within your jurisdiction, and which you still harbour knowingly, having been sufficiently required by our ambassadors to make restitution of those things which are still in existence and visible, you have not cared to do so, but have rather disdained to do so, although an offer has been made to you on our part, that if anything

belonging to any of your subjects had either really or apparently been taken by the men of our kingdom, and was detained by them, we would cause restitution of, or reparation to be made for them to you. And as it is in like manner notorious and manifest that many of the aforesaid men of Bayonne having taken to themselves some other malefactors, have traitorously attacked our town of Roupel, making several assaults upon it and its inhabitants, killing some of them and injuring others in divers manners, we, as we could not pass over or connive at their excesses and atrocities, enjoined you, or those who are your lieutenants in Guienne and Bayonne, to send a certain number of the aforesaid men of Bayonne, by yourself or your lieutenants, to appear in person before us at Perigueux, within a certain period which has now elapsed, to do what reason advised and justice demanded. And we also caused some other mandates with respect to the aforesaid matters to be delivered to you, with sufficient distinctness by our letters patent, which injunctions and commands you have contumaciously and contemptuously neglected to obey. And as, for certain and lawful causes, we have caused the city of Bourdeaux, and the district of Anjou, and all other territories which your people and your lieutenants in the aforesaid places occupied in your name, within the boundaries of our seneschalship of Perigord, in the districts of Perigueux, Chateauroux, and Limoges, your people and lieutenants have been contumaciously disobedient and rebellious to our people, who, without arms, demanded the execution of our aforesaid mandate; and they persist in their rebellion, obeying neither our commands nor our officers. And, what is still harder to be borne, they have fortified and garrisoned the cities, castles, towns, and other places in the aforesaid territory against us, purposing every day, in a hostile manner, to resist our just and feudal demands. And they have not chosen to give up certain castles and fortresses which, for certain and lawful reasons, we have caused to be demanded of them by our people; whether it be that they were unwilling to surrender them, or whether they contemptuously refused to do so, and they have stirred up, and do stir up, and invite the people of that district to resist us and our people on our roads and journeys; binding the people by express oaths to oppose us, and, at the assizes, they have publicly promulgated letters on your behalf, and have said that no obedience was to be rendered to us or to our people in anything.

"And even if our people, in their own justification, do, as is fitting, seize, take, or occupy, or wish to seize, take, or occupy, any thing, they resist our people by force, and rescue it, in many places attacking our people without any regard to the time, and assaulting them with arms, and shamefully expelling them, beating them, and by force ejecting them from that territory, and treating others with violence; so in these and many other particulars stirring up a public sedition against us and our royal prerogatives, to the prejudice of our superior authority, and to the lesion of our royal majesty; and these deeds have been done so long and so notoriously, and are still done every day, so that you cannot with any probability plead ignorance of them. And as, by public rumour, information has reached us that, after many appeals from many of your lieutenants to our court, occasions for appeals being interposed, they, to the great and serious prejudice of our superior authority, and to the contempt of our jurisdiction, have unreasonably and cruelly, without any regard to humanity, and with an open contempt for the reverence due to us, ill-treated those who had appealed to our jurisdiction, and who were exempt by reason of these very appeals, arresting them, and committing them to rigorous imprisonment, as in the case of Grimbald de Tisan, Bernard de Raunhan, Andrew de Baysac, Boniface de Coceti, surnamed Ros, and many others, depriving them of all their property, expelling them from their houses, estates, and hereditary possessions, mutilating the aforesaid Garsia, hanging several others, such as Arnold de Bordis, Bernard of Pelliferme, and a man called Formage, thrusting forks into their throats, and afterwards openly binding them with cords, so that they could not speak, or appeal, or renew their appeals, and, under pain of hanging, forbidding some notaries, who were required by the appellants to draw up some public instruments concerning the aforesaid appeals, to draw up any such instruments (the notaries so forbidden being Master Martin Mercer, and many others), and imprisoning others, and detaining them, namely, Master Raymond de Lacussan, advocate, of Anjou, and several others, and torturing them with many kinds of torments, because they said that it was lawful for the people of Guienne, and of the whole territory of Anjou, to appeal from your seneschal to us. On these accounts, we order and command you, under such penalties as you might have been and may be liable to, that, on the twen-

tieth day after the ensuing Nativity of the Lord (on which we peremptorily require you to be at Paris), to appear before us, as you will be and are bound to appear, and the character of such crimes and excesses requires and demands, to make answer to all the aforesaid charges, the investigation into which belongs to us, touching the excesses before mentioned, and whatever other questions may grow out of them, and touching anything else whatever which we may think fit to bring up against you, and to submit to the law, and to listen to what is just, and willingly to abide by it. Signifying to you, by the tenor of these present letters, that, whether you appear to answer to the charges before mentioned, at the appointed time and place, or not, we nevertheless shall proceed, as we are bound to do, your absence notwithstanding. Given at Paris," &c.

Because the king of England did not pay any attention to this command, he was presently, by the unanimous judgment of his peers, pronounced a banished man, and all the territories which he had previously possessed in the kingdom of France were confiscated. But a most loyal and fearless knight of the king of England, namely, John de Saint John, very frequently, from time to time, defended the territories of his master, with manly courage, from the assaults and irruptions of the French. Therefore, the king of England wishing to relieve himself from his difficulties, secretly made mention of a certain contract of marriage, voluntarily offering to surrender gratuitously a part of Guienne, and some castles which he named, into the hands of king Philip, for a period of forty days, if he could, by so doing, effect the completion of that agreement. And he sent letters of credence by Master John de Lacy to John de Saint John, on the receipt of which the aforesaid knight, being seneschal of Guienne, whether willingly or unwillingly, abandoned the province, and the king of France took possession secretly of the surrendered places, behaving with great prevarication, to the prejudice of the king's honour. Moreover, adding iniquity to iniquity, he expelled all the English from the territories of France; therefore, the lord Edmund, the brother of the king of England, who had been the mediator by whose means peace had been endeavoured to be re-established between the two parties, was banished from France, and his wife, the queen of Navarre, with the whole of her English household, was forced to leave her beloved home, and they all departed for their native country.

In this year, too, the justiciaries going the circuit sat on the day of Saint Catharine, at the old stone cross at Westminster.

This year, John of Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury, died, and was succeeded by Master Robert of Winchilsea, archdeacon of Essex.

Wales now ceases to be free,
A new archbishop rules his see.

A.D. 1294. Edward, king of England, held his parliament at Westminster, after the feast of Pentecost, which was attended by John, king of Scotland, and by all the nobles of England; and at this parliament were recited, in the hearing of all those then present, the reasons for the commencement and continuance of this war, and the reports of the ambassadors; and also the promises which had been made of re-establishing peace in England. At which statement each of the ambassadors of the lord the king showed his hand in all good faith, to the utmost of his power. At last, every one agreed to recover Guienne by force of arms. Then the king of Scotland granted to the king of England, for three years, the revenues of all his estates, which belonged to him by hereditary right, in the kingdom of England, as a subsidy towards the recovery of Guienne, contenting himself with those of Scotland alone. And the other earls and nobles promised him aid from their resources. Therefore from that day forth all passage across the sea was forbidden, by which the merchants incurred heavy losses, and the scarcity and dearness of corn increased every day in the English territories.

But the king of England, being aware of the power of the king of France, and of the deceitfulness of the French, and of their customary and inveterate malignity, and considering in his own mind every thing that either could now, or might hereafter, tend to his security, sent embassies to the people of the province, and to the neighbouring kings and princes, to come to his assistance in his necessities, when they should see a suitable place and opportunity. In the mean time, the king of Arragon sends four of his chief nobles, men of the highest nobility and reputation, who, passing through the middle of France, with valuable presents, and being also attended by some persons in the disguise of poor men, who proceeded, if not publicly, at all events cautiously (whether they preceded or followed them I do not know), and who carried their letters,

by the favour of God landed in England safe and sound. And being conducted into the king's presence, they were admitted with great ceremony, and opening their stores they offered him their precious gifts; and, what was still more acceptable to the king, they presented him with letters from their sovereign, sealed with the royal ring and seal. In which letters it is said to have been written, that whenever the king of England should march his army against the king of France, the king of Arragon, not forgetting the injuries which had been inflicted on his father and his kingdom by the father of the king of France, would hasten with a powerful army of well-appointed knights, to avenge himself and to subdue the armies of the French. And when the king heard this, he rejoiced, and introducing the ambassadors into his palace, he ordered them to be treated with every possible courtesy. And when they had stayed there some days, and had been abundantly requited from out of the king's treasury, having received an answer from the king, and having been advised not to return back by the way by which they came, they returned to the kingdom of Arragon by another road.

After these events, Edward, king of England, sent the archbishop of Dublin, and the bishop of Durham, and some of the more powerful barons of his kingdom, to the king of Germany, with royal gifts and valuable presents, in order that he, who was not previously connected with him by any affinity, might now at a fitting season be united with him in an indissoluble treaty, by virtue of the symbol of the cross. And after these ambassadors had crossed the sea, and had been honourably received by the king, a measure which was assisted, or indeed I may say brought about, by a sum of a hundred thousand pounds sterling, and so when every obstacle and difficulty having been removed, the work for which they had come prospered very well in their hands. And so it came to pass, that the two sovereigns entered upon and ratified an agreement, and became friends and respectively dear to one another, namely, the king of England and the king of Germany, who were previously unknown and strangers to one another. And the ambassadors of the king of England, having bade farewell to the king of Germany, returned with joy to England, and reported what they had done in that country to the king of England. At that time, also, namely, on the second Sunday in the month of July, a horrible investigation and most exe-

crable sacrilege took place in the church of God, throughout the entire kingdom of England, such as had not happened before, and such as it is believed had not been committed for many preceding ages. And this measure did not, as we believe, proceed from the conscience of the lord the king; but rather, the author of this proceeding was Master William de March, at that time treasurer of the lord the king, who, in reference to this action, ought not to be spoken of as bishop of Bath, but as a tyrant, who did not defend, but who offended the church. At all events, he was the actor, whoever he may have been by whose authority it was done. And because he thus violated the temple of the world, he had better beware of the anathema of Saint Paul, who has said, "If any one violates the temple of the Lord, God will destroy him."

At this time the king of England was staying at Portsmouth, constantly waiting for a fair wind, from the feast of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist to that of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross; for, during the whole of that time, it was contrary to the wishes of himself and his people. Therefore the king, for the further increase of his army, commanded the release of all who were in prison, and promised pardon to all the malefactors and fugitives, on condition that when he first crossed the sea, they should also cross with the king's faithful subjects; and they all rejoiced, and unanimously promised to do so. And accordingly, many thousands of such persons soon flocked in to the king; but after a short time they murmured against the good man of the house for their daily pence, and so went back and departed from their dependence on the king. Therefore the king, being pricked in his heart with grief, and taking care for the future, swore that from that time forth he would never grant dismissory letters to such wicked men.

At this time, Lord John de Sanford, archbishop of Dublin, having been attacked by a severe illness, went the way of all flesh. The same year, also, a certain monk, named Peter de Muron, of the order of Saint Benedict, who had lived for a long time in the solitude of a hermitage, was, in the city of Aquileia, elected and created supreme pontiff, on the day of the beheading of Saint John the Baptist, and assumed the name of pope Celestine the Fifth. He was a man of simplicity and uprightness, and one who feared God, and was distinguished for his virtues. On his way to the court, he did not

presume to mount a horse or mule, but only a donkey; and when he had dismounted from that, and entered the church, a certain cripple cried out, and begged the people to put him on the ass on which the pope had been sitting, out of regard to charity. But the byestanders reproved him, and bade him hold his peace. But he cried out all the more, begging that, for the love of the Son of David, who had sanctified the folding doors, entering Jerusalem on a colt, the foal of an ass, they would put him on the ass's back. A marvellous thing happened. The cripple being placed on the ass, immediately received soundness in his limbs, and his legs and feet being strengthened, he who had been lame went forth, praising God for the merits of his servant, Celestine. By this pope Celestine, Master Robert of Winchilsea, archbishop elect of Canterbury, was confirmed in his diocese and consecrated.

On the vigil of Saint Matthew the Apostle, all the clergy and laity having been assembled at Westminster, the king demanded of the whole church, throughout the whole kingdom of England, a moiety of all their possessions, both temporal and spiritual. But when this, which was a measure without a precedent in all ages, was heard of, the pontiffs and prelates were disturbed and alarmed, and groaning in anguish of spirit, not daring to offend or contradict the king, but consenting to the royal demands, they granted him a moiety of all their revenues which came in in one year. Which moiety, however, if they had thought more prudently and properly, and had not omitted to consult the Apostolic See, they would by no means have dared to grant to the king. Therefore, having arranged and appointed certain periods for this payment, they returned to their own homes. And the king lost no time; but as soon as the first instalments, according to the taxation of this previously taxed tithe, had been paid, he ordered the goods of the secular knights to be taxed, and a tenth to be paid to him throughout all England. And he levied a tax for the relief of his necessities on all merchants, and on all citizens dwelling in their walled cities and market towns, to the amount of the sixth penny of all that they possessed. It is also said that Master William de Montfort, dean of St. Paul's, in London, coming safe and sound to the court, in the hope of softening the disposition of the monarch, or, at all events, of lightening such an insupportable yoke of slavery, like a good son of the church, and coming before the king in order to deliver the speech which he had conceived in his mind,

and which he had come to utter, became suddenly mute, and losing all the strength of his body, he fell down before the king and expired. But as the king passed over this event with indifferent eyes, and persisted the more vehemently in his demand, it was still uncertain how much every one was to pay to the king.

The consequence was, that different persons told different stories, varying from time to time; and so, after eating sour grapes, at last, when they were assembled in the refectory of the monks at Westminster, a knight, John Havering by name, rose up in the midst of them, and said, "My venerable men, this is the demand of the king—the annual moiety of the revenues of your churches. And if any one objects to this, let him rise up in the middle of this assembly, that his person may be recognised and taken note of, as he is guilty of treason against the king's peace." When they heard this, all the prelates were disturbed, and immediately agreed to the king's demands.

After these events, when the course of this melancholy year was proceeding onward to its end, pope Celestine, choosing, like the blessed Mary, the better part of a contemplative life, on the sweetness of which he had been already fed and fattened in no slight degree, threw himself into the middle of the brethren, stripping himself of his birret and his mantle, and renouncing all the honour and burden and favour and danger of his office, on account of the cares of worldly affairs which it brought upon him, he refused any longer to discharge the office of governor of the Romans, asserting that he was not fit for the execution of such laborious duties. Truly the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light. But he adjured them in the name of the Holy and indivisible Trinity, without any delay or dissension, to elect an energetic and serviceable man, who might undertake the discharge of this burthen, to the honour of God and his own salvation. And being requested by the brethren to point out and sanction the nomination of some worthy person, since they looked upon him himself, he named a man called Benedict, a man of wisdom beyond all his fellows, and who had often transacted business in the court of Rome. For this Benedict was a native of Cadiz, having been first of all a procurator, then an advocate, afterwards a notary, then cardinal deacon of the title of Saint Nicholas in the Tullian prison. Then the

brethren, seeing that he had judged wisely, exalted Benedict on the feast of Saint Hilary, and placed him in the chair of the elders, and changing his name Benedict, from good to better, he assumed that of Boniface.

About this time, while the hearts of many were agitated, news was brought to the king's ears that the Welch were again behaving malignantly, and raging in the whole spirit of malignity, adding new crimes to their old ones, on account of the unaccustomed and heavy yoke that was laid upon them, and of the imposts which are exacted of them, to which their territories did not seem equal in the eyes of some of them. And accordingly they all with one accord rushed to war, and attacked their governor, a man whose name was Roger de Pyvelesdon; and they hung some others of our men, by way of showing great contempt for and insult to the king's authority, others burnt some of the villages and suburban towns with fire, others busied themselves with rapine and bloodshed, and inflicted great losses on our English countrymen. But Roger, who had been sent thither to execute the king's commission, they stripped and hanged for some time, and afterwards beheaded him. When the king heard this, he departed from Westminster the day after the feast of Saint Brice, and hastened towards Wales, having assembled a numerous army, in order utterly to subdue and reduce under his own sovereignty that sacrilegious and profane nation. And marching with all imaginable haste, with a powerful and warlike army, he moved his army towards Snowdon, and having gone all round Wales, he arrayed it with the object of manfully defeating his enemies. But they fled at his approach, as if at the sight of a snake, and sought their secret hiding-places in the woods. But a thousand men of the king's army fell sick and died, worn out by the difficulties of the ground, the badness of the climate, and vapours arising from the deep marshes, which created dysentery among them. But of the Welch forces who were found outside of the thicknesses of the woods, the edge of the sword devoured hundreds and hundreds in their battalions, and even more than that. And soon afterwards, Conan, the author of the mischief, and a most notorious robber among the Welch, was taken prisoner, and sent to the city of Hereford, where, on the day of Saint Matthias, he was dragged at the tail of a horse, with two others who had been his adherents, and then hanged till he died. And in like manner, two others, who were his officers, received justice.

After this, Morgan, who was also a Welchman, and who lifted up his heel against the earl of Gloucester, and another chief of the name of Madoc, their titular prince, having ascertained that the right wing of the king's army was the strongest, and that that wing was directing all its might, and the whole weight of the war against their forces, forsaking their hiding-places, and being struck with terror, began to think of going to the king and imploring peace. And first of all, Morgan submitted himself to the authority and pleasure of the king, and received mercy rather than justice. And Madoc, when he saw this, being moved to repentance, in like manner implored the clemency of the king, and obtained peace as far as to be delivered from all personal punishment, though he was committed to prison in the Tower of London. Therefore, the king withdrew from those parts, having subdued the necks of the rebels, and punished the most criminal of them with deserved punishment, such as that to which he had condemned Roger de Pyvelesdon; and he fortified the Isle of Anglesey with additional castles. And the land had rest for a short time.

While these events were happening, a band of nobles and gallant knights, belonging to the kingdom of England, sailing towards Guienne, with great difficulty arrived at a certain island named Oleron. From thence they proceeded onwards and landed in Guienne, with the favour of the inhabitants of the towns who still adhered, with all their hearts, to their own lord, the king of England; and by whom he was admitted into the fortified cities, in spite of the garrisons of the French. At this, Charles, the brother of the king of France, was exceedingly angry, and having collected a very numerous force of well-armed men, he suddenly laid siege to the town of Ryons, in which a portion of the English people had built themselves an asylum, and bravely took the town, and made the garrison prisoners, not without great loss on his own side, there being taken, alas, for shame! about thirteen English knights, who were sent to Paris, and there committed to liberal custody. But He, who does not suffer His children to be afflicted beyond what they can bear, showed the English a means by which they might derive comfort. For in those days, the soldiers, who came from the coasts of England, while they were endeavouring to keep their enemies at a distance, fell in with twenty-six ships belonging to the Spaniards, loaded with

merchandize of different kinds, of great value, to whom they gave battle, and the fight lasted two days; during which, the two fleets inflicted many deadly blows on one another. On the one side, men fell slain by arrows from arbalists; on the other side, they were crushed by missiles of great weight, and so perished. And as despair is a dangerous thing, and the issues of battle are various, the swords slew at one time men on one side, and presently men on the other. At length, Mars favoured the English, the Spaniards were slain, and some of them fled, and the English carried fifteen of their vessels with their contents into a British port.

This year also, wool was exported from the English territories into Germany.

The other injuries which the invincible fleet and army of Yarmouth inflicted on the French, who can enumerate? they traversed the borders of Normandy, sparing no condition, sex, or age, lighting up all the country with their conflagrations, and giving their hands to plunder and danger. At that time, there was no king, nor any law imposed upon sailors, but whatever any one could carry off or plunder, that he called his own.

And so this year passed, sufficiently productive both in corn and fruit, but very rainy, so that a great part of the crops of the earth eventually failed by becoming rotten. And owing to the torrents, the Thames overflowed its accustomed limits, and covered and soaked the plains of Bermondsey, and the liberties of Tothill. It also reached the cottages of the dealers in the market of the cemetery at Westminster, and compelled them to drive in stakes above their dwellings, to protect them. And as the torrents of rain prevailed to a great extent, the valleys and pastures which were near the rivers were covered all over the kingdom for some time.

The same year, the duke of Brabant, a man of great reputation, held a round table in his dominions, at which an infinite number of knights from England, and France, and other nations were present. And the duke himself, at the very first onset, was wounded by a spear, by a certain French knight, and died the same day.

Bon de Clare, brother of the earl of Gloucester, rector, or rather invader, of many churches, was cut off by a sudden death, because he did but little good openly. John, archbishop of Dublin, who was a partizan of the king in every-

thing, died in returning from the king of Arragon, to whom he had been sent on the business of the king of England.

The king's great power is onward borne,
The people is by faction torn.

A.D. 1295. Robert, metropolitan of Canterbury, having now returned from the court of Rome, having convened some of his suffragans in the church of Saint Paul, in London, in the week after the festival of the Apostles Peter and Paul, held a special discussion on the liberties and customs of the church; and, like a true shepherd, he labouring to strengthen the barriers and walls around the ruins of the walls or hedges which protected his fold, legitimately recalled and re-established certain constitutions which had been approved of by the holy fathers, but which, by the neglect of mercenary men, had fallen from their proper force. Moreover, he added some new ordinances to the former ones, which he commanded to be inviolably observed for the protection of the flock.

Two days after the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul, two cardinals were sent as legates *à latere* by the lord the pope, to reconcile and tranquillize the kingdoms of France and England, which were swelling against one another with mutual hatred. And when they had landed in England, the people received them with all due honour, and the chief body of his prelates and nobles was summoned by the king to meet at Westminster, on the fifth of August; and when they were assembled, the cardinals and bishops being seated all around, first of all, Edmund, the king's brother, and Master John de Lacy, in the king's presence, explained the beginning and moving cause of the destructive war which had been carried on, and the troubles which had existed, and the contempt of all the laws of nations with which the sailors of England had been treated; and how the king of England discharged himself from the homage previously due to the king of France. After this, when the cardinals demanded a proposal of the conditions of peace, they were answered, that this could not be given in till the pleasure of the king of Germany had been consulted. On this, they next asked for a truce while the peace was under discussion, but could not obtain it. Then, in the third place, the violent band of sailors might be compelled to keep quiet. But even in this part of the business they met with no success. And while they were thus labour-

ing to bring about a peace, behold, in the darkness and silence of night, a piratical body of Frenchmen made an assault on Dover, and burnt a house of religious brethren, and several other houses near the sea-coast, with firebrands: and among other atrocities, they slew a certain monk, named Thomas, a man of innocent and pure conversation from his childhood, by whom the Lord worketh some miracles. Then, when circumstances changed as aid came up, those who had ascended into the town having been beheaded, the rest, being terrified by the people who came forward to fight them, hid themselves in the gardens and in the caves; and only a few escaped out of a great number, who secretly regained their ships and embarked. And turning their backs and flying, when they arrived in their own country, they falsely boasted that they had got possession of the keys of Dover Castle.

Then the cardinals, not having succeeded in the business for which they had come, returned to Gaul, having spent a great quantity of money; and they extorted a double tax from the members of the religious orders. So when these events had become known in France, those men becoming hardened in heart, whose feet had before been swift to shed blood, collected the people, prepared a fleet, and took counsel how they might make themselves masters of the kingdom of England. But they were disappointed in the result of their operations. They also sent forward a picked galley, manned with three hundred warriors of the bravest of the kingdom of France, in order to reconnoitre the weaker parts of the country, or to find out a suitable place for landing in. And seeking a battle, they found an obstacle. For as they were rashly approaching the shore, they were encountered by the men who were set to guard the sea there, as they were surrounding the galley which they had with too little care run aground at Hythe; and so they slew the men, whom they found there, like sheep in a fold, and threw the headless bodies into the wet burial place of the sea. And so there they fell who work iniquity; they were cast out, and were not able to stand.

The lord bishop of Bath and Wells, Master William de la Marche, the steward of the lord the king, being treasurer of the exchequer, was accused to the good man of the house, not of having squandered his goods, but on various other complaints which were brought against him, and so he was removed from his stewardship, and another clerk, a great friend

of the king, Walter de Langton by name, was appointed to his office in his stead. The foreign monks were excluded from their houses, each of them being allowed eighteen pence a week for his support. On the day of Saint Leodegarius, the lord archbishop of Canterbury was enthroned in his cathedral, and Master John of Monmouth was on the same day consecrated by him bishop of Llandaff.

In these days, the Scots having broken the covenant of peace which they had made with their liege lord the king of England, made another treaty with the king of France, which is preserved in an authentic document drawn up by both parties, and preserved to be read plainly by all who wish; and having thus made a confederacy, they rose in insurrection against their king, despising his simplicity and disdaining his superiority. And leading him into the inner districts of Scotland, they shut him up there in a certain castle, which was surrounded by abrupt mountains, appointing knights to guard their helpless king. After this, they elected, after the fashion of the French, twelve peers, four bishops, four earls, and four chieftains, by whose orders all the affairs of the kingdom should be settled. And all this was done by way of insult to the kingdom of England, because, in spite of the secret murmurings of some of the Scots, and the open objections of others, John Balliol had been appointed king of Scotland by the king of England.

A certain knight, of great experience in war, by name Thomas Turbeville, one of those who had been taken prisoner at the siege of Ryons, departed and spoke to the nobles and chief magistrates of the French, telling them how they might by treachery make themselves masters of the kingdom of England; so they rejoiced, and promised to give him an estate and no inconsiderable sum of money. And he undertook the business, leaving there his two sons as hostages, as a proof that they might rely on him. But as they feared the common people of England, as one that was skilful in the art of war from the beginning, they thought how they might circumvent them cunningly. Therefore, some of the French agreed to furnish money to induce the prince of Wales again to renew the war. And when the king of England had marched to encounter the Welch, then the Scots and French were to advance treacherously on both sides, that in that way they might invade the island when it was stripped of its defenders.

Accordingly, without any delay, the aforesaid traitor, returning from foreign countries, united himself to the king of England and the nobles of the land, telling them all that he had cunningly escaped from prison, and learnt all the weak points of France. And he lay hid like a twisting serpent, carrying in his box a honied drug with which his victims might be soothed, and made obedient to his conjurations. So, when he had procured information respecting all the plans and arrangements of the kingdom, he reduced it all to writing, and sent the information to the provost of Paris. After this had been done, by the working of Him who destroyeth the wicked, his treason was detected, and immediately revealed to the king, who sending officers, arrested him at once, and he was bound with thongs, and brought to the king's tent on the eve of the festival of Saint Denis, and being accused, he did not deny the crime which he had committed. Therefore, he was condemned by the following sentence:—First of all he was laid down on a bull's hide; then six constables having mounted their horses, he was dragged at their tails through the city of London, surrounded by four executioners in masks, clothed in trowsers and pelisses, and bearing clubs, who, as they proceeded rapidly onwards, heaped reproaches on him. And he having been mocked and ill-treated with their sticks and goads, was then hung on a gibbet, and his body, in accordance with the command of the earls, was not allowed to receive burial, so that passers-by might say, "Is this Thomas Turbeville?" and some versifier wrote an epitaph on him in these terms—

"The cruel Thomas Turbeville
Disturbed our peace with wicked will;
He was a spark; but now the king
Has made him ashes, a vile thing.
He joined himself to Satan's crew,
This happy country to undo;
Till stretched upon an ox'es hide,
He found the end of all his pride.
To vex the country he delighted,
Which now his treason has requited.
By justice fair he was o'erborne.
And righteously by horses torn.
So David's foe, Achitophel,
Perish'd, and met his meed in hell:
And Thomas, who for bribes did sell
Fair England, is undone as well."

On the eve of the feast of Saint Andrew, the clergy, nobles, and laity having been summoned to Westminster, the king again requested that they would grant him a subsidy out of their substance, for the defence of the kingdom. And an eleventh was granted him from those who had paid a tenth the year before; and those who had paid a sixth that year, were now to contribute a seventh. Moreover, the archbishop of Canterbury having been indulged with permission to confer with his suffragans on this subject, with their unanimous consent offered the king a tenth of all ecclesiastical property; which having been offered, but not accepted, the bishops returned a second time to consider of this matter. Therefore, the king seeing their firmness, sent to them a great man, fifty years of age, namely, the chief justice of the king's bench, and his subordinate officers, who said, "O bishop, the king says, I neither accept, nor will I accept your offering, but descend speedily and fulfil his will, granting him at least a fourth part, or a third." But one Elias, the archbishop, did not descend with his clergy from their place; nor did the oxen who were supporting the ark of the covenant turn aside to the right hand or to the left. In the meantime, the king sent another man of fifty years of age, belonging to his chancery, and his subordinate officers, and they too made the same request that those who had been previously sent had made. But by all these measures the body of the clergy was not moved from their resolution, but as they had previously granted a tenth, they now repeated the offer. Therefore, the king seeing that his demand was beyond the ability of the clergy to grant, not wishing to afflict them, on the day after the feast of the Conception of the blessed Mary, he received their offering as if welcome. And the clergy received this as a good omen, and so Israel returned to their tents.

King Edward celebrated the feast of the Nativity at Saint Alban's, having previously, while at Westminster, appointed formal ambassadors to be sent to the town which is called Cambray, and which is situated on the borders of France and Germany, with the object of re-establishing harmony and peace. On the day after the feast of Saint Hilary, a fleet of three hundred and fifty-two ships, with all necessary accompaniments, having been assembled at Plymouth, Edmund, the brother of the lord the king, earl of Leicester, and Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, sailed with a fair wind along the coast

of Brittany, as far as Bourdeaux. But when they came towards the coast near the town of Saint Mathieu, then the inhabitants of the town, seeing so great a multitude, took up all the property which belonged to them, and fled. And when messengers had been sent to them to desire them to submit themselves to the king of England, they deceitfully asked for time to deliberate till six o'clock. And having obtained this respite, in the meantime they completed the removal of all their portable property. So, when the English saw this, they, as soon as they reached the land, entered the town, and carried off the little which they found remaining there, and burst all the casks and spilt the wine, and burnt one vessel of great size: After this, many of them entered the abbey of Saint Mathieu, and carried off all the vessels of the church, and the image of the head of the aforesaid saint, to the lord Edmund, the general of their army. All which things the lord Edmund sequestrated, and caused to be restored to the persons connected with the church. But the Welch, pursuing the flying people, caught some and slew them, and burnt the houses of many of them with firebrands, triumphing in their spoils. After which, they sailed away to the harbour which is called Brest. From thence they passed over to Saint Gillemis de Boys, where they burnt thirty galleys, and other vessels fit for sea, and remained there some time till they could not procure any water, and yet they could not quit the port, as the wind had changed its direction. So they cried to the Lord in their trouble, and he heard them in the multitude of his mercies, opening their hearts, as though he would teach them that they should each dig for treasure in different places. And a miracle, as it were, took place that day, for digging into the ground, which was in some parts sown and ploughed, and in others uncultivated and sandy, they found a quantity of corn hidden in chests and coffers, for which they returned thanks to God, and then conveyed it to their ships. At the same instant the wind became fair, and so they arrived at the city of Blayes, where the lord Edmund landed with his army. And from thence returning as far as the town of Castillon, they brought their horses out of the ships, and then they proceeded further inwards towards the town of Sparre, where the inhabitants of the town, being worn out by a long siege, surrendered the castle to the English. In the meantime, the English troops belonging to the fleet, on the Easter eve as-

saulted the city of Bourdeaux, and slew that day about thirty men with the arrows from their arbalists. And on the Wednesday in Easter week, the French secretly entering the city of Bourdeaux about evening, having broken the truce to which they had mutually agreed with the English, attacked the English dwelling in the wood near the city, who were suspecting nothing of the sort. And when this was reported by the reconnoitring parties, immediately the gallant soldiers, taking up their warlike arms, went forth to meet them. But the citizens, when they heard the sound of the trumpets, seeing how small was the number of the enemy whom they had to encounter, and calculating that their whole army was now ready for battle, entered the city with all the speed possible. And while two knights of their number were pursuing the enemy, they entered the city, and immediately the gates were shut upon them. And the rest of the French remained outside, and were slain by the sword. But the two knights abovementioned, who had entered the city while pursuing the enemy, refused to surrender to their enemies, but resisted gallantly, preferring to die like men, rather than to be shamefully imprisoned. Therefore, on the Friday in that week, the naval and military forces, having taken counsel together, assailed the city with their united forces, and having battered down the outer wall of the city, effected an entrance into the suburbs, and made no little slaughter. And when the inhabitants of the suburbs saw this, they set fire to their houses, and fled within the walls of the city. There was among the rest at that time a certain son of Belial, who disturbed the whole army, saying that the count of Artois was present at Langes, with a body of nine hundred armed cavalry; who having left the siege of Bourdeaux, turned aside thither, and not finding the count, searched the city, which was subsequently surrendered to them. After which, they made themselves masters of the town of Saint Macaire, which they not long afterwards shamefully lost, through the childish superstition of some false-speaking persons. In the month of March, on the first day of the month, king Edward, being at Newcastle-on-Tyne, collected a powerful army to chastise the ungracious conduct of the Scots, proposing to them three alternatives—either to endure voluntarily to submit themselves to his decision, or to quit their country and go into exile, or to prepare for a pitched battle in the plain. But they, preferring wholesome counsel, chose the battle.

On the day of Saint Gregory the pope, the cardinal prelate of Albany, having returned with some of the messengers of Cambray, was speedily brought to Dover by a fair wind; and on Palm Sunday, while the cardinal was being entertained at the New Temple, in London, a quarrel arose between his retainers and those of the Templars, in which the nephew of the cardinal was slain, having voluntarily thrust himself into it. But he, deferring his anger for a time, proceeded rapidly on towards Scotland, to give the king of England a report of the council of Cambray, as to what it had been, and how it had been conducted.

This year, there died John Ramayne, archbishop of York; Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, the most powerful man in the kingdom, next to the king, both in eloquence and action, and who was now cut off by a premature death, and deservedly buried near his ancestors. Also Roger, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, being now very old, paid the debt of nature, and was withdrawn from the troubles of this world. He was succeeded by Walter de Langton, a friend of the king's, who, while in foreign parts, had been assigned by the king as secretary to the cardinal, by whom he was consecrated, saving the privileges of the church of Canterbury in all things. The same year, white surplices were ordained.

The same year, John, king of Scotland, forgetful of his homage and vow of fealty, sent as ambassadors to the king of France William, bishop of Saint Andrew's, and William, bishop of Dunkeld, and John de Sule, and Ingelram de Umfraville, knights, king Edward being at that time in Flanders, and secretly made an alliance against the king of England; asking, as a confirmation of the business, that a marriage might be contracted between his son Edward and the noble maiden Joanna, daughter of Charles, the brother of the king of France, undertaking that he would be willing to attack the king of England with all his power, and to prevent him from waging war against the king of France, as is more fully contained in the documents drawn up between the two kings, by whom, as they both thus agreed to this treason, the king of England (being ignorant of it) was greatly deceived; and when he had earnestly asked for aid in his war, and had received a doubtful answer, then suspecting the state of the case, he demanded that their castles should be put in his hands as security till the end of the war, namely, those of Berwick, Edinburgh, and Roxburgh, promising to restore them after the war, if he found

the Scots faithful to him. But as the Scots refused to do this, the king, being now more certain of their treachery, marched with his army towards Scotland, and determined to subdue it by force, unless they desisted from the attempts which had been reported to him, and unless they could legitimately excuse themselves with reference to these designs, which were proved to be in progress.

Ch. XXIV.—From A.D. 1296 to A.D. 1299.

Edward makes war upon Scotland—Imprisons John Balliol—The count of Flanders is imprisoned by the king of France—King Edward lands in Flanders—Returns to England, and again invades Scotland—Battle of Falkirk—Marries Margaret of France—The pope makes war upon the king of Sicily—Edward releases Balliol, at the intercession of the pope.

The Scot prepares for trait'rous war,
Grieving from pow'r to be so far.

A.D. 1296. On the thirteenth of March, the town and castle of Berwick having been taken by the magnificent king Edward, the English slew all the men they found there with the sword; except a few, who afterwards renounced that town. And the number of Scots of both sexes who were slain there, is said to have amounted to sixty thousand. On the sixth of April, John, king of Scotland, did due homage, by written form, to the king of England, for himself and for all the Scots who held any land whatever in England. While the king of England was staying at Berwick for the fortification of the ditches and walls of the aforesaid town, the Scots, namely, the lords the earls of Ros, of Menteith, and of Ailsa, and the lord Richard Siward, and William de Saint Clare, and John Comyn, son of the John Comyn who was slain, and William de Moncrief, and Radulph, his brother, all barons; and many other knights, entered into England, and burnt the towns of Correbrigge and Helsham, slaying men, women, and children, without any regard to sex, age, or rank. Then returning into Scotland with the lord Robert de Ketingham, whom the king of France had invested that year with a knight's belt, they laid vigorous siege to the castle of Patrick, earl of Dunbar, the firm friend of the king of England, and who was at that time with him. But the garrison of the said castle, though they perfidiously feigned to implore assistance

from the English, meantime, on the eve of Saint George's day, surrendered it to the Scots. And when the king of England heard this, the next day he sent forward two thousand cavalry in complete armour, with forty standards, and a strong body of infantry, to the aforesaid castle, to put an end to the successes of the Scots. And when the Scottish nobles, earls, and barons, saw this, they remained, but the rest, to the number of five thousand, returned back again.

But on the twenty-seventh of April, the king of England himself left the aforesaid town with eight hundred cavalry, and hastened towards the castle of Dunbar. And the same day he invested it early in the morning; and the aforesaid nobles, considering carefully how they might deliver themselves, entreated the lords the earls of Warren and Warwick, and Hugh le Despenser, and other chiefs of the king of England's army, to procure them permission to send the lord Robert de Ketingham before mentioned to the king of Scotland, to ask directions from him. In which they offered to put into the hands of our countrymen, as hostages, the lords the earl of Menteith and John Comyn, son of the John Comyn who was slain, earl of Badenoch, provided they first obtained their request. And the lord Robert the same day, after dinner, returned with five hundred cavalry and forty thousand infantry. Of whom the lord Robert, and the lord Patrick de Graham, a gallant knight, and son of the lord William de Saint Clare, who bore the standard of the lord the king of Scotland, and others, to the number of at least ten thousand, fell in the battle, four-and-twenty horses having been taken, and the rest at once put to flight, with the exception of the lord John de Somerville, who was taken prisoner on that occasion. But the day after, when the king of England approached the above-mentioned town of Dunbar, the aforesaid three earls, and at least thirty Scottish knights, with bitter lamentations, surrendered themselves and the castle before mentioned to the king and to his royal pleasure. After this, he secretly entered the island of Galway, all who guarded the outer courts of the different castles either fleeing before-hand or being defeated; and in this way he bravely made himself master of all the castles. And advancing further on, he came to the Maiden's Castle, where, as looking upon it as impregnable, all the ladies of noble birth of the kingdom of Scotland are said to have been put for protection. So when the king approached it, he

arranged his troops with the view of besieging it; and as the garrison refused to surrender it, they employed engines of war, which shot forth large stones and beat down many houses, and the tops of the towers. Alarmed at this, the garrison immediately surrendered the castle and all that it contained to the king of England. And in that place, being the principal treasury of the kingdom, the royal insignia of the kingdom of Scotland were discovered, which were carried off, and deposited and sealed up in the king's store-rooms at Westminster.

After that, the king of England crossed the Scottish channel, panting to drag the king of Scotland (who was king only in name) out of his caverns; and reducing the towns of Saint Andrew's and Saint John's, with the castles in the neighbourhood, under his power. Moreover, John, king of Scotland, being now destitute of all military means of defence, on the day after the festival of the Translation of the blessed Thomas the Martyr, hoping to procure his release from bonds and imprisonment, submitted himself to the king of England, by a letter, which may be seen hereafter, almost at the end of the book. For the king of England had committed to confinement in prison John Balliol, who had been king of Scotland, in the Tower of London, and all the other earls and barons of Scotland whom he had defeated in battle in different other casles. Therefore, Edward, king of England, having traversed all the islands of Scotland, and taken the towns and castles, as no rebels showed themselves, summoned the prelates and nobles of his kingdom to meet in parliament at Saint Edmund's Bury, at the feast of Saint Martin, from whom he demanded a new talliage. And there was granted to him by the citizens and burgesses the eighth penny, and from the rest the twelfth penny was extorted. But on that occasion the clergy neither offered nor granted him anything. On which the king was indignant, and gave them time to deliberate on a better answer, which should be more welcome and acceptable to his will. And in the mean time he caused the doors of all the ecclesiastical barons to be sealed up. And while this was being done, the archbishop caused a bull from the Apostolic See to be published in all the cathedral churches, prohibiting, on pain of excommunication, any contribution being granted to the king, or to any other prince, from the revenues of the church.

On the thirteenth of June, in this year, the lord William de Valence, earl of Pembroke, who was the son of Hugh le Brun, count de la Marche, by his wife, Isabella, formerly queen of England, and relict of king John, died, and was buried at Westminster. On the first of June, the lord Berald the cardinal, returning from Scotland, having made satisfaction to the exchequer of the lord the king at Westminster, out of the revenues of the Templars, on the occasion of the death of his nephew, crossed the sea a second time to the king of France, in company with the treasurer of the lord the king of England. At this time the earl of Leicester, the lord Edmund, brother of the king of England, paid the general debt of nature, and departed this life in Guienne, as did Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, in England. This year also, the count of Artois having been forced to raise the siege of Bourg, on the coast, by the earl of Lincoln, another lord, the famous count of Eu, marched with the provost of Toulouse against the town of Bellegarde, with the object of subduing the English garrison which had thrown itself in there. But the English who were thus blockaded, in union with the townspeople, feigned flight, and having arranged an ambush, left the gates of the city open. And the count, when he saw no one resisting him, in the boldness of his mind entered the city with a few followers, leaving the rest of his army outside the gates. Then, when the English rose up from their ambush, one of them bearing a lance, immediately encountered the count, and ran him through the body. And in like manner, all those who had entered with him perished by the sword. Moreover, the citizens had erected beams on the battlements of the wall, on which they had placed baskets full of large stones, to overwhelm the French. But the provost of Toulouse, in the elation of his heart, leaping over the ditch on his war horse, with his sword cut the ropes which held the beams, and then, the cords being thus suddenly broken, the whole mass fell on his head, and so he was crushed to pieces. And when the others saw this, they immediately took to flight. In like manner, the count of Holland, having broken the bridle of his loyalty with which he was previously bound to the king of England, was slain by his own servants, while obeying the directions of the king of France. And his son and heir, John, was married to Elizabeth, the daughter of the king of England.

In the meantime, a certain ship belonging to the kingdom of France, bearing the name of king Philip, being of greater fame and size than the common vessels of either country, was encountered by some English sailors, who accidentally fell in with her, and after a severe conflict, was taken and brought into Sandwich harbour. At that time the count of Flanders, having been released from a French prison, returned to his own country. And the following had been the cause of his arrest.

Before the beginning of this war, the king of England and the aforesaid count had made an agreement that the son of the king and the daughter of the count should be united in lawful wedlock; therefore, the count of Flanders was summoned before the French court, and being examined touching this contract, he made answer to the king, that this connection having been thus agreed to, could not be dissolved. But the king of France, fearing that a confederacy of this king would be injurious to him, adopted a cunning plan for bringing about a divorce, commanding that the aforesaid damsel should be given up to his supervision in guardianship. But the count, dreading the sentence of excommunication pronounced against disturbers of matrimony, made answer, that he would by no means agree to what was asked of him. Therefore he himself was committed to liberal custody. And immediately people came wishing to give bail for the old man; but the king of France refused any bail whatever for him. And the count, seeing that he could not procure his liberation by any other means than those before mentioned, gave up his daughter to them with bitterness of spirit, and so was allowed to depart in freedom. And when he had returned to his own country, he summoned his comrades and related to them the injurious way in which he had been treated. And his people answered him, "My lord, we are merchants, and without the arrival of the English in Flanders, and the passage of Flemings into England, we cannot traffic to any advantage, let peace, therefore, be made between your nation and theirs; and then, supported by their assistance, we may despise the injuries already inflicted on us by the king of France, and any others which he may endeavour to subject us to."

When these events had been related to the king of England by regular ambassadors, by formal security having been given and taken, peace was made between the two nations, and

publicly proclaimed throughout England. Then the ambassadors of the king, namely, his treasurer of the exchequer and several other nobles, are sent back with the Flemish ambassadors to bring over hostages for the security of these engagements, fifteen thousand pounds of silver being given to the count for the fortification of his castles.

On Saint Hilary's day, the archbishop held his council with his fellow bishops and suffragans at London, in the church of Saint Paul. And after they had held a discussion for eight days on the king's demands, they could not find out any proper way or pretext for an exclusive sentence, which, through the discovery of any colourable title of any kind, any persons might contribute anything, even though many clerks and courtiers and officers of the court came, who gave their countenance to and advice in favour of the demands. All which was reported to the king by the bishops or other messengers. And the king being at once changed into a cruel tyrant, perverting all royal justice, having given his servants permission to seize for themselves all the best appointed equipages of any of the clergy, or members of religious orders whom they might meet, as if they were enemies, and having also prohibited all advocates skilled in his law, to plead before the barons of the exchequer, or any other secular judge, on behalf of any ecclesiastical person, thus decided that all ecclesiastics were unworthy of his peace. He also commanded every one who had received ordination, voluntarily to offer him a fifth part of their revenues, or else they would strip them, against their will, of all their property. Some of those who had received the tonsure, at once complied with this command, (being prelates in the king's court, but as to the care of souls manifest Pilates,) hoping by that conduct to bring over the minds of the rest. After which, at once the sheriffs laid hands upon and seized all the property of the clergy, whether moveable or immoveable, which were found on any lay fee, and confiscated them for the use of the king's treasury, all those liberties being all taken away, to their superabundant annoyance, which the predecessors of the king, the protectors of Christianity and authors of all good, had conferred upon the churches. And, what is more wicked and intolerable, their very estates were appraised, in order to be offered to purchasers with all due expedition; nor could the clergy ride out in safety, except in large companies, on account of the violence of the soldiery towards them, in consequence of the leave

which had been given by the king. And all the property of the archbishop, both moveable and otherwise, was taken possession of for the king's use. He, indeed, endured this patiently. Therefore, while the clergy were suffering, as I have here related, in body, the king himself suffered in mind. And fear and grief seized all the prelates; for they were in the greatest perplexity, fearing that if they granted any thing, they would, by so doing, incur sentence of excommunication; and if they did not give, they would not be able to escape the merciless hands of the robbers. Worn out with this anxiety, anxious for themselves, and inconsolably afflicted on account of the flock committed to them, as having no means of support, while they were thus threatened with famine, they necessarily determined to return to the world, procuring the king's protection by a sacrifice of their property to a great extent.

And immediately after these events some ambassadors returned from Guienne, bringing word that in a certain battle which had taken place between the English and French, which begun towards evening, the people of Guienne fled, and the English cavalry, left to resist by itself, was surrounded by the enemy; of whom the commander of the army, John Saint John, was taken prisoner, with others of his comrades, to the number of twelve, and led to Paris, amid the applause of the French, as formerly the Philistines exulted over Samson. On the day of Saint Matthias the Apostle, the nobles of the kingdom assembled in the city of Salisbury, and the king proposed to send some of them to the succour of his people in Guienne. Which the barons cheerfully consented, on condition that the king himself would cross the sea with them in his own person at the same time. But he did not do so.

The king the channel crossing o'er,
Lands welcome on the Flemish shore.

A.D. 1297. The archbishop of Canterbury and some of his suffragan bishops being assembled at Saint Paul's, in London, on the twenty-sixth of March, to consult a second time about the state of the church, immediately two lawyers rose up, and also two members of the order of Preaching Brothers, seeking to win the temporal favour of the king, and endeavouring to prove by specious arguments that the clergy might lawfully be called on to contribute out of their property for the service of the king in time of war, any prohibition of

the Apostolic See notwithstanding. Moreover, as every one was prohibited, under pain of imprisonment, from promulgating any sentence of excommunication against the king, or against those persons who had already sought his protection, they all appealed for themselves and their fellows to the Roman court, and then withdrew with burdened consciences, in consequence of the bishop saying, "Let every one save his own soul."

At that time a proclamation was made throughout England by the voice of a crier, that the owners of wools should expose them for sale within a month, in cities named for the purpose, otherwise that the wools should all belong to the king as forfeited. And indeed, on the day of Saint Gregory, having been cunningly collected in the manner before mentioned, they were transported into Flanders as having become the king's by forfeiture.

By these and other extortions the earls and barons of England were greatly disturbed, and appointed a parliament of their own, to be held in the forest of Wyre, which is in the Marches. And on the morrow of Saint Botolph's festival, the king, coming to Westminster, offered to the blessed king Edward, by whose merits he had acquired the regalia of the kingdom of Scotland, a throne and sceptre and crown of gold. On the day after the Translation of the blessed Thomas the Martyr, the earls and barons having been summoned to London, in accordance with a command given by the king to his constable, the earl of Hereford, and his marshal, the earl of Norfolk, to make the laity, assembled in their presence at Saint Paul's, give in an account of how many knight's equipments each person could furnish for the king's service when he should proceed to war. But the two earls replied to this command by entreating the king to impose this duty on some other officers of his household, because they had not been summoned nor invited for such a purpose. But their discourse was displeasing to the eyes of the king: however, in the meantime he appointed two other knights to discharge that commission.

About the same time, the archbishop of Canterbury, having been admitted to the king's favour, and his barony having been restored to him, on the fourteenth of July, the king, being raised on a wooden dais, before the great royal hall of Westminster, with his son, and the archbishop, and the earl of Warwick, and all the people standing around in his presence, with plentiful tears most humbly entreated pardon for his

sins, saying that he had governed his people with less propriety and tranquillity than a king ought, and that he had accepted the small portions of their properties which they had given him, or which his ministers had extorted without his knowledge, in order to be able by his power to defeat the injurious attempts of his enemies, who thirsted for English blood, that by taking a small portion of the wealth of the republic, the main quantity might be enjoyed in more tranquillity. Adding further, "Behold, I being about to expose myself to danger, for your sakes do beg of you, if I return, to receive me as you have now received me, and I will restore to you all that I have taken from you. And if I do not return, then I beg of you to crown my son as your king." And the archbishop being dissolved in tears, and the king promising to observe all these promises faithfully, the whole people with outstretched hands promised fidelity to him. In the mean time, the earls above mentioned intentionally absented themselves, until the petition of each of them for the relief of the country should be listened to. Some said that it would not be advantageous for the king to cross the sea into Flanders, and that they were not bound to afford him their service there, as their ancestors had not been used to do so. Especially as, even while he remained in the kingdom, the Scots, just like the Welch in times past, were renewing their resistance and preparing for war. They also, having first set forth the exhausted state of the community, demanded that he would not for the future exact taillages throughout England. Also, that the liberties contained in Magna Charta, and in the forest charter, should for the future be more effectually observed, and that the king should for the future revoke as null and void all voluntary exactions which were added to these imposts; and as they were not at once listened to, the aforesaid earls and barons departed in great indignation.

But when the king saw this, being desirous of cherishing a spirit of unanimity, and of gaining a victory by persuasion, he commanded the articles contained in the aforesaid charters to be renewed, and likewise to be carefully observed, requiring, in return for this concession, that the eighth money should be given him by his subjects; which was soon granted him by the people who stood around in his chamber. He also demanded a subsidy from the clergy, who replied that they wished to send letters of supplication to the supreme pontiff,

to obtain licence to grant it; therefore, a truce having been made between the king and the earls, so that they became unanimous, when the time of consultation had passed, as the aforesaid earls did not present themselves before the king, he, seeing that his friends in the parts beyond the sea, who were awaiting his arrival, were threatened with no slight danger, in consequence of his delay, on the vigil of Saint Bartholomew the Apostle, having prepared five hundred ships, with their proper complement of people, namely, nearly one thousand eight hundred knights, and a countless host of infantry, he set sail with a fair wind

O'er the dark waters of the deep blue sea.

On which day, the aforesaid earls and barons, coming to the exchequer of the lord the king at Westminster, forbade the barons of the exchequer to cause the viscounts to levy the eighth penny from the people of England, saying, that it had not proceeded from his conscience, and that without their consent no tax could be rightfully imposed or exacted. Therefore the earls and barons aforesaid, confederating together, and the majority of the people inclining to them, great alarm fell upon the inhabitants of the country; and as the danger was imminent, Edward, the king's son, acting as his father's lieutenant, during his absence, in compliance with the wishes and advice of the primates and nobles of England, renewed in London the charter about the liberties of the kingdom, and the rights of the forest, and also granted some alleviations of the yoke which his father had imposed, adopting the advice of his elders; and his father confirmed what he had done at Ghent, on the ninth of November.

At this time, the Scots were ravaging the borders of the kingdom of England, and burning the greater part of Northumberland, under the command of William Wallace, knight. The ninth penny was granted to the earls by the laity, and the tenth penny by the clergy, for the purpose of checking the obstinacy of the Scots above mentioned.

But the king, after he had crossed the sea, landed at Helvoetsluys, and proceeded onwards to Bruges, a famous city; and passing the night there, having been forewarned of the treachery of the French, he on the morrow cautiously quitted the said city, and privily entered Ghent. And in the mean time the Welch who accompanied the king of England, having

joined to themselves some English robbers, committed great slaughter, and plundered property at Rotterdam, Ghent, and other places belonging to the king of France, for which many of them were deservedly hanged. At length, a judicial decision having been agreed to, and concessions having been mutually made by the kings of the two countries, they made a truce with one another for two years, to begin at the feast of the Epiphany of the Lord; and the king of England returned from Flanders, and, on the twenty-first of March, landed at Sandwich.

This year, the lord Nicholas Longsword, bishop of Salisbury, died, and was succeeded by Master Simon of Ghent, who had been educated in London, and who was a man very skilful in theological learning.

Peace with France is settled now,
But Scotland sees the advancing foe.

A.D. 1298. The king of England came to Westminster, on the twenty-ninth of March, and a terrible fire took place in the lesser hall of the palace, and the flame reached the roof, and being fanned by the wind, devoured the buildings of the neighbouring abbey and the king's palace. The king leaving Westminster, proceeded to York, taking with him his barons of the exchequer, and his justiciaries of the king's bench, after the feast of the Holy Trinity, intending to hold a parliament with the nobles of the kingdom. From thence he moved onwards, attended by a numerous company of earls, barons, and knights, determining to subdue the rebellious Scots. And the Scots, with clergy and laity, uniting in one solid mass, to the number of more than two hundred thousand men, were found determined to resist gallantly, or die. And a terrible battle took place on the day of Saint Mary Magdalene, on the plain which is called Falkirk. And immediately the Scots were routed, and there fell of that army two hundred knights, and forty thousand infantry and more, and all the rest were speedily put to flight, and a great number were drowned in the river. And of the English there fell Brian de Jay, master of the Templars in England, and about thirty foot soldiers.

On the vigil of the Apostles Peter and Paul, peace was established at Rome, between the kings of England and France, by the exertions of pope Boniface, though it was not entirely durable. This year, also, Saint Louis, formerly king of

France, and the third predecessor of the present king, being, indeed, his grandfather, on account of the fame of his miracles, was enrolled in the catalogue of the saints, by the aforesaid pope, at the earnest entreaty of the present king of France; and on the last day of August, he was removed to the church of Saint Denis, in a solemn festival.

The same year, too, Adolph, king of Germany, being destitute of friends who were faithful to him, and especially, which is a most wicked thing to say, violating the agreement which he had made with the king of England, after a cause of quarrel had arisen between him and Albert, son of Rodolph, duke of Austria, was severely wounded and slain in a battle which took place near Mayence, and the said Albert reigned in his stead. On the day of Saint Andrew the Apostle, an earthquake took place at Rome, which lasted three days. In a similar manner there was an earthquake in England, on the vigil of the Epiphany, towards twilight, that day. Also, a comet appeared in the north, emitting rays laterally towards the east, which vomited fire as it were, and it was visible for three days after sunset, which was an omen that great slaughter would take place in the ensuing year. On the second Sunday in Lent, the king, having summoned the nobles to meet at Westminster, caused the conditions of peace which had been signed by the bull of pope Boniface, as appointed arbiter between the kings of France and England, and other bulls, too, affecting his position, to be recited to them. And all the laity and clergy assented to them. After which, the earls, barons, and prelates, requested the king to ratify the great charter of their liberties, and the one relating to the rights of the forest, as also to the disforestings which had already taken place, and to sanction and establish it. So he, having confirmed the two aforesaid charters, hardened his ears to their request of sanctioning the disforesting, and at twilight he quitted them, pretending that he was going some distance. But they, considering that he had left them, as a mark of contempt, returned to their own homes with great indignation. This year, there died the following men of great wisdom the lord Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Essex and Hertford, and William de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, and Master William de Luda, bishop of Ely. After whose death, the prior of the same church was elected bishop by a majority of the chapter, but John de Langton, the king's chancellor, by the minority.

And their cause was agitated a long time before the archbishop of Canterbury; but when, nevertheless, it was terminated in favour of the prior, the chancellor appealed to the Apostolic See, taking a journey thither in his own person to plead his cause. The prior, too, although he met with many hindrances of divers sorts, also undertook the same journey to defend the rights of his church. And when they were both in the presence of the supreme pontiff, accompanied by the procurators of the college of Ely, and when both parties had resigned their rights into the hands of the pope, he, being favourable to the procurators of the aforesaid college, permitted them the favour of electing one of the exempt abbots of that order, namely, the abbot either of Westminster, or Saint Edmund's, or of Saint Augustine's, or of Saint Alban's. But as they all refused it when offered, the pope, being angry at their obstinacy, translated the bishop of Norwich to the diocese of Ely, and appointed the prior of Ely to the bishopric of Norwich. And as brother William Ottonin, archbishop of Dublin, died at that time, in returning from the court of Rome, the pope gave that archbishopric to Master Richard de Feringes, archdeacon of Canterbury, and the vacant archdeaconry he gave to the lord John de Langton, chancellor of England.

The king a second wife doth take,
Called Margaret, for her mother's sake.

A.D. 1299. Margaret, the sister of Philip, king of France, landed at Dover on the feast of the Nativity of the blessed Mary, and two days afterwards she was lawfully married to the king of England, by the authority of the supreme pontiff, at Canterbury. The lord John de Balliol, king of Scotland, who was detained in custody by the king of England, being permitted to leave his confinement, went to visit the king of France, who, as soon as he saw him, himself at once released some illustrious knights belonging to England, namely, John de St. John, and others, who had been a long time detained in his prison, on certain conditions.

In this year, as the island of England was polluted with base money, which is called crohard and pollard, on the day of the Nativity of Saint Stephen, the protomartyr, it was cleft in two, that is, it was taken for only a halfpenny. In reference to this, a son of a stone-cutter, contemplating the work

his father was about while he was building a church, said in elegant metre—

"May you be praised, my sire,
And get sterling coin at last,
No crokar, but gold tried in fire—
Then hold your wages fast."

About this time, too, the Scots a second time prepared for battle, against whom the lord John de St. John was sent, accompanied by a strong army of knights. This year, also, Philip, king of the French, invaded Flanders with a powerful army, and began to subdue the Flemings, occupying their towns and cities, and vigorously pursuing the earl himself and his sons; but the earl, being now aged and infirm, fled with his sons to the city of Ghent, hoping that it was impregnable.

In the meantime, that nation being a real nation of Pharisees, inasmuch as it was divided against itself, and so, according to the saying of the Lord, deserving of desolation, for sometimes it was submitting to the king of England, sometimes it adhered to its natural count, now at last, despising and abandoning its natural lord, miserably surrendered itself to the king of France, its deadly enemy. Therefore, as the dread of the king of France increased, the count and his sons falling into despair, in their distress miserably surrendered themselves to Charles, the brother of the king of France, on condition of his promising them on his oath that they should not be put in prison nor be stripped of their inheritance. But the king of France violated this agreement, and threw them at once into prison, and having thrown down the ramparts of those cities which he knew to have rebelled against him, he compelled them, as if he were their natural lord, to surrender new laws.

In these days, the lord the pope, forgetting the faith and prayers of the blessed Peter, and taking what was not his to take, namely, both gold and silver from the widows and orphans, now also determined to exact money, not only from widows and orphans, but also from warlike knights, contrary to the scheme of some of the cardinals, degrading them, and determining to wage war against the king of Sicily. But the army of the aforesaid king manfully slew many thousands of the helmeted battalions of the lord the pope.

The same year, the king of Tarshish, and the king of Armenia, and the king of the Georgians, having levied an amazing army, amounting to a million of men, and forty

thousand cavalry, invoked the aid of Christ, and fought a battle against the Saracens. And there were slain of the Saracens, the enemies of the cross of Christ, at Alapia, Alachemala, Gazara, and Damascus, more than two hundred and forty thousand men, in revenge for the slaughter of the Christians, which had taken place at Acre and Tripoli, and other holy places. And as it was said the cause of the conversion of these Tartars was a miraculous one, Paganus, brother of the great Cassanus, king of the Tartars, loved the daughter of the king of Armenia, who was a Christian; accordingly, he begged her father that the damsel might be given to him in marriage; but the king of Armenia would not grant his request unless he laid aside the errors of heathenesse, and became a Christian. But the Tartars, being superior in might, riches, and power, threatened him with war. So the king of Armenia, taking advice, and considering that a marriage was better than a battle, granted his request, provided that his daughter consented; and so he asked her consent; but she, wishing to spare the people, offering herself up like a second Esther, for the safety of her nation, and trusting in the Lord, voluntarily consented. Afterwards, when they had a child born of the male sex, he was found to be hairy and shaggy like a bear. And when he was brought to his father, he said that he was not his, and immediately ordered him to be burned in the fire. But his mother resisted and contradicted this order, begging that the infant might be given to her. And when she had received him, she rejoiced, and ordered him to be baptized, and immediately, as soon as he had been thrice immersed in the sacred font, all the hairiness fell from the child, and he appeared smooth and the most beautiful of infants. And when his father saw this, he believed, and all his house.

This year, John, count of Holland, son-in-law of the king of England, having taken some poison, which was wickedly administered to him by his friends and relations, died; and his widow, when her dowry was refused her, returned to her father's house.

This year, also, the brethren who are called the Minors, as is widely asserted, and proved to their great shame, being, though explorers of all learning, nevertheless aspirers to what is illegal by their law, offered the supreme pontiff four hundred thousand golden florins, and a great sum of money, to

allow them to obtain legal possession of estates, and lands, and revenues; to whom the lord the pope said, "Where is your money?" And they replied, "In the hands of the merchants." And after a respite of three days had been given the brethren to frame their reply, the merchants, being released from the custody of the deposit, the lord the king ordered, under pain of anathema, that that money should be taken care of for his own necessities. And he made answer to the brothers, that the rule of Saint Francis, which had been canonically ratified, was one which he would not in any sense violate, and that the brethren ought not at all to depart from it, but always to regulate their conduct by it. And so it fell out, that what they had unjustly acquired they very justly lost.

This year, a violent and ruinous storm of wind threw down trees and houses, and many belfries in the kingdom of England in different places. The lord Henry of Newark, archbishop of York, died; and the lord Oliver, bishop of Lincoln, a man of exemplary life, on Saint Brice's day died while uttering a prayer. The same year, on the anniversary of the translation of Saint Thomas the Martyr, of Canterbury, nuncios came from the pope, begging the king to release John, formerly king of Scotland, from his custody, promising that he himself would preserve both king and kingdom of England from any danger which could arise from his liberation. And the king condescended to their petition, and released him, and gave him to the nuncios of the pope, and they conducted him to the land of Balliol, which belonged to him, in the kingdom of France, where they left him in the custody of certain prelates.

Ch. XXV.—From A.D. 1300 to A.D. 1301.

A law is passed against base money—The king makes his son Edward prince of Wales—He again invades Scotland—The pope intercedes for the Scots, and claims Scotland as belonging to the Roman Church—The letters of the pope, and the replies from the king and nobles of England.

The charter's signed again, as 't was at first,
And all transgressors with anathema curst.

A.D. 1300. On Easter-eve, being the ninth of April, the kind of money which was called pollard and crochard, and other

bad money, was forbidden in England. On the first of June, the queen of England brought forth her first-born son at Brotherestone, and he was named Thomas.

The king marched an army against the Scots, and when he came near to them they fled before him, and more than four hundred of them were slain. About the same time, the lord archbishop of Canterbury came to the king, bringing him a command from the Apostolic See, not to presume any further to make war upon the Scots, who had submitted themselves to the pope's protection. And when the king heard this, he returned into England. In the week after the feast of Saint Hilary, while the king was holding his parliament at Lincoln, the earls and barons complained of injurious and violent depredations which were committed in every direction by the ministers and household of the king. And, again, they requested that the liberties which were granted, as set forth in the great charter, should last from that time forth for ever in their original force. They also demanded that the disforestings, on account of which all the richer sort of the common people were distressed, and which had repeatedly been granted by the king, but had never hitherto been actually completed, should be ordered by him to be carried out, in accordance with his decree. When these and some other articles had been demanded of the king with great earnestness, he procrastinated for several days; at last, seeing that the barons would not desist from the work which they had commenced, nor acquiesce in his necessary demands on other terms, answered that he was prepared to concede and ratify all that they requested, and anything else, also, which they might at any time demand and consider necessary to be confirmed. Therefore, the charters of their liberties were renewed, as also those concerning the forests; and both of them were ratified with the royal seal, and copies carried into every county in England. And when they were published before the people, the lord archbishop of Canterbury, with the rest of his fellow-bishops, laid all the transgressors of them under the ban of the greater excommunication. Moreover, in return for the more effectual confirmation of these charters, the earls and barons granted to the king a fifteenth part of all their moveables, to be paid on the feast of Saint Michael next ensuing. But Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, would grant nothing on the part of the clergy, nor from the temporalities annexed to the church, without the special permission of the supreme pontiff.

The king gave his son Edward the principality of Wales, which was a step very pleasing to the Welch, because he had been born in Wales. He also bestowed on him the earldom of Chester. Therefore, the king and the barons being now at peace with one another, addressed an elegant letter to the pope, sealed with a hundred seals, requesting to protect, as was just, the rights of the English over the kingdom of Scotland which they had enjoyed from the beginning, and by no means to lend an ear to the false suggestions of the perjured Scots, as is fully set forth in the history of the following year. The lord Edmund, earl of Cornwall, died this year, without issue, leaving Edward, king of England, his next heir.

The queen her second son doth Edmund call.

A.D. 1301. On the fifth day of August, being the day of Saint Oswald, king and martyr, Margaret, queen of England, brought forth her second son, at Woodstock, and named him Edmund. This year the lord the pope usurped for three years the tenth part of all the ecclesiastical revenues in the kingdom of England. Moreover, in these days the salt of the earth and the head of the people fell into a great dropsy; for the more money—that wicked water—they drank, so much the more did they thirst for it; and what temporalities the one left behind him, not having diminished them of his own accord, the other, without being compelled, plucked from the spiritualities as polluted. Therefore, the church of the faithful sat in sorrow, being led by its venal protectors in a miserable manner under tribute.

About the same time, while the king of England was leading an army against the kingdom of Scotland, Edward, prince of Wales, the king's son, marched before him with a warlike army. But because they did nothing great or worthy of praise, since scarcely any one of the Scots resisted them, our pen may pass briefly over this part of the narrative.

While these events were taking place, the king of France sent the abbot of Compiegne, and some other persons with him, to ask for peace for the Scots, calling them his own friends; but the ambassadors, not receiving such a reply as they wished, returned home again. This year, a subject of dissension arose between the pope and the king of France, each of them trusting to his own great power to such a degree, that the pope said to the ambassador of the king of

France, "We have both powers." And he replied, on behalf of his master: "No doubt, lord; but yours is only a verbal power, ours a real one." And then the anger of the lord the pope grew so violent, that he said that he would move heaven and earth against him. The lord Walter de Langton, bishop of Chester, and treasurer of England, having been vehemently accused before the lord the pope in respect of various atrocities and flagitious crimes, was cited before the supreme pontiff to answer in person to these charges. And having lavished no small sum of money at the Roman court, as they knew that he was a much fatter ox than the generality, he yet derived no advantage from it; for he was sent back to the archbishop of Canterbury, with the intent that he, in the absence of the pope, should, by certain persons commissioned for the purpose, enquire into the innocence of the accused person, and then write back word to the supreme pontiff by the same Walter, who should not know what was in the letter, a full account of all that had been done or performed in the matter. Not to dwell on the story: after an investigation into his innocence had taken place by certain laymen and clerks of good reputation, commissioned by the archbishop, and after he had cleared himself before them of some of the accusations, and of the rest before some brethren of the religious orders of very high character, telling both parties all that they required to know, he returned a second time to the pope; and the pope, understanding that a well-considered and regular acquittal of the bishop had been sent to him by the archbishop, restored bishop Walter to his previous estimation, and sent him back to his diocese with higher character and authority than ever. Moreover, John, the knight who had accused him, was not long afterwards himself accused of homicide and other crimes; and he, knowing himself guilty, claimed the protection of the church: and though, indeed, he had a wife, he said that he was a deacon before he married her. At last, he was condemned, and committed to the bishop's prison, in which he survived five days and no longer. And from him let the wicked laity take warning what a thing it is to accuse ecclesiastics.

This year, the bishops of Ely and Worcester died, and two monks were elected in their stead; but as they could not obtain the favour of consecration from the archbishop of Canterbury, they went to the Apostolic See; and when they arrived

there, having discussed the regularity of each election before the pope, the election of the prior of Ely was coufirmed, but that of the monk of Worcester was completely quashed. Therefore, the lord the pope gave that bishopric to one of the order of Minor Brothers.

The same year, pope Boniface having been instigated by the Scots, sent letters from himself to the king of England, asserting that the kingdom of Scotland belonged to the rightful estates of the Roman church, and that it was contrary to God and to justice, and to the prejudice of the Apostolic See, that the king of England was claiming its subjection to himself, alleging the reasons for this assertion, which are given below.

First of all, because when king Henry, his father, had obtained assistance from Alexander, king of Scotland, in his war with Simon de Montfort, in order that this assistance might not be supposed to have been either demanded or afforded in consequence of any right of superiority belonging to England, the said Henry did, by his letters patent, acknowledge that he did not receive the aid by any right, but by special favour. Again, when king Alexander was invited by letter to the coronation of king Edward, in order, as being a friend of his, to give his friendly countenance to that solemnity by his presence, he came, not as if in discharge of a duty, but as a special favour. Moreover, when the king of Scotland appeared in person before the king of England to swear fealty to him in respect of the lands of Tyndale and Penrith, which are situated in England, he did homage to him only for those lands which are situated in England, and not as king of Scotland for the kingdom of Scotland; because he made a formal protest before the people that he was not bound to do any homage to the king of England for the kingdom of Scotland.

Also, when the aforesaid king Alexander left a daughter as his heiress, by name Margaret, the niece of the king of England, and as yet under age, the guardianship belonged not to the king of England as superior lord, but to certain nobles of the kingdom of Scotland, elected for the purpose. Moreover, the pope accused the king of, after the death of the aforesaid king Alexander, he had by force and terror subdued the Scots as being now a headless nation, destitute of the support of a leader, to the great prejudice and injury of the Roman church. Adding, that when the lord the pope commits the execution of the office of legate in the kingdom of England

to any person, either for the sake of the payment of the tenth, or for any other reasonable cause; and when this officer's legateship is not extended over the aforesaid kingdom of Scotland by letters, and an especial decree of the Apostolic See, the Scots have a right to resist and oppose such a legateship, as notoriously happened in the time of Adrian of blessed memory. For the legate himself was for some time not admitted to the aforesaid kingdom of Scotland, until the office of legate to that country was included in his commission by special letters from the Apostolic See.

He also added, that the same kingdom had been converted to the unity of the Catholic faith by the venerable relics of the blessed apostle Peter, but without the especial interposition of the Deity. And that in former days, the archbishop of York, who was in office at the time, having raised the question of his rights as metropolitan over the prelates of Scotland before the pope, could not obtain sentence in his favour.

By these arguments contained in his letters, the lord the pope endeavoured to persuade the king to permit the bishops and abbots elect, and all the other citizens of the kingdom of Scotland whom he was detaining in prison, to depart in freedom, and to recall his officers from the above-mentioned kingdom of Scotland, whom he had appointed and placed there, to the prejudice, injury, and grave scandal of the faithful people, so that he might become more acceptable and pleasing to God, and might by his conduct in this respect more fully obtain the favour of the Apostolic See. And if he should assert that he had any rights over the aforesaid kingdom of Scotland, or over any part of it, the pope desired him to send procurators and ambassadors specially appointed for this very purpose, and furnished with all the laws and documents which related to the subject, to the Apostolic See; where he should receive the full complement of justice touching the matter.

The pope commands the archbishop of Canterbury to present to the king of England the letters which he addresses to him on behalf of the Scots.

"Boniface, bishop, and servant of the servants of God, to the venerable brother, the archbishop of Canterbury, health and our apostolic benediction.

"The frequent and often-repeated assertions of men worthy of credit, and also the voice of common report has brought to

our ears the excesses, annoyances, troubles, losses, mischiefs, and injuries which have been inflicted by our most beloved Son in Christ, Edward, the illustrious king of England, and his officers, and his nation, upon the kingdom of Scotland, and the prelates, clergy, and other ecclesiastical persons, both of the religious orders and of the secular body, and upon the churches, monasteries, and other religious places, and upon the inhabitants and natives of the aforesaid kingdom, and on their property which has been attacked. And we, being unwilling, as, indeed, we have no right, to pass over such things in silence, do exhort this king by these our serious letters which we send to you, to be by you presented to him, to cause the bishops, and clergy, and ecclesiastical persons of the said kingdom, whom he is said still to detain as prisoners, to be restored to their former liberty, and to recall the officers whom he is stated to have appointed in the said kingdom, and to send into our presence procurators and ambassadors appointed by himself, with all his laws and documents, if he imagines that he has any right over the aforesaid kingdom, or over any part of it.

"Also, all actions, and questions, and controversies whatsoever, which may have arisen between king Edward and the aforesaid kingdom of Scotland, and the prelates, clergy, and secular persons of the same kingdom, and all such as may hereafter arise in respect of any of the past causes; and the whole business we by our aforesaid letters do bring back to, and reserve for, the decision and determination of the Apostolic See; and we do decree that if any thing to the contrary be either knowingly or ignorantly attempted by any one in this matter, it shall be null and void.

"Wherefore we, by these our apostolic letters, do enjoin your fraternity, in virtue of your obedience and under pain of suspension from the administration of spiritual and temporal things, strictly ordering you to present these our letters before mentioned to the aforesaid king, without any hindrance or delay, and to effectually encourage and persuade him to receive what we write to him, and to acquiesce in our exhortations. And I desire you faithfully and seriously to inform us of the day on which you present him with the aforesaid letters, and of all that you do with respect to them, and of whatever answer he gives, or whatever he does in the matter, by your own letters patent, which shall contain a full account of these

affairs. Given at Anagni, on the twenty-eighth of June, in the fifth year of our pontificate."

The Letters addressed by pope Boniface to Edward the First, king of England, to tell him that the kingdom of Scotland belongs to the Roman Church.

"Boniface, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our most beloved son in Christ, Edward, the illustrious king of England, health and our apostolical benediction.

"We know, my son, and experience, which teaches men the character of things in a long course of time, has shown us how the affectionate zeal of that reverence towards your mother, the Roman church, which guides you in the bowels of kingly charity and affection, flourishes; and that you do always promptly obey, and acquiesce in, the true decrees of our Apostolic See. Wherefore we entertain a firm hope, and feel a full confidence, that your royal highness will kindly receive our words, and carefully understand them, and effectually execute them.

"It may, indeed, have come to the knowledge of your highness, and we do not at all doubt that it is contained in the list of your memory, how from ancient times the kingdom of Scotland has of full right belonged, and is still well known to belong, to the aforesaid church; and that as we have received it, it has never been under any feudal subjection to your ancestors, the kings of England, nor is it so now to you. We have heard how Henry of illustrious memory, king of England, and your father, in the time of discord or war which existed between himself and a certain Simon de Montfort, and his partisans and adherents, requested assistance to be furnished to him by Alexander, king of that same land of Scotland, and son-in-law of Henry himself. And in order that this help so furnished might not be considered as having been either asked or given in consequence of any subjection or right claimed, the aforesaid Henry thought proper to grant his letters patent to the king of Scotland, in which he distinctly acknowledged that he had only received, or was only going to receive, the aforesaid aid as a special favour. Moreover, when, in process of time, you desired to have the presence of the aforesaid king of Scotland, your sister's husband, then alive, at the solemnity of your coronation, you took care to assure him by letters patent, under your own hand, that you asked for it not as a

right due, but only as a favour. Also, when that same king appeared in your presence, to do you the customary homage for the lands of Tyndale and Penrith, which are situated in the realm of England, he, in the very act of doing you that homage, in the presence of many persons, did openly and distinctly declare, by word of mouth, that he was doing you that homage only for those lands which were situated in England, and not as king of Scotland, nor for the kingdom of Scotland. Moreover, he openly protested that he was in no respect bound to do or perform any homage to you for that kingdom, inasmuch as it was in no respect subject to you. And you accepted his homage and fealty in those terms.

"Also, it is believed that it cannot have escaped your memory how, when the aforesaid king of Scotland was removed from this world, the damsel Margaret, your own niece, who was then under age, being left his heiress, the guardianship of the aforesaid kingdom did not come to you as the superior lord, but certain nobles of that kingdom were elected to be the guardians of it, and that afterwards a dispensation was obtained from the Apostolic See, to permit a marriage to be contracted between our dear son, the noble Edward, your son, and the aforesaid Margaret, while she was still alive, provided the assent of the nobles of the aforesaid kingdom was procured or given to it; and you are known to have persuaded these nobles, by letters written by yourself, before they would consent to such a marriage, promising them that the kingdom itself should remain entirely free, and in no respect subordinate or subject to any one, for ever; and that it should be in all respects restored to its previous state, if it should happen that there was no issue to the marriage so to be contracted, and should retain its name and honours as before, both in maintaining its own laws, and in the appointment of the officers of the kingdom, and in holding parliaments, and trying causes within the kingdom itself, and also in the right possessed by all its inhabitants, of not being summoned to trial out of the kingdom. And you recollect that all these things are known to be more fully and seriously contained in your own letters patent drawn up on this subject.

"Moreover, when the aforesaid Margaret was removed from this world, and when, in consequence, there arose a subject for dissension among the different parties of the kingdom, respecting the succession to the aforesaid kingdom of Scotland, the

nobles fearing that, in consequence of such an opportunity, injury to themselves and their aforesaid kingdom might be engendered, would not come into your presence beyond the borders of the kingdom, till a provision was first granted to them by you, by an especial patent deed, that this was done by them not out of right, but as a special favour, and that from that act no harm could accrue to the liberties of your kingdom.

"And although, as it is said, some things in respect of the constitution of this same kingdom of Scotland, and of its previously established liberties, as the kingdom itself was at that time deprived of the protection of any defender, were altered and innovated upon in a way contrary to all ancient precedent by the nobles of the kingdom, who were at that time without a head as it were, and divided, and destitute of the guidance of a charioteer, or else by him to whom you are said to have unduly entrusted the government of the said kingdom, still these things, as having been brought about by fear and violence, which may at times influence even consistent and brave men, ought by no means to be allowed to stand as rightfully done, as to redound to the prejudice of the kingdom. Still we are by no means in doubt, or rather we are certain, that when the pre-eminent authority of the Apostolic See does by his letters commit the execution of the office of legate in the kingdoms of England [and Scotland] to any person, so when, for any cause which it considers reasonable, it enjoins the payment of tenths, apostolic letters of this sort do not at all extend to the aforesaid kingdom of Scotland, since a special privilege of the aforesaid see, which has been granted to the Scots, utterly prevents it, as notoriously happened in the time of pope Adrian of blessed memory, our predecessor, and of Saint Adrian, cardinal deacon, and at that time legate in those kingdoms, appointed by letters of the Apostolic See, and with whom we ourselves were intimate. For he being legate, was not at all admitted into the aforesaid kingdom of Scotland, until, by special letters of the Apostolic See, the office of legate in that realm was conferred on him. Moreover, your royal highness may know how that kingdom itself was, by the venerable relics of the blessed apostle Andrew, gained over and converted to the unity of the Catholic faith, not without the great mercy of the Divine Godhead. You also know that in that ancient times the archbishop of York of that day raised the question of his

metropolitan authority over the prelates of Scotland, which he claimed as an ancient right, and how he fared in that matter; and remember, not to dwell upon the other circumstances which happened in connection with it, that he was unable to obtain sentence in his favour; and there are many and various other arguments which offer themselves to us very reasonably on this subject, by which we are moved to write thus to you, but which we will forbear to enumerate, lest, perchance, we weary your senses by the long recital.

"These things, my dearest son, it behoves you carefully to consider and diligently to ponder on, in the recesses of your breast; and the consequence of them is, that no one can doubt that the aforesaid kingdom of Scotland belongs to the aforesaid Roman Church of Rome; and it neither is, nor ever has been, lawful for you to subdue it by violence, and to reduce it under your dominion, to the prejudice of that Church and of many persons. But as an account worthy of all belief, and already several times inculcated in our ears, and borne to us by the statements of preceding reports, asserts, you, not considering the arguments recapitulated above, as you ought to have done, nor examining them with due deliberation, but being exceedingly desirous to occupy that kingdom and to reduce it under your dominion, now that it is deprived of the support of its king, and putting forth for that purpose all your might and power, have arrested, as it is said, and thrown into prison and into chains, our venerable brothers Robert, bishop of Glasgow, and Mark, bishop of Sodor, and some of the other clerks and ecclesiastical persons of the aforesaid kingdom, some of whom, as it is asserted, the miserable hardships of the imprisonment have killed. Moreover, having, as it is reported, occupied the castles, and having pulled down or destroyed the monasteries and a great many other religious places, and having inflicted grievous wrongs on the inhabitants of the aforesaid kingdom, you have placed royal officers in parts of the same kingdom, who have not feared to harass and attack by all kinds of annoyances and afflictions the prelates and the rest of the clergy and ecclesiastical and also secular persons of the aforesaid kingdom, to the offence of the Divine Majesty, the contempt of the aforesaid Apostolic See, the damage of the royal salvation and character, the violation of law, and the grave scandal of many faithful believers.

"Therefore, we do earnestly request and exhort your royal magnificence, and we beseech you by Him who is the common

Saviour of all men, that you, carefully considering that, according to the duty of that pastoral office which rests upon our shoulders, we are bound anxiously to uphold and maintain all the property and rights of the aforesaid church, and that we are not able to prefer serving man rather than God, nor ought we to do so. And we therefore beg of you to cause the aforesaid bishops, clerks, and ecclesiastical persons, whom your royal prison still keeps shut up, to be restored to their former liberty, out of reverence for this divine and Apostolic See, and for ourselves, without any obstacle of difficulty or delay; and also to recall your officers before mentioned from the aforesaid kingdom of Scotland. And we hope and desire to find you with prompt and effectual zeal ready to comply with these our wishes in this matter, that so you may be deservedly rendered more acceptable to, and considered more favourably by the King of Heaven, who requites small things with great ones; and that besides the panegyric of human praise which will accrue to you from that conduct, you may more abundantly earn the favour and approbation of the Apostolic See.

"But if you assert that you have any right over this same kingdom of Scotland, or any part of it, then we will that you do not forbear to send your procurators and ambassadors specially appointed for this object, with all laws and documents in your possession which bear upon this subject, within six months, to be counted from your receipt of these present letters, as we are ready to render you full justice on the above subject as our beloved son, and inviolably to uphold your rights, if you have any. And by the tenor of these present letters, we do recall and reserve to our own decision all actions, questions, and controversies whatsoever, arising between you and the kingdom of Scotland, and the prelates, clergy, and secular persons of that same kingdom, as also all which can arise for the future from any of the causes above mentioned, and, in short, every matter which has any reference to the aforesaid business or any part of it, decreeing that if anything shall be, either knowingly or ignorantly, attempted by any one, in respect of this matter, contrary to this our command, it shall be null and void. Given at Anagni, on the twenty-seventh of June, in the fifth year of our pontificate."

The certification of the archbishop sent to the lord the pope respecting the affairs of Scotland.

"To the most holy father in Christ, and his revered lord,

if it so pleases him, the lord Boniface, by divine Providence, supreme pontiff of the holy Roman universal church, his devout son Robert, by divine permission, the humble minister of the church of Canterbury, sends kisses of his blessed feet, with all readiness to obey his papal mandates and precepts to the uttermost of his power.

"I have lately received the mandate of your holy and reverend paternity under a bull of lead, containing the commands set down below.

"'Boniface, bishop, &c.' 'The frequent and often-repeated assertions of men worthy of credit,' &c., reciting the whole of the preceding bull word for word. The bearer of which brought me also some apostolic letters, addressed to the noble prince the lord Edward, by the grace of God, the illustrious king of England, to be immediately presented by me to him, according to the injunction of your paternity, being in the same context with the letters to myself. And having reverently received and had immediately read to me that your command, together with the letters which are mentioned above, I prepared my baggage, and carriages, and expenses, and arranged my household from day to day, in order to set out to deliver and explain those your letters to the lord the king, which were committed to me for that purpose; as the king was at that time in the most remote districts of his kingdom, on the borders of Scotland, twenty moderate days' journey, or thereabouts, from the place where I received your command. And before I, travelling incessantly, and with all haste, could arrive at the city of Carlisle, which is on the borders of Scotland, the same king with his army entered a part of the kingdom of Scotland, which is called Galway. And when, after a diligent investigation, I had discovered from some secular persons, and from some belonging to religious orders, who being men worthy of all credit, and well acquainted with the country, that I could not get safe access to the king, who had advanced as far as Kircudbright, in the most difficult part of Galway; nevertheless, for the sake of the Scots, who were without any head or any governor, and also because of other robbers who were thirsting for the plunder and slaughter of the English, who with the general of their army had occupied the middle of the ground between Carlisle and the lord the king himself, who was at a distance from that city of about forty miles, since, on account of the scarcity of provisions and

of lodging, they, being in the middle of the road, since the whole country was laid waste, could neither find their way nor procure guides across it. I, because of the necessity under which I was placed to show my obedience on the one side, even through such great dangers, in parts so remote from my diocese and province, which, on the other hand, were not much interested in the affair; and especially as I could not find any one, among either the religious orders or the secular clergy, who would dare to carry verbal news of my arrival to the Scots, or my letters either, because of the danger in which his life would have been, or to ask a safe conduct for me from them; seeking out another remedy as well as I could, I sent two of my household to the lord the king before mentioned, with my letters, sending them in a vessel across some dangerous channels of the sea; informing him by letter of my arrival and its object, and requesting that, out of his reverence for the Apostolic See, of which I was the ambassador, he would tell them how, when, and where I could come to him with safety, as far as the dangers of the roads were concerned, which also I mentioned to him in the same letter. And his reply was conveyed to me in royal letters by the same ambassadors, who escaped no inconsiderable danger, both by sea and land, in going and returning. And in these letters it was told me, that the lord the king knew of no perfect safety for me by which I might avoid the aforesaid dangers, unless I came with the lady queen, his wife, for whom he had sent, to the district of Gerewitas, to a place where he proposed to meet that princess; since he had no vessel in which I could be conveyed by sea with my horses and necessary retinue of servants and friends; and so, while my messengers were passing over amid so much danger to the king, the winds being constantly violent and contrary, I was staying on the borders of Scotland, seeking from place to place for a sufficiency rather than for an abundance of food, waiting not so much distressfully as anxiously nearly six weeks for an opportunity of a more secure progress towards the king. Afterwards, when, in consequence of my careful enquiries, I heard that the aforesaid lord the king, in returning with his army towards the castle of Caerlandrok, which he had previously taken, had pitched his camp in Scotland, near the New Abbey of Duzquer, in Galway, I, preferring to expose myself, and my friends, and my property to danger, rather than thus to lan-

guish a long time in such remote, and, to a certain extent, desert districts, away from my diocese and province, concealing myself in certain secret places near the sea which divides England from Galway, taking advantage of an opportunity, and being guided at ebb-tide by men who were bound not to be ignorant of the passes of the road, I passed with my horses and equipages over four passes across the water near the coast, dangerous rather in name than by reason of any depth of water, and hazardous at the beginning and end of them from the nature of the shore and the quicksands; and so I arrived, as it were, unexpectedly, on the Friday next after the feast of Saint Bartholomew the Apostle last past, in the presence of the lord the king, who was then in the middle of his army, and at dinner; and because, as he said, he could not find any leisure that day, he sent me a message late on that day by two of his most powerful earls, who at that time were with him, that the next day, that is to say, on the ensuing Sabbath, he would cheerfully listen to me.

"Therefore, when the day of the sabbath arrived, in the presence of that most devout youth the lord Edward, son of the aforesaid king, and of the earls, barons, and the other knights of his army, assembled in great numbers, and standing by the aforesaid lord their king, having read to them your beforementioned message, which had been transmitted to me, I, by the authority of the aforesaid message, presented to him the letters of your most holy paternity, directed to the aforesaid lord the king; and the lord the king, reverently receiving them, caused them to be publicly read before all then and there present, and to be plainly translated into the French language. And when they had been patiently listened to by every one present, I encouraged and persuaded him, by all the means that I could think of and know of, in all respects reverently to obey your exhortation as far as they were explained to him in the letters above mentioned. Afterwards, when I departed from his presence with my clergy at his command, in order that he might deliberate on the matter with his nobles, he presently recalled me, and replied to me in their presence in the following words, uttered by the mouth of some other person."

The reply given to the archbishop of Canterbury in answer to the apostolic letters.

"My lord archbishop, you, on the part of the superior and

reverend father, the lord pope, have addressed to us a certain admonition touching the state and rights of the kingdom of Scotland; but because it is the custom of the kingdom of England, that in all matters affecting the state of the said kingdom, the counsel of all those whom the matter concerns should be sought, and as the present business of the kingdom of Scotland concerns the constitution and rights of the kingdom of England, and as many prelates, earls, barons, and other nobles of the kingdom of England are absent, who are not, and have not, been in this army, but who have an interest in the business here spoken of, without consulting whom no final answer can be given to either the aforesaid supreme father or to you. Accordingly, with reference to this subject, the lord the king intends, as soon as he conveniently can, to consult both those who are present and those who are absent, on the contents of the letters of the aforesaid father, and to discuss there with them deliberately, and by ambassadors of his own to give an answer respecting them to the supreme pontiff, in accordance with their common advice. And this reply thus made in his name and in his presence, the king ratified and expressly approved. Accordingly, when, after having received such a reply in the presence of such a numerous body of nobles and other persons worthy of credit, I had departed from his presence and returned towards my home again, I heard that the said lord the king, immediately within four days after my departure, had returned with his army into England, and that each of the knights belonging to his army had returned home with his horses and arms, and that the lord the king, his army being thus dispersed, and having but a few comrades retained around him, purposed to stay, as was commonly said, at a certain abbey which is called Holmcoltran, on the borders of Scotland, on the coast. And thus I reverently executed your commission in every respect, with all the diligence that I was able. May your apostolical highness fare well always, and increase in the Lord, to the good government of his church.

"Given at Otteford, on the eighth of October, in the year of our Lord thirteen hundred."

The king having, after some deliberation, convoked a council at Lincoln, for the purpose of framing a declaration of his rights, wrote back letters of the following tenor, as an answer to those from the Apostolic See.

The Answer of Edward, king of England, respecting the affairs of Scotland, sent to pope Boniface.

"To the most holy father in Christ, the lord Boniface, by divine permission, &c., Edward . . . &c.

"What is written below we send to be shown to you, not in the form or shape of a judicial paper, but as a wholly extra-judicial writing, for the sake of preserving the consistency of your sacred paternity. The supreme inspector of hearts knows that it is inscribed by an indelible pen on the tablet of your memory, that our predecessors and progenitors, the kings of England, have, from the most ancient times that it is possible to go back to, been lords of the kingdom of Scotland, and of all its kings, by the right of superior and direct dominion; and they have received from those kings and from those of the nobles of the land, from whom they have desired to receive them, legal homage and proper oaths of fealty for the kingdom of Scotland. We, therefore, continuing this kind of possession of this right and dominion in our own time, have received the same oaths both from the king of Scotland and from the nobles of the kingdom. Moreover, the kings, our predecessors, rejoiced in a prerogative of so much right and dominion over the kingdom of Scotland and its kings, that they conferred even the kingdom itself on their own faithful subjects. Also, the kings, for just causes, removed some and appointed others to reign in their stead under themselves, which things are beyond all question supposed to have been from old time, and still to be notorious to all persons, although, perhaps, another version of the case may have been suggested to your paternal ears, by persons jealous of peace, sons of rebellion, men full of false insinuations, from whose designing and deceitful inventions we humbly entreat that the eyes of your holiness may be averted; and we with devout affection entreat your paternal clemency and excellency, that, for the sake of brevity, we may be allowed just to touch on one or two points by way of example, with all due respect for the achievements of ancient times.

"In the time, then, of the Prophets Eli and Samuel, a certain gallant and illustrious man, by name Brutus, of the Trojan race, after the destruction of the city of Troy, landed, with many nobles of the Trojans, in a certain island which was then called Albion, inhabited by giants, who were defeated

and slain by his power and that of his followers; and then he called the island Britain, after his own name, and his companions he called Britons, and he built a city which he called Trinovantum, and which is now called London. Afterwards, he divided his kingdom among his three sons, giving to Locrin, the first-born, that part of Britain which is now called England; and to his second son, Albanact, that part which was then called Albany, from the name of Albanact, but which is now called Scotland; and to Camber, his youngest son, he gave that portion which at the time received the name of Cambria, from his name, but which is now called Wales. The royal dignity over all being reserved to Locrin. Accordingly, two years after the death of Brutus, a certain king of the Huns, by name Humber, landed in Albany, and slew Albanact, the brother of Locrin; and when Locrin, the king of the Britons, heard this, he pursued him, and he fled, and was drowned in the river which is now called the Humber, from his name, and in this way Albany reverted to Locrin. At another time, Dunwallo, king of the Britons, slew Scotanus, king of Scotland, who rebelled against him, and compelled his country to surrender to him. Again, the two sons of Dunwallo, namely, Belinus and Brennius, divided the kingdom of their father between them, so that Belinus, the elder, took the crown of the island with Britain, Wales, and Cornwall, and Brennius, reigning under him, received Scotland; for the usages of the Trojans required that the dignity of the inheritance should belong to the first-born. Again, Arthur, that most famous king of the Britons, subjugated Scotland when it rebelled against him, and almost destroyed the whole nation; and afterwards made a person named Anselm king of Scotland. And when, afterwards, the same Arthur was celebrating a most renowned feast at Caerleon, all the kings who were subject to him were present there, among whom, Anselm, king of Scotland, performing due service for the kingdom of Scotland, carried king Arthur's sword before him. And in like manner, all the kings of Scotland, in regular succession, have been subjects to all the kings of the Britons, and to all the succeeding kings of England, in the said island, who subsequently obtained the monarchy and supreme dominion.

"After these events, in the nine hundred and seventh year of grace, Edward the Elder, son of king Alfred, and grandson of Ethelwolf, king of England, had kept all the kings of the

Scots, the Cumbrians, and the Stregewallians [Welch] in subjection and submission to him as their superior lord. In the nine hundred and thirty-third year of grace, Athelstan, king of England, appointed Constantine to reign as king of the Scots under himself, saying, 'that it was more glorious to make a king than to be a king.' It is also well recollected, that the same Athelstan, at the intercession of the holy John of Beverlac, formerly archbishop of York, subdued the Scots who were rebelling against him, and then, devoutly giving thanks to God, he prayed to God, begging that, by the intervention of the blessed John, some manifest sign might be displayed to him, by which all future ages, as well as all preceding ones, might be assured that the Scots were rightfully subject to the kingdom of England; and, seeing some rocks conspicuous near a place in the kingdom of Scotland, called Dunbar, he drew his sword out of the sheath, and struck the flint, and by that sword-stroke, the power of God being the real agent, the stone was hollowed out in such a way, that the size of the hollow was equal in length to an ell. And an evident proof of this fact is to be seen in the church of Beverlac, in the legend of the blessed John, of which it is read as a miraculous fact in every week in the year, to the praise and honour of Saint John. And it is a matter preserved in general recollection both in England and Scotland to this present day.

"Again, Constantine, king of Scotland, and Eugan, king of Cumberland, coming to the aforesaid king of England, Athelstan, after some dispute which had arisen between them, surrendered themselves and their kingdoms to this same Athelstan, in grateful acknowledgment of which action, Athelstan himself received the son of Constantine from the sacred font as his godfather. In the year of grace nine hundred and forty-eight, the Scots, without any battle, acknowledged their subjection to Edred, king of England, and swore fealty to the same king Edred as their lord. Again, in the nine hundred and seventy-fourth year of grace, when Edgar, king of England, had subdued Kinadius, king of England, and Malcolm, king of Cumberland, and the king of the many isles, by name Mac, and five other small kings, namely, Dunwal, Siferth, Huwal, Jacob, and Inchel, he, going in a boat down the river Dee, sat in his vessel near the head, and is reported to have said, that now his successors might well boast that they were kings of England, when they enjoyed such a preroga-

tive of honour, as to have the power of so many kings subject to them.

"After the aforesaid king Edgar, there reigned successively, as kings of England, the lord Edward the Martyr, Ethelred, his brother, Edmund, surnamed Ironside, son of Ethelred, and, in the year of grace one thousand and seventeen, Canute; all of whom, in their times, peaceably retained the kingdom of Scotland in subjection to them, with this single exception, that in the fifteenth year of the reign of the aforesaid Canute, the Scots rebelled; but Canute at once led an expedition into that country, and with very little trouble subdued Malcolm, king of Scotland, and the aforesaid Malcolm became subject to him. Canute was succeeded as king of England by Harold, his son, and by Hardicanute, brother of Harold, one after another, who, during their reigns, always preserved the kingdom of England in peaceable subjection. In the thousand and fifty-fourth year of grace, Saint Edward, king of England, gave the kingdom of Scotland to Malcolm, son of the king of Cumberland, to be held by him under himself. Again, in the thousand and seventy-second year of grace, William the Bastard, king of England, a kinsman of the aforesaid Saint Edward, received homage from Malcolm, king of Scotland, as his subject. In the year of grace one thousand and ninety-one, the aforesaid Malcolm, king of Scotland, took the oath of fealty, and was subject to William Rufus, king of England.

"A.D. 1092. The aforesaid William did, for just reasons, depose Dunewald from the kingdom of Scotland, and appointed Duncan, son of Malcolm, to that kingdom, and received from him homage and the oath of fealty. And when the aforesaid Duncan had been treacherously slain, the same king William again deposed Dunewald, who had a second time seized on the kingdom of Scotland, and appointed Edgar, son of Malcolm, king of Scotland, and gave that kingdom to him. He was succeeded by Alexander, the brother of Edgar, with the consent of king Henry the First, the brother of the aforesaid king William Rufus.

"A.D. 1126. David, king of Scotland, did homage and swore fealty to the empress Matilda, daughter and heiress of the aforesaid king Henry. Again, Henry, the son of the aforesaid king David, did homage to Stephen, king of England. Also William, king of Scotland, and David, his son, and the earls

and barons of the kingdom of Scotland, became the men of prince Henry, son of king Henry the Second, on the day after the coronation of the aforesaid Henry, son of king Henry the Second, while his father was yet alive, and swore fealty to him for the kingdom of Scotland against all men, saving only the loyalty which they owed his father, who was still alive. But in the twentieth year of the reign of the aforesaid king Henry the Second, the aforesaid William, king of Scotland, beginning to rebel, came into Northumberland with a large army, and committed great slaughter among the people, till he was encountered at Alnwick by the knights of the county of York, who took him prisoner, and surrendered him to his lord, Henry, king of England. And in the following year, eleven hundred and seventy-five, on the fourteenth of February, the same king William was given his liberty and allowed to depart; but afterwards, at York, in the same year, on the twenty-sixth of August, the same William, king of Scotland, with the consent of the prelates, earls, barons, nobles, and other chiefs of the kingdom of Scotland, is known to have given security by his letters patent to his lord the king of England, Henry, son of the empress Matilda before mentioned, that he and his heirs and successors the kings of Scotland, and the bishops, abbots, earls, barons, and other men of the kingdom of Scotland (or as many of them as king Henry wished to receive it from), would do homage and swear fealty and allegiance to the kings of England as their liege lords against all men; and in token of this subjection, the same William, king of Scotland, offered his sword-hilt, his spear, and his saddle on the altar of the blessed Peter of York, and they remain and are preserved in that church to this day. Also the bishops, earls, and barons of the aforesaid kingdom of Scotland agreed to use the aforesaid words according to the agreement entered into with the lord the king of England and Henry, his son. But if the king of Scotland were by any chance to fall off from his fidelity to the king of England, and violate the agreement before mentioned, they then promised to stand by the lord the king of England as their liege lord, in opposition to the king of Scotland, till he returned to his loyal obedience to the king of England; which agreement, of happy memory, pope Gregory the Ninth, in several letters addressed to the kings of England and Scotland, commanded to be firmly observed; his letters containing, among other things, a statement that Wil-

liam and Alexander, kings of Scotland, had done liege homage and sworn fealty to John and Henry, kings of England, which homage and fealty their successors and the earls and barons of the kingdom of Scotland are bound to observe; and also that the said king of Scotland was the liege man of Henry, king of England, and took an oath of fealty to him, in which he especially bound himself to attempt nothing whatever to the injury of the kingdom or king of England. And pope Clement, writing to the king of England on behalf of John, bishop of Saint Andrew's, who had been expelled from his bishopric by the king of Scotland, among other things requested him to persuade and induce William, king of Scotland, and, if it should be necessary, to compel him by his royal severity, which he is entitled to use towards him as a father, and because of his having granted royal power to his highness, to abandon all his rancour of mind against the bishop, and to permit him to retain his diocese in peace. And after the aforesaid agreement in the church of the blessed Peter, at York, in the presence of the aforesaid kings of England and Scotland, and David, his brother, and the whole people, the bishops, earls, barons, and knights of the kingdom of Scotland swore fealty to the lord the king of England, and Henry, his son, and their heirs, against all other persons, as their liege lords.

"A.D. 1194. The same William, king of Scotland, at the command of the aforesaid king Henry, came to Northampton to the parliament of his lord, bringing with him all the bishops, abbots, and priors of his whole kingdom. And also, at the command of the same king, he proceeded into Normandy. Again, the same king William coming to Canterbury after the decease of king Henry, did homage to Richard, king of England, the son and heir of the said king Henry. And when this Richard had gone the way of all flesh, the aforesaid William, in the sight of all the people, on a certain hill outside of the city of Lincoln, did homage to John, king of England, brother and heir of the aforesaid Richard, and swore fealty to him on the cross of Hubert, at that time archbishop of Canterbury, and by his charter granted to the same John, his lord, that he might give his son Alexander in his marriage, as being his liegeman, promising firmly in the same charter that he, the said William, king of Scotland, and Alexander, his son, should preserve their loyalty and fidelity to Henry, son of John, king of England, as their liege lord,

against all mortals. From which William, king of Scotland, he subsequently exacted due satisfaction for his violation of his compact, and his rash presumption in betrothing his daughter to the count of Boulogne, without the consent of king John, his lord.

"Again, Alexander, king of Scotland, our own sister's husband, did homage to Henry, king of England, our own father, and afterwards to us ourselves, for the kingdom of Scotland. Then, when the kingdom of Scotland was vacant, in consequence of the death of that king, Alexander, and afterwards through the death of Margaret, queen and lady of the same country of Scotland, our niece, the bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, chieftains, and other nobles, and all the communities of the entire kingdom of Scotland, coming to us of their own free and spontaneous will, as their liege defender, general, governor, captain, and chief lord of the aforesaid kingdom of Scotland, as they were bound of right to do, and they purely, plainly, and absolutely recognised our right, and that of our progenitors and predecessors, and our and their possession of superior and direct authority in the said kingdom, and the subjection of the said kingdom, of their own certain knowledge; and when they had taken the proper and customary oaths of fealty to us, as the superior and direct lord of Scotland, and had given into our hand the cities, boroughs, towns, and other strong places of the aforesaid kingdom, we did of our own royal right depute certain officers and ministers to be the guardians of the aforesaid kingdom, to whom, during the time of this vacancy, they were all unanimously obedient, submitting themselves to our injunctions and commands. But, in A.D. 1291, when different persons began to contend with one another about their hereditary right to the succession of the aforesaid kingdom of Scotland, they came before us, as the superior lord of the kingdom of Scotland, requesting that we would do them full justice as to the said kingdom concerning the succession of the said kingdom, wishing, and expressly consenting before us, as before the superior and direct lord of the kingdom of Scotland, to submit to and obey us in all our regulations. And, at last, after the rights of all the parties had been publicly laid before us, and sufficiently heard, examined, investigated, and carefully comprehended by us, we finally, in the presence of all the prelates and nobles, as it were, of the whole kingdom of Scotland, proceeding by their ex-

press wish and consent, did duly appoint John Balliol to be king of Scotland, as we then found that he had the best right, on the proper principles of succession, to be considered the heir to the kingdom. And those prelates, earls, barons, communities, and other inhabitants of that kingdom, expressly heard, approved, and accepted our sentence, and, in accordance with our mandate, admitted John to be their king, by virtue of this our sentence. And the aforesaid John, king of Scotland, did us due and customary homage for his kingdom aforesaid, and took an oath of fealty to us, and from that time forth was present in our parliaments and councils, coming at our command as our subject, like other subjects of our kingdom; and he was in all things obedient and submissive to our decrees and orders, as being those of his superior lord; until the aforesaid John, king of Scotland, and the prelates, earls, barons, nobles, communities, and other chief inhabitants of that kingdom, did, of preconceived, prearranged, and preconcerted malice, devise treason against us, uniting in council and friendship with our capital and notorious enemies, and making agreements, conspiracies, and confederacies to strip us and our heirs of our hereditary rights, and, contrary to their own act of homage and the due rights of our kingdom, they wickedly fell into the crime of *lése majesté*, and took an oath of fidelity to our enemies. But when these circumstances had, by private information and common rumour, come to our ears, we, wishing to provide beforehand against future dangers which might very probably arise to us, our kingdom, and the inhabitants of our kingdom, from these and other sources, for the security of our kingdom marched to the borders of the two countries, several times commanding the said John, then king of Scotland, to come to us at certain places on the aforesaid borders, to discuss the circumstances above mentioned and others affecting the state, tranquillity, and peace of both kingdoms. But, he, despising our commands, and persisting in his treason, turned his attention, in a hostile manner, to warlike preparations, in concert with the bishops, prelates, earls, and barons of the kingdom of Scotland, and also with other foreign hired forces, against us, our kingdom, and the inhabitants of our kingdom, and proceeding to hostile aggressions and attacks, he invaded our kingdom, and by himself and his followers ravaged some towns of our kingdom of England, and laid them waste, and burnt them, slaying our subjects, and

also killing even some of our sailors, he caused some ships belonging to our English subjects to be burnt; and he proceeded further without delay, denying us homage and fealty, speaking both for himself and for every one else who might be an inhabitant of his kingdom, in formal letters proceeding from himself, couched in offensive language, and containing, among other things, words of defiance. Moreover, having levied a large army, he, in a hostile manner, by himself and his followers, invaded our counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, belonging to the kingdom of England, making, in a most inhuman manner, a great slaughter of our subjects, burning monasteries, churches, and towns, and ravaging the country in every direction, slaying with the sword infants in the cradle, and women lying in travail, and, what is most horrible to be heard, from some women they barbarously cut off the breasts, and blocking up the doors of one school, and applying fire to it, they burnt some young clerks who had just received the first tonsure, and were learning grammar in the school, to the number of about two hundred. We, too, seeing such injuries, insults, crimes, and atrocities committed with a view to despoiling us of our hereditary rights, and to the treacherous destruction of our people, and being unwilling, out of consideration for our oath, by which we are bound to the maintenance of the rights of the crown of our kingdom, to connive at the aforesaid crimes any longer, or to leave our rights undefended, as we could by law chastise John himself, then king of Scotland, and his nation, which was subject to us, and the kingdom of Scotland also, which from the most ancient times, as has been shown above, had been in feudal subjection to us and our progenitors, we, I say, for the beforementioned causes, put forth the might of our power over the aforesaid John, and the kingdom of Scotland, as we had a right to do, and we proceeded against them as enemies and traitors to us. Therefore, we, having subdued the kingdom of Scotland, and having by the right of supremacy reduced it under our dominion, the aforesaid John, formerly king of Scotland, of his own accord, did wholly and absolutely render up into our hands the kingdom of Scotland as he held it *de facto*, publicly acknowledging his aforesaid treasons and wickednesses before us and our nobles. After which event, the aforesaid earls and barons, and chieftains and communities of the kingdom of Scotland, to whom we had granted our royal

peace, subsequently did homage and swore fealty to us, as the immediate lord and master of the same kingdom of Scotland. And likewise, when they had surrendered to us the cities, towns, castles, fortresses, and all other places belonging to the said kingdom, we, of our own right, appointed our own officers and ministers to govern the said kingdom of Scotland.

"And as we are known to have possession of the said kingdom by the right of full and entire dominion, we cannot, and ought not, to delay repressing the insolence of our rebel subjects, if we find any, by our royal pre-eminence as we shall see fit. But, because, from the above-mentioned considerations and others, it is evidently plain and notorious that the aforesaid kingdom of Scotland belongs to us, in full right both of occupation and ownership, and as we have never done or allowed anything by either writing or deed, as, in fact, we could not, which could in any way derogate from our rights over, or possession of, the aforesaid kingdom, we humbly entreat your holiness, that you, weighing these arguments above stated in your wise deliberation, will deign to decide upon them according to the promptings of your own mind, in no way giving credit to the contrary suggestions of those who are jealous of us in this respect; but preserving and approving of our state and our aforesaid royal rights, if it so please your paternal affection. May your fatherly goodness be preserved for the government of your holy church, for many and prosperous years.

"Given at Kynordesey, on the fifteenth of May, in the year thirteen hundred and one, and the twenty-ninth year of our reign."

But as to the demand made by the pope, that if the king of England claimed any right over the kingdom of Scotland, or any part of it, he should send procurators instructed as to that point to the church of Rome, and full justice should be done him; to this demand the king did not choose to give an answer himself, but committed the affair to the earls and other nobles of the country, who on this point wrote letters to the lord the pope, of the following tenor.

The Letters which the earls and barons of England sent to the lord the pope, about the affairs of Scotland.

"To the most holy father in Christ, the lord Boniface, by Divine Providence, supreme pontiff of the holy Roman uni-

versal church, his devout sons John, earl of Warrenne, Thomas, earl of Lancaster, Radulph of Monthermer, earl of Gloucester and Hereford, Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hertford and Essex and constable of England, Roger Bigot, earl of Norfolk and marshal of England, Guy, earl of Warwick, &c., sending devout kisses of his blessed feet, &c. :

"The holy Roman mother church is the church by whose ministry the Catholic faith, as we firmly believe and hold, proceeds with such steadiness in its actions that it injures no one, but wishes to protect the rights of all persons uninjured. A general parliament having been lately convoked by our most serene lord Edward, by the grace of God, the illustrious king of England, to meet at Lincoln, the said lord Edward, our king, caused to be produced, and carefully explained to us, some letters from the Apostolic See, which we on our part had received touching certain matters which relate to the condition and state of the kingdom. And when these letters had been heard and carefully understood, we perceived that some things surprising to our senses and hitherto unprecedented were contained in them. For we know, O most holy father, and it is notorious in these parts, and not unknown to other persons also, that from the first establishment of the kingdom of England, the kings of that kingdom, both in the times of the Britons and of the Angles, have been possessed of the direct superior authority and dominion over the kingdom of Scotland, and have in successive ages had a right to the regulation of Scotland itself; nor does that kingdom, as to its temporalities, belong, nor has it at any time belonged, by any kind of right to your church before mentioned. Moreover, the aforesaid kingdom of Scotland has from ancient times been in feudal subjection to the progenitors of our aforesaid king, the kings of England, and to himself, nor have the kings or kingdom of Scotland ever been subordinate or accustomed to be subject to any other sovereigns than the kings of England. Nor have the kings of England ever answered, nor have they been bound to answer, respecting their rights over the aforesaid kingdom, or any other of their temporalities, before any judge ecclesiastical or secular, according to the pre-eminence of the state of their royal dignity and custom inviolably observed in all ages.

"On which account, having carefully considered and deliberated on the contents of your aforesaid letters, the general

harmonious and unanimous consent of all and each of us has been, and, by the favour of God, will be unalterably for the future, that the before-mentioned lord our king shall in no respect answer judicially before you respecting his rights over the kingdom of Scotland, or any other of his temporal possessions. Nor shall he in any way submit to a trial of them, or bring his aforesaid rights in question, or send procurators or ambassadors for that purpose to your presence, especially as such demands tend manifestly to the stripping him of his hereditary rights belonging to the crown of the kingdom of England, and to his royal dignity; and to the evident subversion of the constitution of the said kingdom, and to the prejudice of the liberties, customs, and native laws, to the observance and defence of which he and we are duly bound by the oath we have taken. And what we are now possessed of, we will, with the help of God, defend with all our might and all our power. Nor do we permit, nor will we in any way permit, as, indeed, we neither can nor ought, our lord the king to submit to the before-mentioned demands, being unusual, unjustifiable, prejudicial, and altogether unprecedented, nor would we permit it even if he were inclined himself to do so, or in the least to attempt it.

"Wherefore, we reverently and humbly entreat your holiness kindly to permit our lord the king aforesaid, who shows himself a Catholic among all the other princes of the earth, and a devout son of the Roman church, peaceably to possess his rights, and liberties, and customs, and laws, aforesaid, without diminution or disquietude, and to allow those rights to remain undisturbed. In testimony of which, our seals are appended to these present letters, on behalf both of ourselves and of the whole commonalty of the above-mentioned kingdom of England.

"Done and given at Lincoln, in the year of our lord thirteen hundred and one."

Ch. XXVI.—From A.D. 1302 to A.D. 1304.

Discontents in France—The king of France summons Edward to France, who declines compliance—Edward invades Scotland—Guienne is restored to England—Pope Boniface is imprisoned, and dies—The war with Scotland continues—Edward gains great victories—The siege of Stirling.

The weavers in their woollens fight,
The iron-clad Frenchmen take to flight.

A.D. 1302. Those other sons of Israel, the burgesses of the city of Bruges, in Flanders, being either unable or unwilling any longer to endure the stings of the scorpion, the exactions of taxes, the orders of clay and brick, with which the ministers of the king of France, the new Pharaoh, had oppressed them, having plucked up some spirit again, and taken counsel, unanimously arose against their oppressors, slaying them all together. At this, the king of France was greatly moved, as formerly the king of Babylon was; and so, as he, in order that he might be called the only God upon the earth, sent Holofernes, so this king, in order that he might be the only sovereign to reign over all nations, sent his Holofernes, the captain of his army, namely, the count of Artois, the most celebrated warrior in Christendom, with his dukes, earls, barons, magistrates, and other powerful personages, with an innumerable host of warriors mounted on horses, armed with breastplates well-appointed for battle, the flower of the armies of Christendom, as it was supposed to the extermination of the city of Bruges. And they, covering, as it were, the surface of the earth with their horses and chariots, caused a great fear, since none of the cities to which they came dared to resist them. Moreover, the people of Bruges being considered people without a head, appointed a leader and general for themselves, by name Peter de Coning, who was to command them in battle as Moses had commanded the Jews. Therefore, leaving their own city, they marched forth to encounter the French. And when there, incalculable numbers were seen, they were amazed, and commending their souls to God, they said, "Thine, O Lord, is the battle, and it is in thy power to save by many or by few." And choosing rather to die in defence of the laws of their country than to live long in shame and slavery, they marched on, to encounter danger. So the battle began, and there fell the count of Artois, the count of Albemarle, the count of Eu, the count of Drew, the count of Boulogne, the count of Saint Pol, Radulph de Neil, constable of France, Guy de Neil, marshal of France, Peter de Flore, counsellor of the king of France, like a second Achitophel, the son of the count of Haimonie, and forty baronets, with an infinite number

of the common people. And in this battle, what was a wonderful thing was, that the cavalry had neither courage nor power to resist infantry, lords had none to withstand their subjects, an army clad in panoply of steel could not stand before weavers of wool, a firm body was beaten by a terrified one, and a kingdom by a small town. This battle took place on the eleventh of July, near Cambray. When, therefore, this victory became known, all the countrymen of the conquerors drove forth their French masters out of their cities, and adhered to their native governors chosen from their citizens.

After this, the king of France acting tyrannically, collected a very large army, as numerous as the sand which is on the sea shore, from the Greek sea to the ocean, for the purpose of breaking the power of the Flemings, and the king of the French himself formed part of the army. But the Flemings marched an army against them for the purpose of defending their native soil, and not for that of attacking the country of others, in which enterprise they were countenanced by the Apostolic blessing. And when they had marshalled their line of battle, the two armies being at no great distance from one another, the king of France did not dare to descend into Flanders, and the Flemings were not inclined to advance beyond their own borders, and the army of the French was fatigued with their march, and exhausted by great scarcity of food, which had now lasted a long time; and as the king of France himself was tarrying at the city of Artois, more than fifty thousand men secretly returned home again, though they were liable to the penalty of death for their desertion. At length the king of France himself, with all his followers, ingloriously returned home, crowned with ineffable ignominy, on the ninth day of the month of October. We have recounted these events, not as being a full account of all that took place, but for the recollection of future ages, in order that posterity may remember how the Ruler of rulers never ceases to humble the powerful who presume too much on themselves.

Let us now return to other matters, affecting the king of England.

The king of England then, being desirous that a good peace should be made in his days, sent ambassadors of high rank to the king of France about Easter, to give him notice by their means of the resolutions to which he had come respecting peace and war. And, having received for answer that such

important affairs could not be satisfactorily discussed unless twelve peers were assembled with full powers, which was not practicable at that moment, as the peers were now occupied in various places on account of the unexpected emergencies of the new war, but that they might expect that it could be done in a fortnight. And after this period had elapsed, the mayors of France assembled and answered the English ambassadors that they were not inclined to give a definite answer on the above-mentioned subject, without the presence of the Scottish confederates. Having received this answer, the ambassadors returned to England.

On this, the king held his parliament at Westminster, on the first of July. And when they had had recounted to them the disappointing and evasive delays and procrastinating manœuvres to which the ambassadors had been exposed, they determined to send the same persons back again, as news of the triumphant victory which the Flemings had gained over the French, had arrived; and the ambassadors now received for answer that the king of England ought to come in his own person, and that then an agreement about peace might well be come to between the two kings, so that the powerful nobles and superiors of each kingdom might applaud it as advantageous to them, and the middle and lower classes might not be grieved at it. Therefore the king of England held his parliament at Westminster, on the feast of the Translation of Saint Edward the King, where this answer was recited, and gave great offence. But it was decided positively by the council of the whole kingdom that the king should remain in his own dominions, and he was not permitted to leave England at the command or suggestion of the king of France.

Pope Boniface dies. Benedict follows.

A.D. 1303, which is the thirty-first of the reign of king Edward, Edward, king of England, the glorious triumpher over the aggressions of his enemies, marched towards Scotland, about the time of Pentecost, with a military army, to check the insolence of the Scots (who were wickedly prevaricating with their oath of fealty, having slain his faithful subjects who had been sent into that country for the preservation of peace, had wounded others, dismissed others half dead after great violence), and to take vengeance for their crimes, and to succour his own nation. For after the with-

drawal of the king of England from the kingdom of Scotland, and after much slaughter and conflagration, at last the Scots, with a hostile army, laid siege to a castle belonging to the king of England, called Stirling. To defend which, sixty archers only were sent by the king of England, having but a scanty allowance of provisions for half a month. Therefore, the nobles of Scotland marched with a numerous body to besiege that castle vigorously. And, on the other hand, the besieged defended it manfully. And as, on account of the solidity and height of the castle, the besiegers could not by any art or contrivance, or engine, or any means whatever, do it any injury, they determined at last to reduce the garrison by wearing them out by famine and scarcity. But when the besieged found that this was their object, they used their store more sparingly. And the siege of the castle lasted so long, that, at last, their food being all consumed, and necessity compelling them, they slew even their dogs and horses, and ate their flesh with the blood in it. And, what is still more miserable to mention, they devoured even the hides of the animals. Nay, what is more horrible still to hear of, they ate the mice and cats which they caught in traps. At last, when everything was consumed which could be eaten, the besieged said to one another, "Behold our enemies are labouring to subdue us by hunger, and we have only very little corn left, and two quarters of one ox. Let us throw the fourth part of a bushel of corn, and one quarter of beef, into the ranks of the enemy, and let us eat the rest to-morrow and the day after, and then die; but if they suppose that we have plenty of corn and meat, perhaps they will abandon the siege." Oh! the praiseworthy energy of the men, even though it was only what had been originally devised by Josephus, formerly a most illustrious warrior of the Jews. So that when they had done this, the besiegers, being deceived, said, "Let us depart, for we are doing no good. Lo! those whom we hoped were perishing with hunger, we now, by their throwing away their provisions, find to be in a contrary condition."

So when the Scots had departed, the besieged presently sent one of their number to the king of England for supplies and relief as soon as possible, saying, that otherwise they could not possibly hold out the castle any longer. But the messenger going of his own accord by a bye way, and deviating from the path of honesty, went to the army of the Scots, telling them

of the want which the besieged had endured, and how many of them were dead, and he advised them to persist in their enterprise. Oh thou traitor, thou son of Rechab, art thou ignorant of the reward which the king of David will give you? Who has resisted him, and found peace? Who has deceived him, and not mourned in his turn? Therefore the Scots returned, and laid siege to the castle a second time; and the besieged not having any means of supporting life, after three days surrendered the castle to the lord John de Soulis, and the Scots agreed to allow them to depart in freedom to the king of England. Then the guardianship of that castle was entrusted to a valiant soldier selected from among thousands, William Olifant, who had under him three hundred warlike men, stationed in various places, of whom he retained a hundred and twenty about himself for the defence of that castle. For these and many other injuries the king of England now invaded Scotland, in order to bridle the jaws of the Scots with bit and bridle, as they, not agreeing to the peace which he offered them, had violated it, and were planning treachery all day. Therefore, he occupied their towns and fortresses with a strong army. And when he approached the castle of Brechin, which opposed him, he commanded siege to be laid to it. But the defender of that castle, a most valiant knight of great personal strength, by name Thomas Maille, not fearing the army of the king, but trusting in the strength of his thick walls, did not in the least regard the violent assaults of the engines. Since, when the powerful instruments of the king of England kept incessantly hurling stones against the walls of the castle, and yet the wall did not yield; that valiant knight, Thomas, stood by with a towel, and wiped off the mark of the stone from the wall, by way of insulting and deriding the whole English army. And when he had defended the castle gallantly for forty days, on the eve of Saint Lawrence, while he was standing near the battlements of the wall, the engine being aimed at Thomas himself, a blow from the stone which was shot from it struck a part of the battlement, and bounding off onwards by its own force, struck the valiant knight Thomas, who was standing near, in the chest, and he being fearfully shaken, presently fell down on his back. And while he was still breathing, his servants ran up, and asked whether they were to surrender the castle yet. And he, bidding them farewell, cursed them for entertaining such an idea, and so expired.

And immediately afterwards, that very day, the besieged being destitute of all assistance, surrendered the castle to the king of England.

There were in Scotland two most famous abbeys, both endowed with very ample possessions, and very strongly fortified as to their buildings, namely, Aberbredok and Dumferline. Moreover, Dumferline contained a very considerable quantity of ground within its walls, extending over three hydes of land, and embracing in its circuit many almost royal palaces, so that three illustrious kings could be at the same time and all together entertained within its walls, with all their followers, without inconveniencing one another. Therefore, on account of the great magnitude of the place, the chief nobles of the kingdom of Scotland were accustomed to meet there and arrange their designs against the king of England; and very often, in time of war, they would go forth from this retreat, and harass the people of England with depredation and slaughter. Therefore the army of the king, seeing that the temple of the Lord was not a church, but a den of thieves, and, as it were, a beam in the eyes of the people of England, sent forth a torch of conflagration, and utterly destroyed it, levelling the recesses, and walls, and all the palaces with the ground, saving the church alone from the fire, and a few houses sufficient for the abode of the regular monks.

The same year, on the feast of the Holy and Indivisible Trinity, peace, which had been long wished for, was made between the two kingdoms, being proclaimed first in France, and then in England. At which time, the province of Guienne, with all its rights and liberties, was restored to the king of England, in the same form in which he had held it before the beginning of this war.

On the day of Saint Mark the Evangelist, Guy, son of the count of Flanders, entered Selandia with a thousand men, not fearing the many thousands of men who came to encounter him; and fighting gallantly on foot, and defeating the enemy, he made himself master of that county. And how often the anger of the king of France boiled over at this, and prompted him to send an armed force against the Flemings, it does not become us to insert in this history. But as often as he sent an army, it is agreed on all hands that it was defeated; because his troops were either slain in battle, or else returned ignominiously and ingloriously from the battle. And the

pride of the French was so humbled, that it was considered a great thing for the French to be able to obtain peace from the Flemings for a certain fixed period; so that the French might say, "Let us flee from the Flemings, for the Lord fighteth for them."

In these days, Master Richard de Gravesend, bishop of London, died, and by the unanimous consent of the chapter, the dean of that church, Master Radulph de Baldok, was elected bishop in his stead. However, three canons of that church, who had been deprived of their prebends and suspended a little before, at the visitation of the archbishop of Canterbury, hindered the election, appealing to the Apostolic See against the bishop elect, because on the day of election they had been prevented from entering the chapter.

In this year, king Edward wintered in Scotland, among the bears and tigers, and other haunts of wild beasts, not fearing the dragons, because he was like a lion, who frightens all the beasts of the forests; and though he was like David, when surrounded by the Ziphæans, he was most miraculously neither injured nor betrayed by them. Accordingly, at the end of this year, because the lion Edward, the king of beasts, had determined that he would not depart from that country till he had either utterly subdued all the Scots, or been himself subdued by them, the nobles of the kingdom of Scotland, both earls and barons, their error of rebellion having met with stern defeat, and been forcibly reduced to nothing by severe measures, perceiving that fire rather than peace was surrounding them on all sides, submitted themselves and their followers to the will of the king of England. And he admitted them to his favour, treating first one and then the other with great mercy; and placing them under tribute, he mulcted them in a pecuniary fine, and according to the quality and quantity of each individual's offence, he allowed him a certain term of days or years to pay it.

About the same time, and that same year that these events took place in Scotland, on the eve of the Nativity of the blessed Mary, pope Boniface, at the persuasion, as it was believed, of Philip, king of France, as there had been a terrible ground of quarrel between the king and pope for a long time, was most atrociously and irreverently seized in his palace in the city of Anagni, by some of his enemies, and especially by a certain man named Sarra of Campania, and was stripped of

all his property, and kept three days in prison. Afterwards, he returned to Rome, and being there moved by indignation and distress of mind, he a short time afterwards died.

Edward, king of England, had his treasury plundered by a single robber in England, for which ten monks of Westminster were unjustly imprisoned.

But as it was a thing unheard of in the history of the world, since the peace of the church had been spread over the whole earth, that false Christians, who call themselves Christians and are not so, should have committed so monstrous a crime against the supreme pontiff, it is not sufficient to say, for the knowledge of future generations who will be born hereafter, "Pope Boniface was stripped of all his goods, and a most audacious robber by himself secretly entered the treasury of the king of England," unless the manner and form in which each crime was perpetrated is also set down. And again, the thoughts of men are always more inclined to evil than to good; so when the imprisonment of ten monks, for a matter concerning the treasury of the king of England, is heard of, a wicked idea of suspicion at once enters men's minds. And when their innocence is not declared, the hearer rejoices in the insults offered to them, and does not cease to insult them with abuse. And so the future generations which are to be born and arise, unless an express statement is made on the subject, will either accuse the men of that day of remissness and inactivity, or, what is still more terrible to be said without examining into the cause, they will think that the monks were guilty of the crime. Therefore it is necessary to set forth the circumstances connected with their imprisonment. (Those who were alive when these things were done, were not yet with the disciples of Jesus when he was tempted by the devil, who were at length, after many and various oppressions and tribulations, visited by the Lord.) Those who will be born many generations hence, will very probably say, it is contained in the king's annals, that ten monks were imprisoned by him because of an affair connected with his treasury. This is an idea of horror; an idea I suspect at once of evil. For when any one is imprisoned, there arises at once the reproach, this man was either disobedient to the commands of his prince, or a violator of the king's peace. And the answer is as follows: "O thou doubter, the voice of the church complains over thee, bring hither thy finger, and recognize the place of the nails,

and be not faithless, and an evil speaker with those who speak falsely, but believing." I shall show you briefly, and others too, who are evil speakers and proud like yourself, the manner and form of the spoliation of the pope in a brief recital, in order to cut off all improper suspicions. And I will show you also the marks of the nails, and the hole in the side of the wall in the treasury of the king of England, and the cause of the imprisonment and annoyance which in consequence befel the monks of that place, by the instrumentality of diabolical men, and I will hereafter make the whole matter quite plain to posterity. But I omit the matter here, because it would take too long a time to insert it in this chapter. When, however, pope Boniface, in spite of his papal dignity, had been mercilessly plundered of all his property, to the prejudice of the whole church, as I have said before, and kept three days in prison, with great irreverence to the Roman church, and to himself the vicar of God, he being moved by great indignation and distress of mind, ended his life very shortly afterwards, that is to say, on the twelfth of October, and he was buried the next day, in the church of the blessed Peter, in a wonderful tomb which he had had prepared for himself while he was yet alive. Of him a certain versifier writes thus:

"He came in like a fox, like a lion he reigned,
His end was a dog's, he Chimæra[1] remained."

And another writes thus of him—

"He began like a fox, like a lion he did roar,
He ended like a dog, from rich becoming poor."

And when he was dead and buried, the next day the cardinals assembled together and elected the bishop of Ostia, of the order of Preachers; and on the tenth day afterwards he was consecrated supreme pontiff, and assumed the name of Benedict the Eleventh.

England exults in victory,
While Scotland fights unhappily.

A.D. 1304, which is the thirty-second of the reign of king Edward, pope Benedict, while he was preaching the Word of God at Perugia, among other topics bewailed the abominable atrocities which had been committed upon the vicar of Christ Jesus and Peter, in which he did not so much lament the in-

[1] Alluding to the classical fable of the Chimæra, who was said to have a lion's head, a goat's body, and the hinder parts of a dragon.

sult offered to the particular person, as assert that Christ himself had been a second time stripped by the soldiers of Pilate, bewailing his fate as being again taken, condemned, and, as it were, put to death and consigned to the grave, and guarded for three days by soldiers; not, as the apostle says, "Christ being raised from the dead dieth no more," but he is now in his glorified flesh; and as the Lord Jesus Christ said to Peter when he asked him, "Lord, whither goest thou?" he said, "I go to Rome to be crucified a second time." Then Peter understood that he was speaking of his own passion, inasmuch as our Lord, by the mercifulness of his pity, suffers in his saints. And as he says in another place, "What you have done to one of the least of these my children, whether it be honour or dishonour, know that I shall feel the same thing." When, therefore, he had said these and many other similar things concerning the disaster of pope Boniface, he laid his spoilers, and all who consented to them, and all who were in any respect privy to their deed, under a double anathema; insisting and dwelling very much on this expression, "If they have done this in the green wood, what will they do in the dry?" And as he asserted that lightnings and coruscations of divine vengeance often unexpectedly overwhelmed wicked men, and that he had been elected and placed in the seat of the Elders, to announce their wickedness to the people, and to warn them to repent, he now warned them to make atonement for their sins, otherwise he should necessarily and very speedily lay the axe of amputation and extirpation to the root of malediction and the accursed trunk; therefore, these wicked men, being alarmed at such terrible threats, took counsel with another Caiaphas, that it was more desirable for one man to die than the whole nation, or the tribe of Colonna, to be extinguished, and accordingly, having corrupted the butler of the lord the pope with money, they poisoned him, and he died within a fortnight. And so, pope Benedict died in the city of Perugia, on the seventh day of the month of July, when he had ruled his see eight months and fifteen days. And after his death a violent dispute arose among the cardinals, so that for nine months they could not agree with one another about electing a pontiff.

About the same time, it being the season for the warlike operations of kings, the most fortunate king of England, Edward, having traversed every part of Scotland, and trampled

victoriously on the horns of the proud, having repressed the murmurs of the rebellious, and all the nobles of the kingdom of Scotland having surrendered themselves to his will, and being wholly subdued, had still one very strong castle remaining, which required to be subdued, namely, that of Stirling. So the king marched against it, and immediately prepared to besiege it. But the defender of the castle, a very gallant knight, by name William Olifant, seeing how great the king's army was, and that he and his men were surrounded, sent an embassy, requesting of the king that he might be allowed to send John de Soulis into France to his master, to enquire whether he was, voluntarily and without assistance, to surrender the castle to the king, or to defend it against him as long as he could. But the king replied, "By no means; let him consider by himself whether he thinks it better to defend the castle than to surrender it to us." Having received this answer, William remembered the oath which he had taken to his master, who was at that time in France with some of the Scots, and turned his thoughts to making a defence. But as he had no allies at hand, nor any one from whom he could obtain assistance, he prepared by himself to resist the king's power as well as he could; and he considered that he should not displease the king by defending the castle against him, because he had never done him homage or sworn fealty to him personally. But that he, together with his master, had fraudulently invaded the territories of another, and seized the king's castle, he either never considered, or would not understand, so as to act rightfully.

Then the king of England exhorted his followers to fight vigorously, replying, that after the death of Alexander, king of Scotland, the earls and barons had elected him their superior lord, doing him homage, and swearing fealty to him, taking their corporal oaths of allegiance to him, for all the men of full age, and for all the minors of the kingdom, present and future, so that, when the rights of all who claimed the kingdom had been discussed before him, that claimant might receive the crown whom he should judge to have the best right to the kingdom. And they, guarding their own interests for the future, in order that the king of England might not establish anything as the titular lord of the kingdom, and of the king of France, but as their invited lord and real possessor of the realm, they gave him peaceful seisin for forty

days, of all the castles, boroughs, marshalships, seneschalships, and all other properties and rights which belong to the kingdom, in order that their proceedings might not turn out vain; and that their actions might not be a mere nullity, as is more fully contained in their patent instrument drawn up, with reference to this subject.

Afterwards, their elected and crowned king, waging war against his liege lord, the king of England, was defeated and committed to prison; and when a hundred thousand men and more had been slain in the war, at Berwick and Dunbar, and when many barons, earls, and knights of the kingdom of Scotland had been taken and put in prison in England, Edward became the conqueror and monarch of the two kingdoms, according to the laws of war. Then, having mercifully released them, and allowed them to return to their native country, when they again stirred up war, the king met them with a well-appointed army, and a second time made himself master of the kingdom of Scotland, with the edge of the sword slaying sixty thousand men of the Scots in battle near Falkirk. And the king said, "Since, now, for the third time, we have subdued in a warlike manner, with the club of our power, these sons of rebellion, and since there is no one who resists us, unless it be another Siba,[1] the son of Botrius, now, then, my gallant comrades, preserve the titles of your glory, that having defeated this mischievous worm, your honour may be the more increased." These were the king's words, and his regiments and armies assented to and approved of them. Then the arbalists are bent, machines are erected, engines for hurling stones are built. On the opposite side, a very strong and lofty castle stood, for it was built on a solid rock, near the sea-shore. To it there was only one entrance, and one exit; but within there were gallant men, whom despair rendered braver. They fought on both sides vigorously, and those in the citadel derided the blows of the missiles which struck below, and hurled back attacks from their own engines on the English from their higher position, attacking them with terrible arrows from their arbalists, and huge stones, with which they wounded many persons and killed others. And sometimes they made sallies out of the castle, and made great slaughter in the king's army. The king being enraged at this, ordered enormous engines to be erected, from which a

[1] It appears that there must be some great corruption in the text here.

continued stream of stones was hurled against the wall and over the wall. But those which struck against the wall, bounded back vainly. Those, however, which were borne over the wall, fell into the castle, and injured the garrison greatly. For they hurled fire-brands and stones into the castle so continually, that they burnt many of their stores of corn, and the stones, by their weight, entirely destroyed many of the buildings of the castle. But by all these disasters, the accursed madness of the garrison was not subdued, because they were obstinate, and at the same time the energy of the English besiegers did not relax, because they were brave. But within the castle there were hollow caverns and caves, some natural, some artificial, and above them there was a very strong wall, and in the wall there were arches and hollow places in which they deposited the provisions which they had, protecting themselves with eaves from the blows of the stones. And when ninety days of this siege had elapsed, and yet the garrison did not surrender, the king said, "As the Lord liveth, we will not depart from hence, till either we have subdued them, or they have succeeded in driving us away, and routing us." And some one comforting the king, replied, "My lord, do whatever is in thy heart, because the Lord is with thee." And truly the Lord was with him, preserving him in a most marvellous way, in the sight of all the people. For while he was animating his army to fight bravely, and was himself always the first, and constantly coming very near to the wall of the castle, and riding unarmed on his destrier, lo! the angel of Satan, put into the heart of one of the Scots to put forth his hand against the Lord's anointed; so he, observing the king from the tower, bent his arbalist, and aimed a javelin at the heart of the king But the angel of the Lord frustrated his aim. Hear the miracle. The arrow of the devil was shot at the Lord's anointed. But, O Satan, you have only wounded the king with an arrow, you have not slain him. You have pierced the king's robe, without in the least hurting his flesh. Nor could you even kill the horse of the rider, though you passed between the reins with a horrible whistling. You pierce the saddle, but you do not hurt the skin. And frequently, during the continuance of the siege, did these Scots, from their high position in their citadel, shoot forth arrows of most cruel torment, which are called in English Espringhold, to slay the unarmed king. But, by the grace of God, they

injured neither the king nor his horse. They slew, indeed, numbers of the people. And when the king was advised not any longer to go unarmed in that way, because of the danger of the arrows which were flying about, out of the clouds as it were, and which he ought to guard against as proceeding from the devil, in the meridian of his power, he replied, "A thousand shall fall beside me, and ten thousand at my right hand, but the arrows shall not approach to hurt me. We have undertaken a just war in the name of the Lord, therefore we will not fear what man can do to us, since God is on our right hand, therefore we shall not be moved."

Another day, when the king was riding unarmed close under the wall, so that all the English army was alarmed, his furious enemies threw down a stone of enormous size in order to crush the king. A marvellous thing happened. At the violent shock of this huge stone, as at the stroke of a thunderbolt, the destrier of the king fell to the ground on his back, like Balaam's ass, giving place to the destroyer. And the soldiers running up, dragged the king down the hill, and chiding him, said, "My lord, why do you, without your armour, go nearer to the wall than all the rest, in order to fight with them? are you ignorant that many arrows are aimed at you from above, from the wall? Who smote Abimelech, the son of Jerubbael? Did not a woman throw a fragment of a millstone on him from the wall, and slay him in Thabes? Remain now in your tent, for if we fly, what happens to us will not be of great importance to them; or if half of us are slain, they will not care much, since your person alone is accounted equal to ten thousand men. It is better for us, therefore, that you should be somewhere else in a safe place." And the king replied, "As the Lord liveth, I will not leave you, whether you go to death or to life." Then the king ordered a battering ram to be constructed, which the Greeks call Nicontes,[1] as conquering all things, and a wolf of war. But the ram being a bad one, and unskilfully put together, did little or no good. But the wolf of war, though less costly, was more injurious to the besieged. Now listen to a strange circumstance. The immense engines, by the blow of one sword, pierced through the two opposite walls of the citadel, which were founded on the rock, as an arrow would fly through a piece of cloth. And many stones, shot from the lesser engines, striking the thicker walls, when they came against the wall stuck in it, and being,

[1] From νικη, victory.

as it were, victorious, claimed themselves a place in the wall, as a token of their perpetual victory, leaving there indelible traces of the great triumph of the glorious king.

Moreover, I must not pass over in silence the wisdom of the king, for, as a great many arrows shot by the besieged surrounded him, both on the right hand and on the left, and fell ineffectually around, and the English proposed to collect them, the king forbade them, saying, "Disregard them, and pass them by; for if you do not collect them, they will calculate that they have not nearly reached you; but if you pick them up, they will perceive that they have fallen near you, and will aim their arrows at us with the greater spirit." Then the besieged, seeing other engines raised higher than the castle walls, after that, for fear of the soldiers who were protected by them and invisible, did not dare to advance into the open air, and knowing that everything which they had in the castle for their support was now consumed, and that the castle and themselves were within three days of being taken, addressed the chiefs of the king's army, promising to surrender the castle, on condition of not being punished as traitors and murderers. The others promise them safety, as far as it depends on them. Therefore, all the garrison quitting the castle, being all guilty of death, on the day of the holy virgin Saint Margaret, came to the king, ungirt and barefoot, after the manner of thieves, with ashes sprinkled on their heads, carrying, like traitors, ropes in their hands and round their necks, showing thereby that they have well deserved such a fate, and asking the grace of the king. To whom the king said, "I will not receive you to my grace, because you deserve it not, but only to my will." They replied: "Our lord the king, we submit ourselves to your will." The king rejoined: "My will is to tear you limb from limb, and hang you; and if you refuse, I will allow you to return as you are to the castle." Then, William Olifant, prostrating himself on the ground, with many sobs, said, "My lord the king, we know that our iniquity is too great to deserve pardon; for this my household has never been otherwise than obnoxious to my lord the king. But, merciful king, we entreat your ineffable clemency, and whether we, unworthy as we are, obtain it or not, look upon us as dead upon the earth." And while he was thus weeping with a great outcry, the king said to the other parricides, "What do you, too, ask?" And they, groaning, cried out, "We are guilty of

death; take us, O lord, subject to thy will." Therefore, the king, being moved at such outcry and weeping, turned his face away for a while, and the whole people that stood around was moved to tears. Then the king ordered the men to be taken and imprisoned separately in different castles of England, slaying none of them, and condemning none. But that wicked traitor, by whose treachery the Scots had obtained the castle, was taken, and dragged at the tail of a horse, and at last hanged; and so the agitation of this war ceased, and the king, after the surrender of the castle, caused the battering-ram to be improved. And some of his soldiers said to him, "My lord, for what is this instrument of destruction? is not the castle surrendered to us?" But the king replied, "What I am now doing is not destruction, but a mere theoretical means of destroying the hostile castles for those who make war or reign after me."

Then the victorious king Edward, having placed noble knights in that castle, and in other places of Scotland, to preserve the triumphant peace which he had established among all the natives of the country, turned his steps towards England, all the earls and barons of Scotland accompanying him, as a proof that their treason and rebellion was subdued. Therefore, the king celebrated the feast of the Nativity at Lincoln, and ordered the managers of his household to prepare, splendidly and magnificently, all that was necessary for the hilarity of such a festival, for himself and his retinue, as was suitable for the monarch, king, and lord of two kingdoms. And there he refreshed his earls and nobles for many days, extolling the valour of his warriors with due panegyric. Then, having gratified them with well-deserved presents, and commended them for their exertions, he dismissed them joyful and happy to their own homes.

CH. XXVII.—FROM A.D. 1305 to A.D. 1307.

The merciful government of King Edward—Wallace is executed, and peace established with Scotland—The senators of Rome require the pope to keep his court there—Robert Bruce raises his standard in Scotland—is crowned at Scone—Edward marches towards Scotland, and dies at Carlisle—End of this history.

The pope doth die, and in his stead
Clement is made the church's head.

A.D. 1305. At the feast of the Annunciation of the Lord, king Edward, with all the nobles of his kingdom, was present at Westminster, to return thanks to God and Saint Edward for the triumph he had gained over the Scots. And having compassion on the monks of Westminster for their unjust imprisonment, he presently ordered their liberation. But through the superabundant malice of perverse judges, who prolonged their iniquity, they kept the monks eight days in prison after the king had given orders for their release. But when the king heard this, he ordered his justiciaries to postpone all other business, and immediately restore the imprisoned monks to their abbot.

About the same time, Nicholas de Segrave, a knight, and one of the most distinguished men of the kingdom, had been arrested and brought before the king on the following account. Another knight, named John de Cromwell, accused him of treason. And he, in his defence, offered himself to the trial by single combat; but the king, by reason of the number of his own wars, would not give leave for these single combats. Accordingly, he, as he could not obtain permission, in spite of the prohibition of the king, crossed the sea, pursuing his accuser, while the king was still amid the armies of his enemies. Therefore, the king, when he was on his trial, looked on him as one who thought his life of no consequence, and saw, as far as it depended on him, he did not care if the king was slain by the enemy. And he submitted himself to the king's grace. And the king said to him, "I will that justice be done in the trial." Then the justiciaries, after deliberating for three days on this matter, answered the king, that such a man as he was guilty of death, and that all his property, both moveable and immoveable, belonged of right to the king. Nevertheless, out of respect to the nobility of his birth, they added, that he had not quitted England out of contempt for the king, but because he was prompted by anger to avenge himself on his enemy, and that it was in the king's power to show mercy to him. And the king spoke and said to them, "O men, who having long consulted, are still foolish. Certainly it is in my power and will to confer grace on, and mercy to, whom I will, and I will not do so more for you than for a dog, who has e'en submitted himself to my grace and suffered

a repulse? However, let your decision be reduced to writing, and considered hereafter to be law." Then the aforesaid knight was conducted to prison, that he might not by being left unpunished arm the audacity of others, and that the rigour of his treatment might strike others with fear. And a few days afterwards, through the exertions of many of the nobles of the kingdom, thirty of his peers offering themselves, girt with their swords, their bodies for his body, and their properties for his property, all united, to be forfeited on the day that the king summoned him, and he failed to appear, he was released, and restored by the king to all his possessions.

About this time, there was published a new commission of inquiry, which is called in English Trayllebaston, against all who intrude into the property of others, and who, presuming on the fear of the owners who complained, alienated their estates and lands, making them the property of more powerful persons. And it was also directed against hired assaulters of men, who having been hired by one man, were willing for a sum of money to beat another; and again, for a double payment, or more, received from him who had been assaulted, to beat him who had been hired still more severely. And also against those hired parties who were ready to seize upon churches, lands, and other tenements, by violence and force of arms, in violation of justice. Against all such infringers of peace, and ravishers, and incendiaries, and murderers, and opposers, and false judges, different justiciaries are sent throughout England, by this commission, to exact vengeance among the poor people, and severely to reprove the rich. And by this commission many were executed, many were found guilty, and a few were found not guilty. So rigidly did the justice of this coercion proceed, that the father did not spare his own son, but reproved and chastised him. And many, being terrified and alarmed, of their own accord went into banishment, and the treasury prospered in consequence of their flight, and the redemption of themselves by money.

In those days, the cardinals of Rome, after disagreeing with one another about the election of a pontiff of the Apostolic See, at length, looking to a distance, cast their mind's eye beyond the Alps, upon the archbishop of Bourdeaux, by name Bertram, of Anjou, and on the day of Pentecost unanimously elected him pope, and he assumed the name of Clement the Fifth.

About the time of the festival of the Assumption of the blessed Virgin Mary, a certain Scot, by name William Wallace, an outcast from pity, a robber, a sacrilegious man, an incendiary, and a homicide, a man more cruel than the cruelty of Herod, and more insane than the fury of Nero, who with the accursed Ham discovered the nakedness of a man, which God ordained to be covered when he made men aprons, compelling many men and women of England, mingled together, to carol, and play, and dance naked before him, placing behind them tormentors with scorpions, and goads to bind against them and scourge them, and pinch them, so as to make them advance straight forward; a man who even tore out the bowels of infants crying in their cradles, and hanging at their mothers' breasts; who burnt alive boys in schools and churches, in great numbers; who, when he had collected an army of Scots in the battle of Falkirk, against the king of England, and had seen that he could not resist the powerful army of the king, said to the Scots, "Behold I have brought you into a ring, now carol and dance as well as you can;" and so fled himself from the battle, leaving his people to be slain by the sword; —he, I say, this man of Belial, after his innumerable wickednesses, was at last taken prisoner by the king's servants, and brought to London, as the king ordained that he should be formally tried, and was on the eve of Saint Bartholomew condemned by the nobles of the kingdom of England to a most cruel but amply deserved death. First of all, he was led through the streets of London, dragged at the tail of a horse, and dragged to a very high gallows, made on purpose for him, where he was hanged with a halter, then taken down half dead, after which his genitals were cut off, and his bowels taken out and burnt in the fire, then his head was cut off, and his body divided into four quarters, and his head fixed on a stake and set on London bridge. But his four quarters thus divided, were sent to the four quarters of Scotland. Behold the end of a merciless man, whom his mercilessness brought to this end!

In the week after the Nativity of the blessed Mary, the council of king Edward assembled in the New Temple in London; and there were present the bishops of Chester and Worcester, of England, and the bishops of Saint Andrew's and Glasgow, of Scotland, and the abbots of Westminster and Waverley, and two earls of England, and two of Scotland,

and other barons, both Scotch and English, where they deliberated for twenty days, about establishing the king's peace in Scotland, and considered what would be the best and most lasting, and most tranquil manner, both for the Scotch and English, in which the most perfect peace and the most desirable tranquillity might be established for ever. And those Scots were sent on to England with the assent of the entire kingdom, and the whole of the nation undertook to agree to whatever regulations they might make. And at last, by the consent and decision of the two parties, justiciaries and clerks were appointed on both sides of the Scottish sea,, two and two, with the intent that they should preserve the peace of the country in their own districts, decide lawsuits, and appease quarrels. When this was settled, the men above mentioned came to the king, and having had an audience, at which they recited the regulations which they had made, the king approved of them all, with the exception of one article, respecting a certain Scotch judicial proceeding which he entirely annulled. Then the bishops, abbots, earls, and barons, of Scotland, swore for themselves and for their heirs, and for the whole nation then existing and hereafter to be born in Scotland, that they would abide by the above-mentioned regulations, and that they both wished and considered themselves bound to live according to the manner and form of this arrangement, both powerful men and base, the present generation and the future. And the aforesaid Scots entered into this engagement; touching the sacred body and gospels of Christ and other relics, at the manor of Sheen on the Thames.

Therefore the king, rejoicing in the hope that there would be lasting peace in Scotland for the future, treated them mercifully, so that they who had made atonement for their sins, namely, those who had entered into any engagement to pay the value of their estates for a fixed term of years, two, or three, or four, might now have further time granted them, four instead of two, six instead of three, or eight instead of four, due regard being had to each person's condition and situation, so that they might have means of living honestly. After these events, the Scots, having received permission, gladly returned home with much honour. Therefore, now that the king hoped that all the affairs which are under his authority would be settled in wished-for peace, because the time for being silent had passed, during which he was peaceful, silent, and patient;

and because now the time for speaking was at hand, he cautiously conferred with the earl mareschal, on the subject of some disgrace and conspiracy which the archbishop of Canterbury and several earls and barons had devised against him, while he was absent in Flanders. And as he was not able to contradict these things, he entreated grace of the king; in order to obtain which, he made the king heir of all his property and of every thing that he had, and thus he escaped death and found life. And the king, to requite him, granted the earl, for his life, an increase of a thousand pounds' worth of land. And so the king and the earl became friends. And in a similar manner, the king separately addressed each of the persons implicated, who had consented to this plot, and imposed a pecuniary fine on them; just as if he had said, "I wish not the death of those who are traitors to me, but that they may be converted and redeemed by their temporal possessions, and so may live." At last the king came to the archbishop, and accused him of the same conduct. And the archbishop, being covered with blushes, offered his pallium to the king, submitting himself and all his property to his mercy. But the king said to him, "Equity and justice shall be determined not by me, but by your peers and fellow-bishops, in respect of your conduct." And he added, "How often have I written to you in your visitation, when you were oppressing my clergy, who were on my side, begging you not to proceed against them, out of respect for me, till the tumult of war was over, but you would not listen to me? Yet, notwithstanding their appeal, you have, in their absence, deprived them of their churches. I know the pride of thy heart, thy rebellion and cunning; for you have always acted contentiously against me, and stirred up commotions." These and many other reproaches did the king address to him. And the archbishop was so confused, that he asked a blessing of the king. And the king answered him, "That is not what is proper, my father; but it is I who ought to be blessed by you." And he blessed him on the spot. In the meantime the pope appointed a day for his coronation and solemn consecration at Lyons, being the day after the feast of Saint Brice; to which all the cardinals came except two, who could not take the journey because of their great age, and two more died on the journey. Soon afterwards, on the Sunday, he created other cardinals, namely, six from Guienne, two of France, one of England, namely, Thomas, a brother of the

order of Preachers; and he made Peter, the abbot of Saint Croix, near Bourdeaux, of the order of Saint Benedict, who was also created a cardinal, his vice-chancellor. Peter and James de Colonna, who had been previously deposed and condemned by pope Boniface the Eighth, he made cardinals over again; at which some of the brethren murmured. And when, after the solemnization of mass, he was riding from the church to the palace, a certain wall built of stone and clay, old and half decayed, on which a great crowd of people were leaning for the sake of seeing the pope, suddenly fell down on the crowd, and of two earls who were leading the pope's mule by the bridle, it crushed one, namely, the count of Anjou, and the other, the count of Brittany, it killed on the spot, both being very eminent men, and besides them, many others were wounded. But the pope was saved in a wonderful manner; and many people took notice of this disaster as a prognostic of some impending evil.

On Saint Clement's day, when the pope had in the morning celebrated the solemnity of the mass, after dinner a quarrel arose, and a fight took place between the dependents of the pope and those of the cardinals, and one of the brothers of the supreme pontiff was slain. Another of his brothers the king of France invested with a knight's belt, and also bestowed on the pope himself many marks of his munificence in cities and castles; in consequence of which, in the arrangements of his affairs he was deservedly looked on as a prince entitled to much grace and favour. And the king of England sent to the lord the pope, by the bishops of his kingdom, that is to say, the bishops of Lichfield and Worcester, and the earl of Lincoln, all kinds of utensils with which he could be served either in his chamber or at table, all made of the purest gold; and many distinguished men from England also went to be present at that solemnity. Moreover he created the bishop of Durham, the lord Antony de Bek, on account of the liberality and magnificence of the spirit which he found in him, patriarch of Jerusalem, and he confirmed the archbishop elect of York and the bishop elect of London, and dismissed them to return home.

The pope determined to hold his court at Bourdeaux. And there was written on the principal gate of the city the following prophecy, in letters of gold, in two Latin verses, which, however, were smothered by the dust made by people entering in

at the gate, so that nothing was legible but these two words, Second Rome. But when the court was being held there, the men of the city scraped off the dust, and found the following inscription:

"Traveller, who pass beneath this stone,
And o'er this threshold tread,
Say, 'Second Rome, farewell,' and own
Here the Imperial head."

But these verses had been inscribed a thousand years before. But the Roman senators sent a message to the pope, requesting him to come to Rome and hold his court there, as the supreme pontiffs his predecessors had done. But the pope would not grant their requests, but said that he would send some one thither who should do all that they required, acting as his vicegerent.

In this year, there was such a burning heat, and such a blight and drought throughout the summer, that the hay failed in most parts of the country, and the beasts of the field died for want, and a double heat (both while the sun was in Libra as well as while he was in Leo) oppressed mankind. The consequence was, that small-pox and disease prostrated both children and young men, and rich and poor, and they were also afflicted with freckles and spots; and a great many young men and maidens died of the small-pox. And there followed after this a winter of extreme cold, oppressing mankind much, the frost, and snow, and ice lasting from the fifteenth of December to the twenty-fifth of January; and the fish died in the ponds, the birds in the woods, and the cattle in the fields. And many of the birds of heaven were so wasted away, that they were caught without any net or snare by the hand of man, like domestic birds. But this terrible frost was put an end to by a breeze of the south wind, which lasted three days. And when men thought that the winter was past, again the sky was collected into clouds, and the east wind set in and lasted, and the frost returned, and lasted from the thirteenth of February to the same day in April.

About the time of the feast of the Purification of the blessed Mary, some robbers having discovered the place of the treasury of a certain knight, which was laid up in the church of the Carmelites in London, by the connivance of a certain Judas among the brethren, came thither and carried off four hundred pounds of silver. And having, in a most atrocious manner, bound the hands of the prior and all the brothers, and

having slain one, they immediately departed. And with them went that Judas, who was fated to be soon hung in a halter.

After all these events had taken place, fresh disturbances and wars broke out in Scotland. For Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick, conferred at first secretly, and afterwards openly, with some of the great nobles of Scotland, saying to them, "Ye know that by the right of hereditary relationship this kingdom belongs to me, and how this nation intended to have crowned my father king, but the cunning of the king of England disappointed him of his desire. If, therefore, you will crown me king, I will fight your battles, and deliver this kingdom and this people from its slavery to the English." This he said, and presently he received the consent of many perjured men. And when he asked of John Comyn, a very noble and powerful knight, whether he also agreed to this, he steadily replied, that he did not. And he said, "All the nations know that the king of England has four times subdued our nation and country, and that we all, both knights and clergy, have sworn fealty and homage to him for the present and all future generations. Far be it from me to do this; I will never consent to this measure, that I may be free from perjury." Bruce persuades, Comyn dissuades; the one threatens, the other is perplexed; at last, Bruce, drawing his sword, strikes the unarmed Comyn on the head. And when he had thrown him down, as he was striving to wrest the sword from the hands of his assassin (for he was a man of great personal strength), the servants of the traitor ran up, and stabbed him with their swords, and released their master. But the lord John escaped as well as he could to the altar; and Robert pursued him, and, as he would not agree to his proposals, the wicked and inhuman man there sacrificed the pious victim. These things were done in the church of the Minor Brothers, at Dumfries, on the twenty-ninth of January, in the year subsequent to this one. Behold the beginning of the homicide, aspiring to the kingdom by the shedding of the blood of Abel.

After this, Bruce appointed chariots and horsemen to go before him, and repaired many castles, and compelled many persons to defy the king of England; and of those who refused, he slew all that he could. But the English keepers of the king's peace being alarmed and terrified, fled to the town of Berwick, reporting all these matters fully to their king.

This year, there died Master John de Pontoise, bishop of Winchester, and Master Gilbert de Saint Leopard, bishop of Chichester, the father of orphans, the comforter of mourning widows, the pious and humble visitor of those who lay on coarse beds and in cabins, and the wealthy reliever of the poor rather than of the rich; to the sanctity of whose life numerous miracles, which were subsequently wrought, bear testimony. There died also Master Thomas de Corebrigge, archbishop of York; the bishop of Winchester was succeeded by Henry, prior of the same church, John de Langton, archdeacon of Canterbury, succeeded the bishop of Chichester, and Master William de Greenfield, chancellor of the king of England, succeeded the archbishop of York.

"The kingdom's rudder wavers so,
The church's ship astray doth go;
The king and pope are one again,
In mutual unhallowed gain:
As formerly for wicked ends
Herod and Pilate became friends."

Of the coronation of the pretended king, Robert Bruce.

A.D. 1306. Pope Clement, being at Bourdeaux, deposed the bishop of Poitou from his pontifical dignity, who had opposed him when he was archbishop. He also transferred the primacy of Aquitaine from Bourges to Bourdeaux.

On the day of the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin, that parricide, Robert Bruce, the invader of another's kingdom, caused himself, according to the custom of his country, to be crowned with a diadem by his fellow-conspirators, in the abbey of the regular canons, in the town of Scone, in the presence of some earls, John de Ailsa, and de Menethet, and two bishops, namely, those of Saint Andrew's and of Glasgow, and the abbot of Scone, and many knights. There were intentionally absent of the conspirators, the earls de Buchan and de Ros, Alexander Comyn and John Mowbray, knights, and some others, who inviolably kept the oath which they had sworn to the king of England. But on the following Sunday, which was Palm Sunday, he caused himself to be crowned a second time by a certain adulteress, who was betrothed to the earl of Buchan, and who, having violated her marriage bed, was mad for the beauty and with desire of the fool who was crowned. And she changed the name which had been given him at his baptism, calling him David. And when he re-

turned home, he is reported to have said to his wife, "Yesterday I was called earl, and you countess, but to-day I am called king, and you queen." But she replied, "I consider that you are a summer king, and perhaps you will not be a winter one; and I fear that, like the flower of the field, which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, you, too, may fade away, and for your perjury and violation of faith, may, for the sake of the name of king, lose both earldom and kingdom." So he, thinking that he was laughed at by a woman, wished to have slain her with the sword, but was prevented by the bystanders. Nevertheless, he sent her into banishment, and had her conveyed over to Ireland to her father, the earl of Alton, by whom she was sent to the king of England, and treated by him with great respect.

About the same time, the king of England accused Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, before the pope, of disturbing the peace of his kingdom, and defending and cherishing those who rebelled against him; on which account he was summoned by the supreme pontiff, and having received leave of the king, he bade him farewell, and crossed the sea to Bourdeaux, where he was suspended from the execution of his office, till he should legitimately clear himself of what was alleged against him.

In Easter week, the king caused the apostolic bull, concerning his absolution from the oath which had been taken in the matter of the disforesting, which had been already executed, and which was to be maintained, to be published, in which all those who wished to observe that oath were excommunicated, and those who broke it were approved and absolved. The same year, on the sixth day of May, the lady Margaret, queen of England, brought forth a daughter, named Eleanor. At that time, too, pope Clement granted to the king of England, for two years, the tenth of all the ecclesiastical revenues for the service of the Holy Land. But the money was applied to other uses. And the pope, seeing the insatiable avarice of some of the prelates of England, who importunately demanded that the first churches that were vacant in their dioceses should be granted to them for one year, and considering what the inferior demands the superior also has a right to, appropriated to himself for two years all the revenues of the churches in England when first vacant, that is to say, for the first year all the first fruits of bishoprics, abbacies, priories, prebends, rectories and vicarages, and also of the smaller benefices.

About the same time, king Edward, who was now verging on old age, when some of the servants of his household complained to him, who had not yet been promoted according to their wish, having had enquiry made as to what monastic or canonical convents had been founded by his progenitors, from that day forth he allotted to each of them, not the simple supplies for the necessary maintenance of the monasteries, but sufficient for them to live as long as they lived like the riders in the king's court, with one horse or two. He also ordered the proper maintenance, and all other things necessary to be supplied to them.

In these days, the king of England sent Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, Robert Clifford, and Henry Percy, into Scotland, with a powerful and well appointed force, to resist the threatened revolutions, and to defeat the man who had been so wickedly crowned with his band of traitors, and to protect his faithful subjects. Accordingly, to augment the expedition which was to march against Scotland, the king caused public proclamation to be made throughout England, that all who were entitled to be made knights in respect of their paternal succession, and all who had sufficient property to be liable to serve, should present themselves at Westminster on the feast of Pentecost, when each of them should receive all their military equipments, except their horse and his furniture, from the king's wardrobe. Therefore, when three hundred youths, the sons of earls, barons, and knights had assembled there, there was distributed among them purple and fine linen, and fine cloth, and mantles embroidered with gold in great abundance, so as to be enough for all of them. And because the king's palace, although larger, was nevertheless too scanty for so vast a crowd as was there assembled, they erected their standards and tents in the gardens of the New Temple in London, cutting down the apple trees, and throwing down the walls, that the novices might have a place wherein to dress themselves in their gold embroidered robes. And that night the aforesaid novices, in as great numbers as that place could contain, kept their vigils in the Temple. But the prince of Wales, by his father's order, with the novices of superior rank, kept his vigil in the church at Westminster. And there was heard so great a clang of trumpets and flute players, and such shoutings on the part of those who lifted up their voices for joy, that the praises and thanksgiving of the convent, as re-

peated from choir to choir, could not be heard. And the next day, the king invested his son with the belt of a knight, in his own palace, and conferred on him the duchy of Aquitaine. Therefore, the prince being now made a knight, went into the church at Westminster to adorn his comrades, in like manner, with the decoration of knights. Moreover, so great was the pressure there of the people in front of the great altar, that two knights died, and many fainted, even though each had at least their knights to guide and countenance him. And, on account of the pressure of the crowd, the prince caused the multitude to be divided by his mounted guards, and invested his comrades on the great altar. Then there were brought in in procession, with great splendour, two swans, or genets, before the king, equipped with golden trappings or gilded pipes, a beautiful spectacle for the beholders. And when he beheld them, the king vowed to the God of Heaven, and to the swans, that living or dead he would march into Scotland, and avenge the death of John Comyn, and chastise the perjury of the Scots; and adjuring the prince, and the other superior nobles of the land, by the faith which they owed him, that if he died before he had accomplished his vow, they would carry his body with them into Scotland with the army, and not bury him till the Lord had given him victory and triumph over the crowned traitor, and the perjured nation. And this they all promised in good faith, declaring that whether the king lived or died, they were ready to march with the prince into Scotland, in fulfilment of the king's vow. After this, they all became more calm, and having saluted the king on the day after the feast of the Holy Trinity, they departed from Westminster, engaging to be present with the king, in the course of the fortnight after the feast of Saint John the Baptist, to march into Scotland. And for this expedition of the king's son, the thirtieth penny, from both laity and clergy, was granted to the king; and the merchants granted him the twentieth penny.

Meantime, a great contest was going on between the people of the Scots and English, as to which of them should prove to be greater in battle. In the meantime, Robert Bruce, going round the country and receiving the homage of many, having collected a numerous army, on the morrow of Saint John the Baptist approached the town of Saint John, for the defence of which Aymer de Valence had lately arrived; and,

by the command of their new prince, the cavalry of the Scots were all clad in linen shirts over their armour, to prevent their being distinguished. And Aymer, being challenged by him to come out and do battle, replied that he would fight with him not that day, but the next. And when Robert had withdrawn himself and his followers one mile, and was proceeding to refresh his troops, as the hour of evening was approaching, Aymer sallied out with his forces, and suddenly coming on the Scots near Methuen, began the battle. And there fell that day, by the edge of the sword, a great many Scots who adhered to the false king. Moreover, he himself was thrice thrown to the ground by the cavalry, and thrice raised again by Simon de Freysel, an illustrious warrior, and at length, owing to the trick of the white shirt, he escaped from the battle. For when Robert and the rest, who had armed themselves in haste, had resisted for some time, at last they were compelled to fly, as the English got the better. And Aymer pursued them with his followers as far as the island of Cantyre, and laid siege to the castle of Cantyre, thinking that Robert had retreated into it. But when he had taken the castle he found him not, because he had fled to the islands in the most remote part of the kingdom; but he took his brother, Nigel Bruce, in the castle, with several others, all of whom he caused to be conducted to Berwick. In the battle above mentioned, the following men were taken prisoners:—Thomas, son of Ranulph, David Inkemartyn, John de Somerville, knights; Hutting, the marshal and standard-bearer of the false king, and Hugh, his chaplain, who, nevertheless, was hanged on a gallows with the aforesaid knights, and many others, whose names are not set down here, lest the page should be soiled with them, he himself being hanged in front of the others, as though he said, "I, being your superior, marshal you this way." After these events, the king of England marched into Scotland, with the prince of Wales and the nobles of his kingdom, and some Scots received him honourably, some retreated backwards, and some sought the secret recesses of the woods. But the king's army traversed the whole kingdom of Scotland, and began to pursue the fugitives, and slew many of them, and took some alive, as the bishops and the abbot who have been mentioned above, having on breastplates and armour beneath their outer garments. The fault of both the bishops was great, but that of the bishop of Saint Andrew was the greater; for on the day

of the battle between the English and Scots at Methuen, near Saint John's, he sent all his retainers armed to the assistance of the Scots. But he himself, in the meantime, cunningly surrendered himself to the English, in order that, if the Scots triumphed over the English, they might deliver him from their power, as having been taken by force for want of sufficient protection, but that, if the English triumphed, they might spare him, because he had been deserted by his family, as not consenting to their actions. Therefore, those perjured prelates were thrown into very close prisons, in the same garb and dress in which they had been taken, until it should be decided by the Apostolic See what was to be done with them. Also, that impious conspiratress, the countess of Buchan, was taken prisoner, respecting whom the king was consulted, when he said, "Because she has not struck with the sword, she shall not die by the sword; but, on account of the unlawful coronation which she performed, let her be closely confined in an abode of stone and iron, made in the shape of a crown, and let her be hung up out of doors in the open air at Berwick, that both in her life and after her death she may be a spectacle and eternal reproach to travellers."

At that time too, Simon Freysel was taken prisoner, a man in whom the whole confidence of the Scots was placed, in so much that the Scotch nobles who were in prison asserted that he could not be subdued or taken, and while he was alive, they thought that the Scotch could not be subdued. And a certain Scotch knight, who was in chains in the Tower of London, presuming on his magnanimity to the glory of the English, but to his own loss, gave the king leave to cut off his head whenever Simon Freysel was taken prisoner; and his name was Herebert of Norham, the most beautiful in person and the tallest in stature of all the Scots, but now, on account of the thrice-repeated treachery which he had committed against the king of England, having been twice released, the third time that he was taken, he, and his father, and his esquire, were bound with iron fetters in the Tower of London. After this, Simon Freysel was sent to the Tower of London, that the other Scot, when he saw him, might recollect the vow which he had taken. On the morrow, therefore, that is to say, on the vigil of the Nativity of the blessed Mary, Herebert and Thomas de Boys, his esquire, were led out of the Tower of London and beheaded. But Simon Freysel, on account of the

number of his treasons which he had committed, was condemned to the following punishment: he was dragged as a traitor from the Tower of London through the streets and roads, then he was hung up high as a robber, beheaded as a murderer, fastened on a gibbet for twenty days, and at last burnt with fire; and his head was set on a lance, upon London Bridge, near the head of William Wallace, to be a formidable spectacle to all nations.

About the feast of Saint Michael, Robert Bruce returned to Cantyre, and coming upon Henry Percy, who was in the neighbourhood, he slew some of his retinue, and took some of his war-horses, and abundant spoils besides; and he besieged Henry in the castle of the place, until, in consequence of the powerful army sent thither by king Edward, he was compelled to raise the siege.

In those days, the king of England caused enquiry to be made throughout all Scotland, by credible and trustworthy persons, who and how many persons were present at the slaying of John Comyn, and at the coronation of Robert Bruce; and he took them nearly all, and put them to death, or else, in the case of those who surrendered themselves up to the king's pleasure, he committed them to close prison. After this, he took the castle of Lochleven, in which he found Christopher Seton, the husband of Robert Bruce's sister, whom, as he was not a Scot but an Englishman, the king commanded to be conducted to Dumfries, where he had formerly slain a knight of the king's party, and there he was formally tried, dragged to the gallows, hanged, and at last beheaded. But John Seton, the brother of Christopher, was hanged at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and beheaded, and thus he ended his life miserably; for they were both esquires of the false king, and had both been accomplices in the murder of John Comyn. And the wife of Christopher and the daughter of Robert Bruce he placed in different monasteries of nuns. And while he was daily taking this vengeance on the wicked people, the wicked crowned pretender fled to the Highlands. Then John, earl of Ailsa, fearing for himself, sought safety in flight; but, by the providence of God, the danger which he feared overtook him; for as he was fleeing by sea, suddenly a foul wind sprung up, and he was driven to land and taken by his enemies. And when the king of England heard of this, although he was then sick of a grievous distemper, still he bore his

pain more calmly—and that earl claimed to be descended from the royal family. Therefore, some of the courtiers thought it an improper and unbecoming thing that he should be tried with other malefactors; but the king, regarding not the line of his descent, but the requirements of justice, replied to them: "In proportion as his rank is higher, so, too, is his fall evidently greater; but as he is more noble in blood than the other parricides, let him, for his wickedness, be hung higher than the rest. Nor are ye ignorant how often he has desired to betray us in England, Scotland, and Flanders; take him, and let him be tried with all justice in London." And when he had arrived in that city, on the seventh day of November, he was condemned at Westminster, in the king's palace. But because he was descended from the royal family, he was not dragged through the streets, but placed on a horse, he was hanged on a gallows fifty feet high. Afterwards he was taken down when half-dead, that he might suffer more pain, and cruelly beheaded. And his body, a violent fire having been previously kindled before his eyes, was burnt, with his flesh and bones, and reduced entirely to ashes. And his head was fixed on London Bridge, among the heads of other traitors, but was placed higher than theirs, because he was of the royal family.

The king, staying at Lavercost, near Carlisle, sent justiciaries to Berwick, by whose judgment Nigel Bruce, a young knight of exceeding beauty, because he had consented to the treason of his brother, and all the others who were taken prisoners with him, were dragged through the streets and hanged, and finally beheaded. And while bloodshed of this kind was stalking through Scotland, about the same time a violent quarrel arose between the king of France and the citizens of Paris, for the following reasons. There was in the city of Paris a man of illustrious family, of exceeding riches beyond all his fellow-citizens, by name Stephen Barbet. He, coming to the king of France, spoke thus: "My lord, the value of your revenue is diminished to half of its proper amount. From this the merchants derive gain, and you suffer injury. Order, therefore, that your revenue shall from henceforth be of thrice its present amount." So the two parties, the one being covetous and the other crafty, agreed together at once. Nor did this device escape the notice of the rest of the citizens. So they said to Stephen: "You are an eminent man in the city;

you are become richer than all the burgesses. Behold, our king is injuriously increasing the weight of his yoke upon us, imposing a tribute on the kingdom, such as has never been customary in the time of any of the preceding kings of France. See what a number of houses we have built, which if the king's revenue is trebled will be unable to be let, and will be all reduced to emptiness, and solitary sparrows will dwell in them instead of men. Ah, God! before this takes place, we will leave all that we have, and seek a better master. Do you, therefore, as you are one of us, agree with us. Otherwise we will burn you and your house; because it has been said, that it is owing to the suggestions of your cunning that this step has been taken." He answered them,—"I will do what this people exhorts me to, according to their words." Then departing from them, he secretly paid the king of France the revenue which he had promised him. So a conspiracy was entered into, and his fellow-citizens rose in insurrection against Stephen, demolishing and levelling to the ground all his houses which he had in the city and near the city, and burning all his valuable furniture, and slaying his servants and his cattle with the sword. And on that day they dragged some carts belonging to the king, which were full of victuals which had been bought and contracted for for his table, into the middle of the market-place, and threw all their contents about, and trampled them contemptuously under foot. And even then their fury was not appeased, but they came raging to the temple, where the king was abiding at that time, and cried out, "Deliver up Stephen to us, otherwise we will burn you and the temple." But the king answered them warily: "Behold, you have come upon me unexpectedly. Return to the city, and on the sixth day return to me; for then I will grant all that you wish, and I will listen to your complaints, and promise to correct them." So when they had retired, the king departed to another place, far from the city. And thus the anxiety of the complaining burgesses was eluded by the interposition of this disappointing delay.

After this, Charles, the king's brother, having summoned before him twelve of the more eminent of the citizens, under pretence of conferring with them peaceably, treacherously tortured them with all kinds of sufferings, till they revealed who were the traitors. And when the king had ascertained their names, he erected gibbets before the gates of the city, and

caused them to be hung up on high in tens and twenties. Moreover, he commanded the Flemings to pay the tribute which they owed him increased threefold. But they replied, "We will not contribute any more; for all that we have contributed is a source of grief to us. Let the king restore to us what we have already paid, or else we will recover by force what has been extorted from us."

In that year, a certain heretic, apostate, and false prophet arose in Venice, by name Dunsin, preaching many things contrary to the faith, as, for instance, on the subject of acquiring the empire, of the death of all the cardinals and of pope Clement within the year; and that the end of the world was at hand within three years, preaching all sorts of falsehoods as truth, uniting to his sect the apostate people of every order, and asserting, among other particulars of his wicked preaching, that any man might have commerce with any woman, and that it was no sin; and that a woman who refused the embrace of any man whatever, deserved to be burnt with fire. He also asserted many scandalous things, which, as they are at variance with the orthodox faith, I forbear to write. And not long afterwards, namely, on the day of the festival of the Lord's Supper, he was taken by the faithful in Christ, and burnt with fire.

The king of France begged of the lord the pope the bones of his predecessor, Boniface, that he might burn them as the bones of a heretic, urging his request with exceeding importunity. Also, he requested that brother Peter de Muron might be inscribed in the catalogue of the saints, who had formerly been pope under the name of Celestine the Fifth.

The king of England compelled Piers Gaverston, who had been accused before him of divers crimes, to renounce the kingdom of England.

A parliament is held at Carlisle. The earl of Gloucester is besieged by the Scots. King Edward the First dies.

A.D. 1307. In the week after the festival of Saint Hilary, the king held a parliament at Carlisle, in which grave complaints were brought forward, by the chief nobles, of the oppressions of the churches and monasteries, by the manifold extortions of money lately introduced into the kingdom by the clerk of the lord the pope, Master William Teste; and the aforesaid clerk was commanded, by the unanimous decree of

the earls and barons, not for the future to commit such oppression. Moreover, order was made that for the obtaining a remedy for these things, ambassadors appointed for the purpose should be sent to the pope.

In the same parliament, some statutes were passed, affecting the members of religious orders, who had their chief houses in another kingdom. And there came to that parliament, about the feast of Saint Peter, a certain cardinal of Sabionetta, Master Peter the Spaniard, having been sent by the pope as legate *à latere*, to perform the marriage which had been arranged between Edward, the eldest son of the king of England, and Isabella, the daughter of the king of France, as had been previously ordained by pope Boniface, acting, as it were, as a mediator of peace. And he made answer, by the king, that he was ready to perform all that was commanded him, provided that the king of France, on his part, was willing to fulfil those engagements which depended on him. For the king of France, while he held Guienne, had given the castle which is called Mauleon to a certain knight, who still retained possession of it, and would not restore it at the command of the king of France. On which account, it is said, that that marriage was delayed to this time. Therefore, the cardinal returned to London, in order to await certain directions on this point, and to plunder the churches of England. For he wished, according to authority given in the bull, to receive from each church belonging to a cathedral, or convent, and from all regular and irregular churches and priories, twelve marks sterling. And from the rectories, eightpence out of his mark. But the clergy of England appealed against this exaction. And it was ordered by the king's council, that that cardinal ought not to have more than cardinal Othobonus had formerly received, when he was legate in England, namely, the half of what was now demanded. This year, on the ninth day of February, a certain Scot of Galway, Duncan Macdonal by name, fell in with a large vessel, manned with seven hundred warriors, who landed in his territories, and encountered them with not more than three hundred men, and slew nearly all their host, some in battle, some in the woods, some in the harbour, and some as they were flying; many also were drowned in the sea. But the bodies of the chief men of those who were slain in the battle, he brought to the lord the king, namely, Malcolm Macail, lord of Kentirhead, and also the

heads of two Irish chieftains, Reginald de Craunford, and Thomas Bruce, knights; and he presented Alexander Bruce, a pretended king of the Germans, wounded and half dead, to the king; of whom Thomas was drawn at the tail of a horse, and hanged and beheaded, and the others were simply brought back to Carlisle, and hanged and beheaded. And a testimony of this is, their heads which are fixed up above the castle, and over the gates of the city.

After Easter, Robert Bruce, having reinforced his army, fought with Aymer de Valence, and put him to flight, only a few of those who were with him being slain. And within three days, pursuing him, he routed the earl of Gloucester, many men being slain on both sides, and besieged him in the castle of Ayr, till the siege was raised by an army which was sent thither by the king. After that, he fled from the English, who pursued him, and took refuge in the marshy and thickly wooded places, where, after he found a hiding place, they could not discover him. The king having sent messengers into England, ordered, under heavy penalties, that all those who owed him service, should be ready at Carlisle within three weeks after the feast of Saint John the Baptist; and he sent his son back into England to proceed to contract his marriage with the daughter of the king of France, according to what he should hear from that sovereign. But after his departure, the king began to be afflicted with a dysentery. Nevertheless, he moved from Carlisle, on the third of July, marching a few days' journey towards Scotland; but on the sixth of July, he arrived at Burgh on the Sands, where, his illness increasing, the day after, being the sixth day of the week, he bade farewell to this present life, ending his days in piety, and his years in glory. He reigned thirty-four years, seven months, and twenty-one days, and had completed sixty-eight years and twenty days of his age.

This Edward was a man of great vigour as a warrior throughout his whole life in every situation; so much so, that he wrested all England out of the hand of Simon de Montfort, and the earls and barons who adhered to the said Simon; who had also detained his father king Henry, and himself in prison, as is related above in these Chronicles. He also wrested all Wales from the hands of prince Llewellyn, and David, his brother; and Aquitaine from the hands of the king of France. He often subjugated Scotland, as the previous history of his

achievements testifies. But after Scotland had been treacherously taken by Robert Bruce, as is related in this chapter, he then, lying on the bed of sickness, in the middle of his army, in the magnanimity of his spirit, ordered and commanded his body not to be buried where he was, but to be carried with the army, till all Scotland was finally reduced. But this command could not be effectually fulfilled. Therefore, his body was conveyed to England, and buried at Westminster, in the following year, on the eighteenth day of October, near Saint Edward, at the head of his father's grave, by the hands of the venerable fathers, the lord Antony, patriarch of Jerusalem, and bishop of Durham, and William, archbishop of York with the other bishops, abbots, and prelates of the whole kingdom. And a certain versifier has written thus, concerning :—

> "King, while you flourished in your power and might,
> Fraud lay concealed and honour came to light;
> Peace gladdened all the earth. The Scots were crush'd,
> Afflicted, beaten, humbled to the dust."

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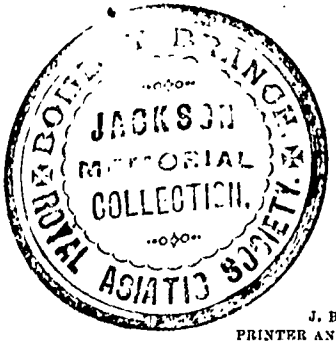

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